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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

CHARLES C. TORREY, AND HANNS OERTEL

Professor in Yale University,  
New Haven, Conn

Professor in Yale University,  
New Haven, Conn.

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THIRTY-SECOND VOLUME

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THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.

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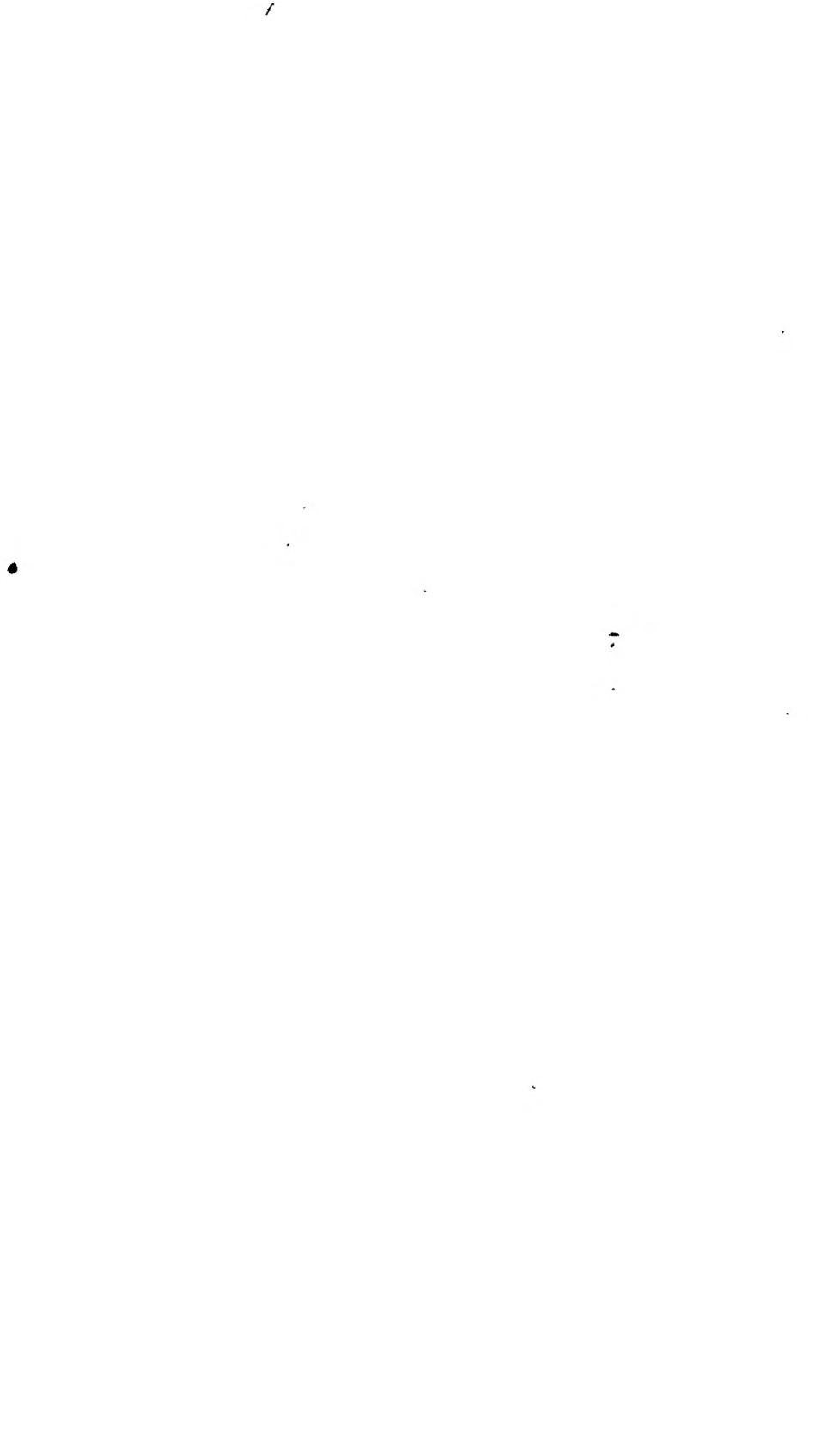
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# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

# AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT ITS

MEETING IN NEW YORK, N. Y.

1912

The annual meeting of the Society, being the one hundred twenty-fourth occasion of its assembling, was held in New York, N. Y., at Columbia University, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter week, April 9th, 10th, and 11th, 1912.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Abbott	Edgerton	Jenkins, Miss	Price
Abbott, Mrs.	Fagnani	Kent, R. G.	Prince
Appleton	Frame	Kohn, Miss	Quackenbos
Arnold	Friedlaender	Lanman	Rudolph, Miss
Asakawa	Gelbach, Miss	Madsen	Scott, C. P. G.
Barret	Gellot	Margolis, E.	Sherman
Barton	Gottheil	Margolis, M. L.	Smith, H. P.
Bender	Grant	Montgomery	Steele
Black	Gray	Moore, G. F.	Torrey
Bloomfield	Gray, Mrs.	Moore, Mrs.	Ussher
Bolling	Grieve, Miss	Müller	Vanderburgh
Briggs	Haas	Nies, J. B.	Ward, Miss
Brown, F.	Haessler, Miss	Oertel	Ward, W. H.
Brünnow	Harper, R. F.	Ogden, C. J.	Williams, F. W.
Burlingame	Hirth	Ogden, Miss	Williams, T.
Campbell	Hurwitz	Oliphant	Worrell
Carus	Hussey, Miss	Perry	Yohannan
Cunningham	Jackson	Peters	
Du Bose	Jackson, Mrs.	Poebel	

TOTAL: 74.

The first session was held in Philosophy Hall on Tuesday afternoon, beginning at 3:10 p. m., the President, Professor George F. Moore, being in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the meeting in Cambridge, April 19th and 20th, 1911, was dispensed with, because they had already been printed in the Journal (vol. 31, part 4, p. i-ix).

The Committee of Arrangements presented its report, through Professor Gottheil, in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Wednesday morning at half past nine, Wednesday afternoon at half past two, and Thursday morning at half past nine. It was announced that there would be an informal meeting of the members at the Hotel Marseilles on Tuesday evening, that a luncheon would be given to the Society by the local members at the University Commons on Wednesday at 1:15 p. m., and that arrangements had been made for a subscription dinner at the Hotel Marseilles on Wednesday evening at half past seven.

#### REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, presented the following report:

The Corresponding Secretary has the honor to report at the outset that he has received from President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University a message of hearty greeting to the members assembled at this meeting. President Butler expresses his regret that his duties as presiding officer at a political convention held at Rochester, N. Y., deprive him of the pleasure of attending some of the sessions.

The regular correspondence of the Secretary during the past year has involved the writing of a large number of letters, to members and others, in regard to matters directly connected with the Society's work. The obligation has, however, been a pleasant one, for it has led to a number of interesting communications with fellow-workers, not only in America and Europe, but also in the East, including a remote corner of Kurdistan.

The formal invitation to participate in the International Congress of Orientalists at Athens was supplemented, during this last year, by further communications and bulletins, and it may be mentioned here that the President, Professor Moore, appointed Professors Hopkins, Jastrow, and Haupt to represent the Society at the Congress. Professor Hopkins, in a letter written in Athens on the eve of the Congress and received here yesterday, sends his cordial greetings to the members of the Society and his good wishes for the present meeting.

As instructed by the Directors, the Secretary attended the annual meeting of the American Year Book Corporation as the Society's representative. He welcomes the opportunity of mentioning the desire of all concerned in this enterprise to give appropriate space to Oriental matters and especially to Oriental scholarship in America.

It is a sad duty to record the loss of four members by death in the past twelve months.

Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who had been a member of the Society since 1869, died on May 19, 1911, at the ripe age of eighty-seven years. His activities as a historian and essayist, as well as his achievements as a soldier, are too well known to need record here. Col. Higginson was a regular attendant at the Cambridge sessions and occasionally at meetings elsewhere. At the last meeting, being unable to be present, he sent a message of greeting, whereupon the Society directed Professor Lanman to express its appreciation and good wishes.

Lady Caroline De Filippi, née Fitzgerald, who died in Rome, Italy, on Christmas Day, 1911, joined the Society in 1886 and became one of its life-members. Her interest in the Orient, first aroused by Professor Whitney, continued throughout her life, and she traveled extensively in the East, particularly in Central Asia, Ladakh, and India.

Mr. Charles J. Morse, of Evanston, Ill., whose death occurred on December 6, 1911, had become a member in 1909. Mr. Morse, who was an engineer by profession, spent some time in Japan and became interested in the art of the Far East. He gathered a rich collection of Chinese and Japanese paintings, porcelain, and other works of art, together with a library of works relating to the subject. This collection is preserved in a fireproof room in the residence of his widow at Evanston.

Dr. John Orne, Curator of Arabic manuscripts in the Semitic Museum at Cambridge, has also been removed from our list by death. He had been for twenty-one years a corporate member of the Society and had regularly attended the meetings held at Cambridge.

In concluding this report the Secretary desires to express once again his appreciation of the willing co-operation of all who are associated with him in the work of the Society, and to renew a hearty wish for its continued welfare.

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer, Professor F. W. Williams, presented his annual report, as follows:

### RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1911.

#### *Receipts.*

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1910 . . . . .	\$ 860.94
Annual dues . . . . .	\$ 1216.23
Sales of the Journal . . . . .	303.55
State National Bank dividends . . . . .	127.93
Contribution for the Library . . . . .	100.00
	<hr/>
	1747.71
	<hr/>
	\$ 2608.65

#### *Expenditures.*

Printing of the Journal, Volume 31 . . . . .	\$ 1096.80
Sundry printing and addressing . . . . .	53.12
Editor's honorarium . . . . .	100.00
Balance to new account . . . . .	1358.73
	<hr/>
	\$ 2608.65

**STATEMENT.**

	1910	1911
Bradley Type Fund . . . . .	\$ 2,914.35	\$ 3,052.29
Cotheal Fund . . . . .	1,000.00	1,000.00
State National Bank Shares . . . . .	1,950.00	1,950.00
Connecticut Savings Bank . . . . .	6.90	
National Savings Bank . . . . .	13.07	20.76
Interest, Cotheal Fund . . . . .	284.71	330.05
	<u>\$ 6,169.03</u>	<u>\$ 6,353.10</u>

### REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The report of the Auditing Committee, Professors Torrey and Oertel, was presented by the Recording Secretary, as follows:

We hereby certify that we have examined the account book of the Treasurer of this Society and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries in the cash book with the vouchers and bank and pass books and have found all correct.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., April 8, 1912.

CHARLES C. TORREY	} Auditors.
HANNS OERTEL	

## REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The report of the Librarian, Professor Albert T. Clay, was presented by Dr. Haas, as follows:

During the past year the books and pamphlets which have been received have been acknowledged and taken care of as previously. Aside from the cataloguing of serial publications no attempt has been made to classify the accessions.

I need not repeat what has previously been stated concerning the condition of disorder which exists in the Library, making it an almost impossible task to locate works, other than serial publications, desired by members. As the Society is aware, the serial publications have been catalogued by Miss Whitney and her associates under the direction of the former Librarian, Professor Oertel.

During the winter I began to solicit subscriptions from members of the Society to put the Library into shape. In answer to eight letters I received only two replies that seemed favorable, one of them being an inquiry; whereupon I concluded that if the money was to be raised, some other method would have to be adopted. I have brought this matter to the attention of the Directors, asking whether the funds of the Society will not permit appropriating a certain amount for the maintenance of the Library.

## REPORT OF THE EDITORS.

The report of the Editors of the Journal, Professors Oertel and Jewett, was presented by Professor Oertel, as follows:

The date of publication of the four quarterly instalments has been changed from December, March, June, and September to January, April, July, and October, to make the publication of each volume fall within a single calendar year. The Editors respectfully request members of the Society to notify Professor J. C. Schwab, Librarian of Yale University, at once of any change in their mailing address. Failure to receive the current numbers of the Journal is in most cases due to neglect in keeping the mailing-list up-to-date. The Editors also request that all manuscript copy for the next volume of the Journal be handed to them immediately after the meeting. They further call the attention of contributors to the following rule adopted by the Directors: That each contributor to the Journal shall be allowed 10% of the cost of composition for author's alterations in proof, and that all cost of such alterations in excess of this allowance shall be charged against the author.

#### ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society (for convenience the names of those elected at a subsequent session are included in this list):

##### CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Mrs. Justin E. Abbott	Mr. H. Linfield
Prof. Felix Adler	Dr. Daniel D. Luckenbill
Mr. Ronald C. Allen	Mr. C. V. McLean
Rev. Dr. Floyd Appleton	Rev. Mr. Elias Margolis
Mrs. Daniel Bates	Prof. Samuel A. B. Mercer
Mr. Granville Burrus	Mrs. Charles J. Morse
Rev. Mr. Wm. H. Du Bose	Prof. George A. Peckham
Mr. William T. Ellis	Dr. Arno Poebel
Dr. Henry C. Fiukel	Dr. Caroline L. Ransom
Prof. Alexander R. Gordon	Mr. G. A. Reichling
Mrs. Ida M. Hanchett	Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff
Mr. Newton H. Harding	Mr. Martin Sprengling
Dr. Archer M. Huntington	Mr. Emanuel Sternheim
Mr. S. T. Hurwitz	Mr. David E. Thomas
Mrs. A. V. Williams Jackson	Rev. Mr. LeRoy Waterman
Dr. Hester D. Jenkins	Mr. Arthur J. Westermayr
Dr. Otto Lichti	Mr. John G. White

#### ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1912-1913.

The committee appointed at Cambridge to nominate officers for the year 1912—1913, consisting of Professors Lanman and Lyon and Dr. Charles J. Ogden, reported through the chairman, Professor Lanman, and made the following nominations:

*President*—Professor George F. Moore, of Cambridge.

*Vice-Presidents*—Professor Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; Professor Robert F. Harper, of Chicago; Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.



*Corresponding Secretary*—Professor A. V. W. Jackson, of New York.

*Recording Secretary*—Dr. George C. O. Haas, of New York.

*Treasurer*—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.

*Librarian*—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven.

*Directors*—The officers above named, and Professors Richard Gottheil, of New York; Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge; E. Washburn Hopkins and Hanns Oertel, of New Haven; Maurice Bloomfield, of Baltimore; George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr; Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York.

After presenting this report, Professor Lanman, speaking for himself, made the following comment:

For the first 64 years of our Society's history, it was the actual practise of the Society (except for some special reason) to re-elect a President at the expiration of his term. During these 64 years the office was held by as few as 9 men: Pickering, Edward Robinson, Salisbury, Woolsey, Hadley, S. Wells Williams, Whitney, Ward, and Gilman. Pickering presided from the founding until his death in 1846; Robinson, for 17 years, from Pickering's death until his own, in 1863. The brief incumbencies of Hadley and Williams were terminated by death; that of Whitney, by illness; and Gilman's incumbency of 13 annual terms, from 1893 to 1906, by advancing years. Mr. Salisbury held the office from 1863 to 1866, and again from 1873 to 1881, and his retirement was in both cases due, as I believe, to his natural disposition to shrink from publicity. As to the character of these admirable men, the discriminating remarks of Dr. Ward in our *Journal* (vol. 16, p. lix) may be consulted.

At the Springfield meeting of 1905 the nominating committee named Mr. Gilman for the office of President and recommended (*JAOS.* 26. 425) 'that in the future the President be requested to prepare an address on some phase of the progress or significance of Oriental studies, to be read at the annual meeting.' This recommendation was adopted. In the report of the nominating committee at the New Haven meeting of 1906 (*JAOS.* 27. 470) we read as follows:

This Society has been peculiarly fortunate in its Presidents, and it has been accustomed to re-elect them from year to year so long as they were willing to serve it. In most of the other American learned societies the presidency is an honor which is annually conferred upon some distinguished scholar, and it was plainly in the mind of the Society in the plan which it adopted at Springfield that it should in future be so among us also. It is not proposed that any new rule be made, but merely that the usage hitherto prevailing shall not be regarded as having the force of prescription.

Professor Toy was elected President at that meeting. He was followed by Lanman in 1907, Hopkins in 1908, Ward in 1909, Bloomfield in 1910, and George F. Moore in 1911. It would manifestly have been most improper for me to say anything about this innovation at the time of my nomination or during my own incumbency; but now that I am not a candidate for re-election, I deem it to be for the interest of the Society that I should express my strong conviction about the matter.

The ability of the Society to command the unpaid services of a distinguished scholar who is at once an efficient chief executive and also a good

presiding officer is one of its most valuable resources. By handing around that office from one to another of all the more prominent members this valuable resource is, to my thinking, thrown away. Indeed, there is involved in this procedure a double loss: not only is the honor cheapened and lessened, but also the opportunity of the President to serve the Society effectively is reduced to the lowest limit.

The chief executive office, rightly administered, requires preparation and knowledge of the early history and precedents of the Society, such as it is by no means likely that a man chosen for one year will take the pains to acquire. He will think of the office simply as an honor, and of the service which it involves as confined to the sometimes exceedingly ill-performed duty of presiding for a dozen hours or so at our annual sessions. In fact, the President should be a watchful and active worker for the benefit of the Society throughout his whole term of office.

In a word, then, our recent innovation subordinates the best interests of the Society from the larger point of view, to considerations which must inevitably be primarily more or less personal and selfish.

To refer to the matter of the Vice-Presidency: it should be distinctly understood that the Constitution of the Society does not recognize any such thing as a First or Second or Third Vice-President and gives no countenance to the theory of promotion from the office of Vice-President to that of President, such as would seem to have been assumed in our most recent practise. On the other hand, the gift of the Vice-Presidency is indeed a recognition, on the part of the Society, of distinguished service to the cause of Oriental studies, such as it is altogether proper from time to time for us to bestow, and it is one which we can bestow without the serious disadvantage of the loss of continuity in the chief executive office.

It should also be added that other nominations than those presented may be made by any member; that the fullest weight has been given to the views of every member of the committee; and, in particular, that Professor Moore has been neither consulted nor informed concerning the intention of the committee to nominate him for another term.

At this point the President, Professor Moore, asked the Corresponding Secretary to take the chair and withdrew from the hall, in order that the Society might discuss the nominations without his being present. After discussion (remarks being made by Professors Bloomfield, Lanman, and H. P. Smith) the officers nominated were unanimously elected.

Professor Moore was then called in and again took the chair. Professor Lanman moved that it be recorded as the sense of the Society that the President should *not* be re-elected at the expiration of his term. [Note that the motion was made in a form adverse to his own recommendations.] Remarks on this motion were made by Professors Lanman, Barton, H. P. Smith, Bloomfield, Dr. Ogden, and Dr. Ward. It was decided to take a rising vote, the aye-and-no vote suggested by Professor Lanman being deemed needless. It appeared that 27 members were in favor of the resolution and 14 against it.

After a recess of ten minutes for tea, the President delivered the annual address, on 'The Mediterranean Civilization,' Vice-President Harper being in the chair. On the conclusion of the address, it was voted that the thanks of the Society be extended to Professor Moore for his interesting presentation of the subject.

The President again took the chair, and the Society proceeded to the hearing of the following communication:

Professor J. D. PRINCE, of Columbia University: A political hymn to Shamash.

The Society thereupon adjourned for the day.

## SECOND SESSION.

The members re-assembled on Wednesday morning at 9:45 a. m. for the second session. The President, Professor Moore, was in the chair. The following papers were presented:

Rev. Dr. J. E. ABBOTT: The Marathi poet Tukaram. — Remarks by Professor Lanman.

Professor G. A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College: An archaic tablet in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

Mr. F. A. CUNNINGHAM, of Merchantville, N. J.: Studies in the chronology of ancient history. — Remarks by Professor Moore.

Dr. F. EDGERTON, of Johns Hopkins University: Versions of the Vikramacarita. — Remarks by Professor Bloomfield.

Professor I. FRIEDLAENDER, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: Alexander the Great in the imagination of the East. — Remarks by Dr. Scott.

Professor M. L. MARGOLIS, of Dropsie College: The mode of expressing the Hebrew *'ā'id* in the Greek Hexateuch. — Remarks by Professor Moore.

Mr. E. A. GELLOT, of Ozone Park, N. Y.: Remarks on a few Hebrew words. — Remarks by Professor Barton.

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: On the supposed 'Streitgedicht,' RV. 4. 42. — Remarks by Professor Lanman.

Professor R. J. H. GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University: Some Syro-Hittite figurines. — Remarks by Professor Max Müller and by Dr. Ward.

Professor C. R. LANMAN, of Harvard University: Buddhaghosa's treatise on Buddhism entitled 'The Way of Salvation' — report of progress.

On suggestion of the Corresponding Secretary it was voted to send a greeting by cablegram to the International Congress of Orientalists, then assembled at Athens, and also to send the good wishes of the Society to a number of the oldest members: Professors Gildersleeve, Toy, and Goodwin, Mr. Van Name, and the Rev. Mr. Dodge.

At one o'clock the Society took a recess until half past two o'clock.

## THIRD SESSION.

The Society met for the third session at 2:45 p. m. in the large lecture-room in Schermerhorn Hall, President Moore presiding. The following papers were presented:

Professor A. V. W. JACKSON, of Columbia University: Notes on Baluchistan and its folk-poetry. (Illustrated with lantern photographs.)

Professor R. G. KENT, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Vedic 'path of the gods' and the Roman Pontifex.

Rev Dr. J. P. PETERS, of New York: The cock in Oriental literature.

At four o'clock the Society adjourned to the room in Philosophy Hall in which the previous sessions had been held. The reading of communications was then resumed, as follows:

Dr. G. F. BLACK, of the New York Public Library: The present state of the Gipsy question. (Read by Professor Gottheil.)

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: A remarkable series of word-plays in the Second Isaiah.

Professor J. A. MONTGOMERY, of the P. E. Divinity School, Germantown, Pa.: A magical text and the original script of Mani.

Professor W. MAX MÜLLER, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Kunjāra language of Dār Fur.

Rev. Mr. J. B. NIES, of Brooklyn: The sign *Gešpu (ru)*. — Remarks by Professor Max Müller.

At 5:50 p. m. the Society adjourned for the day.

## FOURTH SESSION.

The fourth session was opened at 9:45 a. m. on Thursday morning, in Philosophy Hall, with the President in the chair.

The Corresponding Secretary reported for the Directors that the next annual meeting would be held at Philadelphia, Pa., on March 25, 26, and 27, 1913. He reported further that the Directors had appointed Professors Oertel and Torrey as Editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The President then announced the following appointments:

*Committee of Arrangements for 1913:* Professors Jastrow and R. G. Kent, and the Corresponding Secretary.

*Committee on Nominations:* Professors Montgomery, Gottheil, and Barret.

*Auditors:* Professors Oertel and Torrey.

*Committee to prepare a resolution of thanks:* Dr. Peters and Dr. Scott.

The Society then proceeded to the hearing of the following communications:

Dr. C. J. OGDEN, of Columbia University: The story of Udayana as used in the dramas of Harsha.

Miss E. S. OGDEN, of Albany: Notes on the so-called Hieroglyphic Tablet in *TSBA.*, vol. 6, p. 454.

Professor S. G. OLIPHANT, of Grove City College, Grove City, Pa.: Sanskrit *dhenā* = Avestan *daēnā* = Lithuanian *dainā*.

Rev. Dr. A. YOHANNAN, of Columbia University, and Professor JACKSON: On four rare manuscripts of the Persian romantic poet Nizami.

At eleven o'clock the Society took a recess of five minutes, to permit the Directors to assemble for a brief meeting.

After the recess the Corresponding Secretary announced that the Directors recommended four additional persons for election to corporate membership, and these were unanimously elected. (Their names have been included in the list on p. v, above.)

The reading of papers was then resumed, in the following order:

Rev. Dr. F. A. VANDERBURGH, of Columbia University: Four Babylonian tablets from the Prince Collection of Columbia University.

Dr. A. POEBEL, of Johns Hopkins University: The Sumerian incantation *CT. 16. 7. 260—277*.

Professor G. A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College: Recent researches into the Sumerian calendar. — Remarks by Dr. Poebel.

Professor I. FRIEDLAENDER, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: Modern Hebrew literature.

Dr. F. EDGERTON, of Johns Hopkins University: Vedic *sabhā*. — Remarks by Dr. Abbott.

Professor J. A. MONTGOMERY, of the P. E. Divinity School, Germantown, Pa.: Some emendations to Sachau's *Ahikar Papyri*.

Through its chairman, Dr. Peters, the committee appointed to prepare an expression of the thanks of the Society presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

That the thanks of the American Oriental Society be extended to the President and Trustees of Columbia University for the hospitality of lodgment, to the Women's Graduate Club for its generous surrender of its spacious room for the sessions and for its kind ministrations, and to the Committee of Arrangements and the local members for the thoughtful provision they have made for the entertainment of the members.

The Society adjourned at 12:40 p. m., to meet in Philadelphia on March 25, 1913.

The following communications were presented by title:

Dr. F. R. BLAKE, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Hebrew Chatephs; (b) Reduplication in Tagalog.

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) On the 'superfluous' *r* of Sanskrit *chardis*; (b) On the theory of haplogy as an aid to text-criticism.

Dr. E. W. BURLINGAME, of the University of Pennsylvania: (a) *Dukkham ariyasaccam* quoted in Bidpai's fables; (b) Buddhaghosa's Dhammapada Commentary.

Professor C. E. CONANT, of Indiana University: Final diphthongs in Indonesian languages.

Professor R. J. H. GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University: An amulet from Irbid with a Babylonian and a Phoenician inscription.

Dr. LUCIA GRIEVE, of New York: The Hindu goddess Devī.

Dr. MARY I. HUSSEY, of Cambridge, Mass.: Tablets from Dréhem in the Public Library of Cleveland, Ohio.

Professor S. A. B. MERCER, of Western Theological Seminary: The oath in Sumerian inscriptions.

Professor I. M. PRICE, of the University of Chicago: The published texts from Dréhem.

Mr. G. P. QUACKENBOS, of Columbia University: The legend of the demon Mahiṣa in Sanskrit literature.

Rev. Dr. W. ROSENAU, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The argument *a fortiori* in Biblical and post-Biblical literature; (b) Old Testament sources of parts of the apocryphal Esther.

Mr. E. B. SOANE, of Southern Kurdistan: Some investigations on the Iranian languages of Kurdistan.

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: The original language of the Odes of Solomon.

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## LIST OF MEMBERS.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

## I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

- M. AUGUSTE BARTH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garapcière, 10.) 1898.
- DR. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, C. I. E., Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.
- JAMES BURGESS, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.
- Prof. CHARLES CLERMONT-GANNEAU, 1 Avenue de l'Alma, Paris. 1909.
- Prof. T. W. REYS DAVIDS, Harboro' Grange, Ashton-on-Mersey, England. 1907.
- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRÜCK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.
- Canon SAMUEL R. DRIVER, Oxford, England. 1909.
- Prof. ADOLPH ERMAN, Berlin-Steglitz-Dahlem, Germany, Peter Lennéstr. 72. 1903.
- Prof. RICHARD GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.
- Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZ GOLDZIEHER, vii Holló-Utca 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1906.
- GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.
- Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, 59 Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany. 1909.
- Prof. HENDRIK KEEN, 45 Willem Barentz-Straat, Utrecht, Netherlands. 1893.
- Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.
- Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Gross-Lichterfelde-West, Mommsenstr. 7) 1908.
- Prof. THEODOR NÜLDEKE, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalb-gasse 16.) 1878.
- Prof. HERMANN OLDENBERG, University of Göttingen, Germany. 1910. (27/29 Nikolausberger Weg.)
- Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.



- EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François I<sup>er</sup>, Paris, France. 1908.  
 Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.  
 Prof. JULIUS WELLHAUSEN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weber-str. 18 a.) 1902.  
 Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitäts-str. 15.) 1890. [Total: 26]

## II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with \* are those of life members.

- Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.  
 Mrs. JUSTIN E. ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1912.  
 Dr. CYRUS ADLER, 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.  
 Prof. FELIX ADLER, 33 Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1912.  
 WILLIAM E. M. AITKEN, Courtright, Ontario, Canada. 1910.  
 RONALD C. ALLEN, 148 South Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
 F. STURGES ALIEN, 246 Central St., Springfield, Mass. 1904.  
 Miss MAY ALICE ALLEN, Northampton, Mass. 1906.  
 Rev. Dr. FLOYD APPLETON, 230 New Jersey Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.  
 Prof. WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, (Harvard Univ.). 25 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.  
 Prof. KANICHI ASAKAWA (Yale Univ.), 228 Park St., New Haven, Conn. 1904.  
 Rev. EDWARD E. ATKINSON, 94 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.  
 Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 Prof. LEROY CARR BARRETT, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.  
 Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.  
 Mrs. DANIEL BATES, 35 Brewster Street, Cambridge, Mass. 1912.  
 Prof. L. W. BATTEN, 418 W. 20th St., New York. 1894.  
 Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), Grove St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 Prof. WILLIS J. BEECHER, D.D., Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y. 1900.  
 Dr. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton New Jersey. 1906.  
 Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, Port Richmond, S. I., N. Y. 1893.  
 Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.  
 Prof. JULIUS A. BEWER (Union Theological Seminary), Broadway and 120 th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.  
 Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.  
 Prof. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.  
 Rev. Dr. SAMUEL H. BISHOP, 500 West 122 d St., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 Dr. GEORGE F. BLACK, N. Y. Public Library, Fifth Ave. and 42 d St., New York, N. Y. 1907.  
 Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE, Windsor Hills, Baltimore, Md.  
 Rev. PHILIP BLANC, St. Johns Seminary, Brighton, Md. 1907.  
 Rev. Dr. DAVID BLAUSTEIN, The New York School of Philanthropy, 105 East 22 d St., New York, N. Y. 1891.  
 Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, Univ. of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1898.  
 FRANCIS B. BLODGETT, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1906.

- Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN, Augustana College and Theol. Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
- Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.
- Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING (Catholic Univ. of America), 1784 Corcoran St., Washington, D. C. 1896.
- Prof. CORNELIUS B. BRADLEY, 106 Prospect Ave., Madison, Wis. 1910.
- Rev. Dr. DAN FREEMAN BRADLEY, 2905 West 14th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1911.
- Prof. RENWARD BRANDSTETTER, Reckenbühl 18, Villa Johannes, Lucerne, Switzerland. 1908.
- Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- Prof. CHAS. A. BRIGGS (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Prof. C. A. BRODIE BROCKWELL, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. 1906.
- Pres. FRANCIS BROWN (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1881.
- Rev. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, Jubbulpore, C. P. India. 1909.
- Prof. RUDOLPH E. BRÜNNOW (Princeton Univ.) 49 Library Place, Princeton, N. J. 1911.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- HAMMOND H. BUCK, Division Sup't. of Schools, Alfonso, Cavite Provinces, Philippine Islands. 1908.
- ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
- Dr. EUGENE WATSON BURLINGAME, 20 Graduate House, West Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.
- GRANVILLE BURRUS, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.
- Prof. HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, LL.D., Williamstown, Mass.
- Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- Rev. JOHN L. CHANDLER, Madura, Southern India. 1899.
- Miss EVA CHANNING, Hemenway Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.
- Dr. F. D. CHESTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- WALTER E. CLARK, 37 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.) New Haven, Conn. 1907.
- \*ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, Yonkers, N. Y. 1908.
- \*GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.
- Prof. C. EVERETT CONANT, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. 1905.
- Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, Richmond, Mass. 1902.
- FRANCIS A. CUNNINGHAM, 508 W. Maple St., Merchantville, N. J. 1912.
- Rev. CHARLES W. CURRIER, 913 Sixth St., Washington, D. C. 1904.
- Dr. HAROLD S. DAVIDSON, 1700 North Payson St., Baltimore, Md. 1908.
- Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, Madison, Wis. 1900.

- JAMES T. DENNIS, University Club, Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
 Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.  
 Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.  
 Rev. WM. HASKELL DU BOSE, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.  
 Dr. HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.  
 Dr. FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1910.  
 Prof. FREDERICK G. C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Inst., Evanston, Ill. 1901.  
 Mrs. WILLIAM M. ELLICOTT, 106 Ridgewood Road, Roland Park, Md. 1897.  
 WILLIAM T. ELLIS, Swarthmore, Pa. 1912.  
 Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, (Amherst College), 5 Lincoln Ave., Amherst, Mass. 1883.  
 Dr. AARON EMER, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1902.  
 Rev. Prof. C. P. FAGNANI, 606 W. 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1901.  
 Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY (Univ. of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. 1888.  
 Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1876.  
 Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Peking, China. 1900.  
 Dr. HENRY C. FINKEL, District National Bank Building, Washington, D. C. 1912.  
 Rev. WALLACE B. FLEMING, Maplewood, N. J. 1906.  
 Rev. THEODORE C. FOOTE, Rowland Park, Maryland. 1900.  
 Prof. HUGHELL E. W. FOSBROKE, 9 Acacia St., Cambridge, Mass. 1907.  
 Dr. LEO J. FRACHTENBERG, Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1907.  
 Prof. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
 Dr. CARL FRANK, 23 Montague St., London, W. C., England. 1909.  
 Dr. HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, 356, 2nd Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909.  
 Prof. ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER (Jewish Theological Sem.), 61 Hamilton Place, New York, N. Y. 1904.  
 ROBERT GARRETT, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.  
 Miss MARIE GELBACH, Prospect Terrace, Park Hill, Yonkers, N. Y. 1909.  
 EUGENE A. GELLOT, 290 Broadway, N. Y., 1911.  
 Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1858.  
 GEO. WM. GILMORE, 11 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y. 1909.  
 † Prof. WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.  
 Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Canada. 1912.  
 Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.  
 Prof. ELIHU GRANT (Smith College), Northampton, Mass. 1907.  
 Mrs. ETHEL WATTS MUNFORD GRANT, 31 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1904.  
 Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, 291 Woodside Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.  
 Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, 291 Woodside Ave., Newark, N. J. 1907.  
 Miss LUCIA C. GRAEME GRIEVE, Martindale Depot, N. Y. 1894.  
 Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1890.  
 Rev. Dr. W. M. GROTON, Dean of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, 5000 Woodlawn Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.

- \*Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 254 West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.  
Miss LOUISE HAESSLER, 1230 Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909  
Mrs. IDA M. HANCHETT, care of Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Nebraska.  
1912.  
Dr. CARL C. HANSEN, Si Phya Road, Bangkok, Siam. 1902.  
NEWTON H. HARDING, 110 N. Pine Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
PAUL V. HARPER, 59th St. and Lexington Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1906.  
Prof. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.  
Prof. SAMUEL HART, D. D., Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.  
1879.  
Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland  
Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.  
Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT, Upland, Delaware Co., Pa. 1887.  
Rev. Dr. WILLIAM J. HINKE, 28 Court St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.  
Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH (Columbia Univ.), 401 West 118th St., New York,  
N. Y. 1903.  
Prof. CHARLES T. HOCK (Theological Sem.), 220 Liberty St., Bloomfield,  
N. J. 1903.  
\*Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford, England. 1893.  
Rev. Dr. HUGO W. HOFFMANN, 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.  
\*Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven,  
Conn. 1881.  
WILSON S. HOWELL, 416 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1911.  
HENRY R. HOWLAND, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.  
Miss SARAH FENTON HOYT, 17 East 95th St., New York, N. Y. 1910.  
Dr. EDWARD H. HUME, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.  
Miss ANNIE K. HUMPHREY, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.  
Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.  
S. T. HURWITZ, 217 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.  
Miss MARY IDA HUSSEY, 4 Bryant St., Cambridge, Mass. 1901.  
\*JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 18 rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, France. 1909.  
Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St.,  
N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.  
Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.  
1885.  
Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y.  
1912.  
Prof. MORRIS JASTROW (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St.  
Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.  
Dr. HESTER D. JENKINS, 122 Pierrepont St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.  
Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.  
Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, (Harvard Univ.) Cambridge, Mass. 1887.  
CHARLES JOHNSTON, 387 Ocean Ave., Flatbush, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.  
Prof. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 21 West 20th St.,  
Baltimore, Md. 1889.  
ARTHUR BERRIDALE KEITH, Colonial Office, London, S. W., England.  
1908.  
Prof. MAXIMILIAN L. KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge,  
Mass. 1886.  
Miss ELIZA H. KENDRICK, 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.

- Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 406 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
- Miss LUCILE KOHN, 1138 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1907.
- RICHARD LEE KORTKAMP, Hillsboro, Ill. 1911.
- Rev. Dr. M. G. KYLE, 1132 Arrow St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.
- Prof. GEORGE T. LADD (Yale Univ.), 204 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
- M. A. LANE, 451 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1907.
- \*Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- LEVON J. K. LEVONIAN, Syrian Protest. College, Beirut, Syria. 1909.
- Dr. OTTO LICHTI, 146 Tremont St., Ansonia, Conn. 1912.
- H. LINFIELD, 52 Middle Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Prof. CHARLES E. LITTLE (Vanderbilt Univ.), 19 Lindsley Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 1901.
- Prof. ENNO LITTMANN, Schweighäuser Str. 24, II, Strassburg i. Els. 1912.
- PERCIVAL LOWELL, 53 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
- Dr. DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Dr. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER, 153 South Cedar Ave., Oberlin, Ohio. 1909.
- \*BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard Univ. Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTHERGOE, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- WILLIAM E. W. MACKINLAY, 1st Lieut. 11th U. S. Cavalry, Fort Ethan Allen, Vt. 1904.
- C. V. MCLEAN, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York. 1912.
- Rev. Dr. ALBERT A. MADSEN, 22 Courtney Ave., Newburgh, N. Y. 1906.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, 1519 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. WINFRED ROBERT MARTIN, Hispanic Society of America, West 156th St., New York, N. Y. 1889.
- ISAAC G. MATTHEWS (McMaster Univ.), 509 Brunswick Ave., Toronto, Canada. 1906.
- C. O. SYLVESTER MAWSON, Box 886, Springfield, Mass. 1910.
- Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER (Western Theol. Sem.), 2735 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- J. RENWICK METHENY, "Druid Hill," Beaver Falls, Pa. 1907.
- MARTIN A. MEYER, 2109 Baker St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.
- Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C. 1899.

- Mrs. HELEN LOVELL MILLION, Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.  
Prof. LAWRENCE H. MILLS (Oxford Univ.), 218 Iffley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.  
Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (P. E. Divinity School), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Pa. 1903.  
Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE (Harvard Univ.), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.  
Dr. JUSTIN HARTLEY MOORE, 549 Springdale Ave, East Orange, N. J. 1904.  
\*Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.  
Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.  
Mrs. CHARLES J. MORSE, 1825 Asbury Ave., Evanston, Ill. 1912.  
Rev. HANS K. MOUSSA, 316 Third St., Watertown, Wis. 1906.  
Prof. W. MAX MÜLLER, 4308 Market St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1905.  
Mrs. ALBERT H. MUNSELL, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.  
Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, Public Library, Boston, Mass. 1887.  
Rev. JAS. B. NIES, Hotel St. George, Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.  
Rev. WILLIAM E. NIES, Port Washington, Long Island, N. Y. 1908.  
Rt. Rev. Mgr. DENNIS J. O'CONNELL, 800 Cathedral Place, Baltimore, Md. 1903.  
Prof. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.  
Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 250 West 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.  
Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, St. Agnes School, Albany, N. Y. 1898.  
Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.  
Prof. ALBERT TENEYCK OLMSTEAD, 911 Lowry St., Columbia, Mo. 1909.  
Prof. PAUL OLTRAMARE (Univ. of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.  
\*ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.  
Rev. Dr. CHARLES RAY PALMER, 562 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1900.  
Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.  
Prof. WALTER M. PATTON, Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, Canada. 1903.  
Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.  
Prof. GEORGE A. PECKHAM, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.  
Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.  
Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.  
Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.  
WALTER PETERSEN, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas. 1909.  
Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON (Hebrew Union College), 3947 Beechwood Ave., Rose Hill, Cincinnati, O. 1889.  
Dr. ARNO POEBEL, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.  
Dr. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.  
Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.  
Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.  
GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, 331 West 28th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.  
Dr. CAROLINE L. RANSOM, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. and 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1912.

- G. A. REICHLING, 466 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.  
 Prof. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1891.  
 BERNARD REVEL, 2113 North Camac St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.  
 Prof. PHILIP M. RHEINELANDER (Episcopal Theological Sem.), 26 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1908.  
 ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1900.  
 EDWARD ROBINSON, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1894.  
 Rev. Dr. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 4 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.  
 Hon. WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, American Embassy, Constantinople, Turkey. 1880.  
 Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.  
 Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.  
 Rev. Dr. EDMUND S. ROUSMANIERE, 56 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1911.  
 ROBERT HAMILTON RUCKER, 27 Pine Street, New York, N. Y. 1911.  
 Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 2024 East 115th St., Cleveland, O. 1894.  
 Mrs. JANET E. RUUTZ-REES, Rosemary Cottage, Greenwich, Conn. 1897.  
 Mrs. EDW. E. SALISBURY, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1906.  
 Pres. FRANK K. SANDERS, Washburn College, Topeka, Kans. 1897.  
 JOHANN F. SCHELTEMA, care of Messrs. Kerkhoven & Co., 115 Heerengracht, Amsterdam, Holland. 1906.  
 GEORGE V. SCHICK, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1909.  
 Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.  
 WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.  
 MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, Jr., Peking, China. 1899.  
 Dr. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1906.  
 Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, 1 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1895.  
 \*Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 124 Highland Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.  
 Rev. JOHN L. SCULLY, Church of the Holy Trinity, 312-332 East 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1908.  
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 217 Turner St., Allentown, Pa. 1902.  
 Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theological Sem.), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.  
 CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 614 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1904.  
 \*JOHN R. SLATTERY, 14 bis rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.  
 Major C. C. SMITH, P. S., Manila, Philippine Islands. 1907.  
 Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Theological School, Meadville, Pa. 1877.  
 Prof. JOHN M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.  
 ELY BANNISTER SOANE, care of Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, London, SW., England. 1911.  
 Prof. EDWARD H. SPIEGER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
 MARTIN SPRENGLING, care of Prof. R. F. Harper, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
 Rev. Dr. JAMES D. STEELE, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.

- Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, Jr., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.  
MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.  
Prof. GEORGE SYERDRUP, Jr., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.  
DAVID E. THOMAS, 6407 Ingleside Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.  
Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.  
OLAF A. TOFFTEEN, 2726 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1906.  
\*Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.  
Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.  
Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, St. Bartholomew's Church, 44th St. & Madison Ave., N. Y. 1909.  
Rev. HERVEY BOARDMAN VANDERBOGART, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1911.  
Rev. Dr. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS VANDERRURGH, 53 Washington Sq., New York, N. Y. 1908.  
ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.  
Miss SUSAN HAYES WARD, The Stone House, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.  
Rev. Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.  
Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.  
Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.  
Rev. LE ROY WATERMAN, 5815 Drexal Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
Prof. J. E. WERREN, 1667 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.  
Prof. JENS IVERSON WESTENGARD (Harvard Univ.), Asst. Gen. Adviser to H.S.M. Govt., Bangkok, Siam. 1903.  
ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR, 100 Lenox Road, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.  
Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.  
Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge Mass. 1877.  
JOHN G. WHITE, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.  
\*Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.  
Hon. E. T. WILLIAMS, U. S. Legation, Peking, China. 1901.  
Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.  
Dr. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, Columbia Univ., New York, N. Y. 1884.  
Rev. Dr. WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.  
Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.  
Prof. JOHN E. WISHART, So. Pasadena, California. 1911.  
HENRY B. WITTON, Inspector of Canals, 16 Murray St., Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.  
Dr. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 1620 Madison St., Madison, Wis. 1904.  
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WILLIAM W. WOOD, Shirley Lane, Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
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## **ERRATA.**

Page 97, l. 4 read: (cf. below p. 100).

„ 100, l. 16 read: (cf. above p. 96).



*Some Difficult Passages in the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge.*—By PAUL HAUPT, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

I. — One of the most difficult passages in the cuneiform account of the Deluge is the beginning of the story of the Babylonian Noah. contained in lines 11—15 of my edition.<sup>1</sup> This section begins: *Āl Sūrîpak, âlu ša tîdûšu atta, ina kišâdi nâr Purâti šaknu*, which is generally translated: The city of Suripak, the city which thou knowest, is situated on the bank of the Euphrates; see *e. g.* Geo. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, edited by A. H. Sayce (London, 1880) p. 279. Similarly Jules Oppert, *Le poème chaldéen du déluge* (Paris, 1885) p. 7 rendered: *Il est une ville de Surippak, que tu connais; elle est située sur les bords de l'Euphrate.* François Lenormant, *Les origines de l'histoire* (Paris, 1880) p. 601 has: *La ville de Schourippak ville que tu la connais sur l'Euphrate existe.*

The site of the ancient city of Suripak, the most primitive Sumerian settlement known to us, was discovered, eight years ago, in the ruins of *Fâra*. N of *Warka* = Erech, SE of *Nuffar* = Nippur.<sup>2</sup> At the time of the Flood, Suripak was situated on the Euphrates, and the Persian Gulf extended as far north as Suripak. Just as the Crocodile Lake and the Bitter Lakes in Egypt formed the northern end of the Red Sea at the time of the Exodus,<sup>3</sup> so Lake *Nâjaf*, which is now practically dry,<sup>4</sup> was the northern end of the Persian Gulf at the time of the Flood, or at the time when the story of the Flood originated in the third prechristian millennium (*cf.* UG 191). Ea bade Hasîs-atra float his ship near the sea,<sup>5</sup> *i. e.* at the former northern end of the Persian Gulf, W of Suripak. The Euphrates emptied at that time into Lake *Nâjaf*. Abulfedâ<sup>6</sup> states that according to the ancients the Persian Gulf formerly stretched up to *Hîrah* on Lake Najaf, *i. e.* about 30 miles S

of Babylon.<sup>7</sup> Hīrah (cf. BL 118, n.\*) was situated at 32° N, 44° 20' E, about 4 miles SE of the modern town Nájaf.

Jensen, in his *Kosmologie der Babylonier* (Strassburg, 1890) p. 369 translated: *Surippak, eine Stadt, die du kennst — an Ufer des Euphrat ist sie gelegen*. But this would be in Assyrian: *ina kišādi* (or *axi*) *Purāti šakin*. not *šaknu*. The final *u* in *šaknu* shows that this is a relative clause (BA 1, 10). We have here two coördinated relative clauses: *ālu ša tīdūšu atta*, the city which thou knowest, and *ša ina kišādi nār Purāti šaknu*, which is situated on the bank of the Euphrates river; but the relative pronoun is not repeated before the second clause. Similarly we have in the last paragraph but one of the Code of Hammurapi:<sup>8</sup> *šimma<sup>m</sup> marṣa<sup>m</sup> ša lā ipāšaxu. āsū qiribšu lā ilāmadu, ina ġimdi lā ināxusu, kīma nišik mūti<sup>m</sup> lā innasaxu*, a malignant sore<sup>9</sup> which does not heal, whose nature a physician cannot learn, which he cannot soothe with a bandage, which like a deadly bite cannot be extirpated.<sup>10</sup> *Tīdūšu atta* cannot be regarded as a parenthesis;<sup>11</sup> in that case we should expect *tīdīšu atta*, not *tīdūšu*. The rendering *The city which, as thou knowest, lies on the Euphrates* (RBA 495; cf. JAOS 25, 79) is therefore inaccurate.

II. — The following two lines, *ālu šū lābīr-ma ilāni qirbūšu ana šakān abūbi ūbla libbašunu ilāni rabūti*, are generally translated: That city was old. and the gods therein—their heart induced the great gods to make a deluge, or cyclone;<sup>12</sup> but *ilāni rabūti*, at the end, must be regarded as accusative depending on *ūbla*. The two lines are equivalent to *libbu ša ilāni qirib āl Šuripak ūbla ilāni rabūti ana šakān abūbi*, the heart of the gods in Suripak induced the great gods to make a cyclone. The *greads gods* are here distinguished from the local gods of Suripak.<sup>13</sup> *Ilāni* before *qirbūšu* is a *casus pendens*;<sup>14</sup> the suffix of *libbašunu* refers to *ilāni qirbūšu*.<sup>15</sup> *Ilāni rabūti*, however, does not stand in apposition to *ilāni qirbūšu*. but is an accusative depending on *ūbla*. The queens induced the great kings to make a fight would be in Assyrian: *šarrāti ana epēš tuquntī*<sup>16</sup> *ūbla libbušin šarrāni rabūti*; and The queen induced the great king to make a fight would be: *šarratu ana epēš tuquntī ūbla libbuša šarra rabā*.

The accusative *ilāni rabūti* is on a par with the suffix *-ni* in *minā libbaša ūblāni*, What does she want me to do? in the

Descent of Istar (obv. l. 31).<sup>17</sup> Jensen (KB 6, 83) translates: *Was hat ihr "Inneres (hervor)gebracht," was hat [ihren] Bau[ch bewegt]? and in the commentary (KB 6, 395): Was hat ihr Inneres mir hervorgebracht = Was hat sie gegen mich ersonnen?* Ungnad (TB 65) disregards the suffix *-nî*, translating: *Wozu hat ihr Herz sie veranlaßt, wozu hat ihr Sinn sie getrieben!* Delitzsch (HW 231<sup>a</sup>) renders: *Womit hat sich ihr Herz gegen mich getragen? d. h. Was will sie von mir?* *Ūblânî* cannot mean *carried against me*, but only *carried me*.<sup>18</sup> Similarly Nebuchadnezzar (iii, 19) says: *ana ebêšu Esagila našânî libbi*, my heart induced me to build Esagil.<sup>19</sup> Delitzsch (HW 484<sup>b</sup>; cf. 231<sup>a</sup>, 317<sup>a</sup>) has called attention to the fact that this phrase corresponds to the Biblical *něša'ô libbô*, his heart stirred him up (GB 518<sup>a</sup>, i).<sup>20</sup> In *ustâbil karassu* (or *gurrušu*) we have according to Delitzsch (HW 7<sup>a</sup>) not the stem *uabâlu*, to bring, but the stem *abâlu* (AJSL 26, 235) to be full; see, however, KB 6, 320; SFG 66. 3. These phrases were discussed by Guyard in §§ 88 and 96 of his *Notes de lexicographie assyrienne* (Paris, 1883). *Abâlu* and *našû* in this connection correspond to the Arabic *hāmala* (*hāmalahu* 'âlâ 'l-'amri = 'agrâhu).

Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch* (Leipzig, 1903) p. 84 renders: *Surippak, die Stadt, welche du kennst, [welche am Ufer] des Euphrat gelegen ist, jene Stadt besteht seit alters, die Götter in ihr. Einen Flutsturm zu machen trieb ihr Herz an die großen Götter;* but *ilâni qirbûsu* must be combined with the following line. Jensen (KB 6, 231) gives the meaningless translation: *die Götter in ihr die Sturmflut zu machen "brachte hervor" ihr Herz, die großen Götter.* The verb *abâlu* does not mean *to produce*, but *to induce*. According to Jensen (KB 6, 320, below; cf. p. 316) *libbu* in this connection does not mean *heart*, but *abdominal cavity* (cf. JBL 19, 76, n. 99). I have discussed some of Jensen's peculiar renderings in JAOS 22, 19 (cf. also 16, cxi; AJSL 19, 199;<sup>21</sup> 26, 15, 24; ZDMG 63, 517).<sup>22</sup>

Ungnad's *die Götter standen ihr nahe* (TB 50; UG 53) is very improbable. *Qarâbu* means in Assyrian *to attack* (cf. Syr. *ittaqrab*, to be attacked; contrast AJSL 23, 243) and *karâbu* (= *barâku*) means *to be propitious, to bless* (GB 358<sup>b</sup>). Nor does Zimmern's former reading *lâ bîr*, corrupt, lit. *impure*,<sup>23</sup> instead of *lâbîr*, old, commend itself (cf. KB 6, 482, l. 1). I pointed out



in BA 1, 325 that *lābīru*, old, was probably a compound with prefixed *lā*, not; cf. *barāru*, to be bright (HW 187<sup>b</sup>) and Heb. *bar*, pure. I mentioned Zimmern's conjecture in my (unpublished) translation (printed in 1895) of the cuneiform account of the Deluge, which I had prepared for the third edition of Schrader's KAT, and Jastrow adopted it in RBA 495 (cf. JAOS 25, 70; ZDMG 64, 711, l. 18).

If my translation of ll. 13, 14 of the Flood Tablet is correct, the great gods were induced by the local gods of Suripak<sup>13</sup> to send a cyclone. Just as we have here the gods of Suripak, so we find the gods of Erech in the fragment K 3200 (NE 51, 11) which I translated in JAOS 22, 8 (cf. ZDMG 64, 712, l. 8).<sup>24</sup>

III. — A desperate passage is the beginning of l. 15. This is preserved exclusively in the Babylonian fragment S. P. II. 960 (NE 121, 15) which I published thirty years ago, from a copy made by Pinches, in my inaugural lecture *Der keil-inschriftliche Sintflutbericht* (Leipzig, 1881). I read there *māla bašû*, as many as there were; but *bašû* would be written *ba-šu-u*, and if *ilāni rabûti* and *māla bašû* belonged together, *ilāni rabûti* would not stand at the end of the preceding line.

In his *Kosmologie* (1890) Jensen read *ibāsû*, there were their father Anu, &c; and Zimmern made the same mistake in Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895) p. 423. Even Ungnad (TB 50) rendered: *und zwar waren es*.<sup>25</sup> Also R. W. Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1908) has: *There were their father Anu*, while he translates the preceding lines: *Shuripak, a city which thou knowest, which lies on the bank of the Euphrates. That city was very old, and the heart of the gods within it drove them to send a flood, the great gods.* But *ibāsû* would mean *they will be*, not *they were*. The passage NE 67, 68,<sup>26</sup> to which Jensen referred in his commentary, is quite different: there *ibāsî* means *there will be*. Similarly *kîma ilitabāsî* (NE 3, 7; 12, 34) means *thou wilt be like a god*, not *thou art like a god*, as Jensen (KB 6, 127, 34) and Ungnad (UG 12, 184) translate.<sup>27</sup> I added the translation *du wirst sein wie Gott* (NE 12, below) in 1883, in order to call attention to the similarity with *Eritis sicut Deus* in Gen. 3, 5.<sup>28</sup> Jastrow has since shown that the story of Eabani (or *Engidu*; cf. ZDMG 64, 712, n. 2)

and the Woman is the prototype of the Biblical legend of the Fall of Man,<sup>29</sup> which symbolizes the first connubial intercourse.<sup>30</sup>

Nor can we read, with KB 6, 230, *qir-ba-šu* at the beginning of l. 15. In the first place, we should expect *qirbúšu*, as in l. 13. and then, the characters *ba-šu* are extremely doubtful. According to iv R<sup>2</sup> the two signs are *is* (*giš*) and *mal* (*kit, bit*). A. Jeremias. *Izdubar-Nimrod* (Leipzig, 1891) p. 33 supplied at the beginning of l. 15: *es hielten Rat*, they held a council, took counsel together. Heb. *qai-šūqā'āqū* (2 Chr. 30, 23). This would be in Assyrian: *imdálkū* for *imtálíku*.<sup>31</sup> Ungnad (UG 53, below) is inclined to supply *es treten zusammen*, they assemble. But the traces preserved do not lend themselves either to *imdálkū*. *imtálíkū*, they took counsel. or to *paxrū*, *iptáxrū*, they assembled (NE 49. 197: 141, 162).

I am inclined to read *u-ka-pid*; the traces before *mal* = *bit*, *pit* may be the remnant of the Babylonian character for *ka*. Professor R. F. Harper, who is working in the British Museum at present, has been kind enough to re-examine this tablet, and he informed me (on April 4, 1911) that the reading [*u-k*]a-*pid* was at least as good as any other. Winckler *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch* (1903) p. 84 read *bit abišunu*, their family, which is impossible. *Ukápid*. for *ukappid*, would mean *he planned*; so the meaning would be: It was planned by their father Anu (lit. *es plante es ihr Vater Anu*). I have shown in JAOS 25, 73 (1904) that we must read in l. 5 of the Flood Tablet: *gummur ka[pād] libbi ana epêš tuquntí*,<sup>16</sup> Whole is the striving of the heart to make war. or *eager is the desire of thy heart to do battle*.

Assyr. *kapādu* means especially *to plot*, to conspire, to bring on some disaster. In Syriac this stem appears, with partial assimilation of the *d* to the *p*. as *kappit*. to knot, to tie in a knot. The Qal is used of plants forming knots: cf. German *Fruchtknoten* and Goethe's translation of Cant. 2, 13: *der Feigenbaum knotet* (BL 105) for Heb. *hat-tênâh hanētâh pag-gêhâ*. German *Knoten* is connected with *Knospe*, *Knopf*, *Knorren*, *Knödel*, *Knute*. Luther has Ex. 9, 31: *der Flachs (hatte) Knoten gewonnen* for Heb. *hap-pištâh gib'ól*; AV, the flax was balled; the noun *boll*, which is merely an earlier spelling of *bowl*, denotes a rounded pod or capsule. For the semasiological development cf. Heb. *qašâr*, to tie, to conspire. In post-

Biblical Hebrew this verb means also *to resolve*. For the post-Biblical noun *qāšr*, knot, *cf.* Assy. *qiçru*, knot, Ethiop. *queçr*. In Arabic we find *kābada*, to plan (syn. *qāçada*) which may stand for *kāpada* with partial assimilation of the *p* to the *d*; <sup>32</sup> it can hardly be a denominative verb derived from *kābid*, liver. The original form of *kābid*, liver, was *kābit*, just as Heb. *abūd*, to perish, was originally *abat* (BA 1, 2).

IV. — In ll. 19—22 of the account of the Deluge we read that Ea, the Lord of Unfathomable Wisdom, sat (in counsel) <sup>33</sup> with the gods and revealed their plan to the reed-huts, <sup>34</sup> saying: Reed-hut, reed-hut! brick-house, brick-house! Reed-hut, hear! brick-house, pay attention! This has been correctly explained in HW 327<sup>b</sup>. The reed-hut denotes the hovels of the lower classes, and the brick-house represents the dwellings of the upper classes; <sup>35</sup> so Ea announced the plan of the great gods to rich and poor alike, but only to Hasis-atra he gave in a dream special indications showing him how he might save himself. All people could see that a seismic catastrophe was imminent, <sup>36</sup> but Hasis-atra was the only one who took the necessary precautions.

Assyr. *qiqqišu* is a synonym of *xuççu* = Arab. *xuçç*, cottage, cabin, booth (ZK 1, 347) and Assyr. *igaru*, brick-wall, stands for *higaru* (*cf.* Arab. *hijr*, wall, and *hājar*, stone). Also Assyr. *agurru*, or *agūru*, burnt brick, which has passed into Arabic as *ajūr* (or *īājūr*) stands for *hagūru*. <sup>37</sup> Fränkel. *Aram. Fremdwörter* (Leyden, 1886) p. 5 pointed out that in the *Kitāb al-Ağānī* (xvi, 43, 3; *cf.* Divan Hudeil. 66, 10; Nābiḡa 7, 16) a hut of reeds (*xuçç*) is contrasted with a house of brick (*ajūr*) and plaster, just as *qiqqišu* = *xuççu* is contrasted with *igaru* (for *higaru*) brick-wall, brick-house, in the present passage of the Flood Tablet. Assyr. *qiqqišu* (for *qišqišu*) is connected with Heb. *qaš*, straw, stubble, Aram. *qaššā*, which has passed into Arabic as *qašš*; *cf.* the post-Biblical *qašqaššim*, stubble, litter, shake-down, and *qiššōšēt* (or *qišōšēt*) stalk of grain, straw.

CT 14, 48 (No. 36, 331) gives several Sumerian equivalents of *qiqqišu*. <sup>38</sup> The first (Sum. *gi-ru-a*) means a structure (Assyr. *tabannū*) of reeds. The second (Sum. *gi-dim*) has the same meaning (= Assyr. *riksat qanī*). The third (Sum. *gi-sik*) <sup>39</sup> designates the reed-hut as a slight, frail (Assyr. *enšu*) struc-

ture of reeds.<sup>40</sup> • Assy. *enšu* is used especially of tumble-down (*qa'āpu*)<sup>41</sup> buildings; so Sum. *gi-sig* is a *mean habitation*, a humble cottage, a poorly constructed cabin, a frail thatched structure. Sum. *sik* means also *small*, Assy. *ṣixru* (= Heb. *ṣa'ir*) and *qatnu* (= Heb. *qaṭān*).

W. Andrae<sup>42</sup> says that the walls of the "houses" of the laborers at *Kalah Shergât* (Aššur) consist of very light mats of rushes; cf. Meissner's remarks<sup>43</sup> on the modern Babylonian *ṣarīfah*, i. e. an arched structure of reeds and reed-mats, fenced in with reeds, whereas the *maftûl*, a round tower where the people seek refuge in times of danger, is built of bricks. The reed-huts were especially endangered by a cyclone; the *qiqqišû* are therefore mentioned first in l. 20 of the Flood Tablet; but the tidal wave threatened also the brick houses.

The translation of this difficult passage, which I gave, 23 years ago, in BA 1. 123. 320, and which Jensen (KB 6. 483) calls *sonderbar*, is still nearer the truth than the latest efforts of Jensen, Ungnad, &c. Jensen's idea<sup>44</sup> that Ea spoke to the wall of a reed-house, and that the wall communicated this message in a dream to Hasis-atra, who slept behind the wall, is untenable. Ea did not communicate in a dream the decision of the gods to send a cyclone; this was made known to all the people, both rich and poor; but the instructions showing Hasis-atra how he might save himself were communicated to him by Ea in a dream. The story of Midas' barber (who dug a hole in the ground, whispering into it: King Midas has ass's ears) affords no parallel.

The repetition of the words *qiqqiš qiqqiš igar igar* is equivalent to *every reed-hut and every brick-house* (GK. § 123. c). The "construct" in distributive repetitions corresponds to the "absolute" state in Syriac<sup>45</sup> and to the forms without nūnation in Arabic phrases like *baṭa baṭa*, *ṭauma ṭauma*.<sup>46</sup> I have pointed out the connection between the "construct" in Assyrian and the "absolute state" in Syriac on p. 113, below, of the Crit. Notes on Isaiah (SBOT).<sup>47</sup>

V. — In my paper on the beginning of NE<sup>48</sup> I stated that *parīsu* in l. 65 of the account of the Deluge meant *mast*, more accurately *pole-mast*, not *setting pole*.<sup>49</sup> This interpretation is not at variance with the tenth tablet of NE where we read that Nimrod and the ferryman of Hasis-atra used 120 *parīse*,

each 60 cubits (about 100 feet) long, to get across the Waters of Death. Gressmann's idea (UG 138) that Nimrod built a hanging bridge of the 120 pole-masts is grotesque. How could Nimrod build a hanging bridge across the Waters of Death without fastening the end on the other side? A rope bridge of rushes would have been more natural than a hanging bridge of 120 enormous pole-masts. According to Gressmann this hanging bridge served as a passageway between the boat and the shore of the Island of the Blessed; but this gangway would have been more than two miles long (*cf.* JAOS 22, 10, n. 6).

Nimrod did not construct a hanging bridge out of the 120 long pole-masts, but he used them as setting poles to push the boat through the Waters of Death (*cf. ratem conto subigit.* Virg. *Æn.* 6, 302). Setting poles are still employed in Babylonia. Meissner<sup>50</sup> states that he was transported to Nippur in a boat by two boys who used bamboo stems, with an asphalt ball at one end, as setting poles. Bamboo stems may be over 100 feet long, and nearly  $\frac{3}{4}$  ft. thick. They are often used as masts. Nimrod, it may be supposed, could not sail across the Waters of Death because there was a dead calm. The water was nearly 100 feet deep, and whenever Nimrod touched the boggy bottom with one of his poles, he could not lift it up again, so that he was compelled to take a fresh pole. They stuck in the quagmire at the bottom of the Waters of Death;<sup>51</sup> *cf.* Virgil's lines, *Æn.* 6, 295—297:

*Hinc via, Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas.*

*Turbidus hic caeno vastaue voragine gurgis  
aestuat, atque omnem Coccyto eructat arenam;*

and 415. 416:

*Tandem trans fluvium incolumis vatemque virumque  
informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva.*

Finally, when the 120 poles were gone, Nimrod unstepped the mast of his boat and used it as a setting pole. This enabled him to land at the Island of the Blessed.

The Ferryman was wont to take along a chest full of stones. In *šud*<sup>52</sup> *abne* the first word is connected with the Talmudic *šiddāh*, chest, box. The stones in this chest were *עֲנָאִי* which served as anchors. The most ancient anchors consisted of large stones. Ordinary stones, however, could not be used for this purpose; they had to be provided with holes to attach hawsers to them. He would attach a hawser to one of them

and throw it into the bog as far away as possible from the bow of the boat; then he hauled the boat up to it. In this way he was able to warp the boat across the Waters of Death. Warping anchors (German *Warpanker*) are known as *kedges*, and the hawsers attached to them are called *kedge-ropes*. In the case of a large vessel the kedge is carried out in a boat, and then dropped overboard, and the vessel hauled up to it; but the Ferryman had only a small boat: so he was compelled to throw the kedges as far away from the boat as possible.

After Nimrod had smashed the stones in the Ferryman's chest, it was difficult to obtain new large stones provided with holes. Therefore the Ferryman told Nimrod to cut 120 pole-masts. These were, of course, not carried in the boat, but towed through the water by means of a rope attached to the stern of the boat. They probably used the kedging-rope for this purpose. This, I think, is the solution of the mystery of the stones and the pole-masts.

VI.—I have explained some difficult passages of the Flood Tablet in my lecture on *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 3. ll. 18—20; p. 30, nn. 32—36;<sup>54</sup> also in *AJSL* 24, 128, n. †; 143, *ad* v. 3:<sup>55</sup> 26, 15. 16. 24. 25, nn. 60—67; *ZDMG* 61, 276, ll. 20. 43:<sup>56</sup> 63, 516, l. 42—517, l. 32;<sup>56</sup> 64, 711, ll. 15—30:<sup>57</sup> *cf.* 714, ll. 3. 8. 15. The first seven lines of the Flood Tablet were explained in *JAOS* 25, 68—75. For the phrase *siriâm nudâta eli ǧrika*, armor thou hast placed upon thy body, lit. *upon thy back*, we must remember that we use *back* in the same way. Shakespeare says: *I bought you a dozen of shirts to your back*: cf. our vulgar phrase to *keep a person back and belly*, i. e. to keep him in clothes and food. *To back* was formerly used in the sense of *to clothe*. Ungnad's renderings *Gänzlich ist dein Wesen dazu angetan zu streiten, und dennoch pflegst du, auf deinem Rücken liegend, der Ruhe!* (TB 50) or *Gänzlich ist mein Wesen dazu geschaffen, Kampf zu führen; du aber bist müßig, auf deinem Rücken liegend* (UG 53) are impossible.

Ungnad also adheres to the untenable rendering *measures*, although I showed 24 years ago that *minâti* in the third line of the Flood Tablet means *looks, appearance*.<sup>58</sup> This rendering has been adopted also by Jastrow (RBA) and Rogers.<sup>59</sup> Lines 28, 29 should be rendered: *The ship which thou art to build, let her lines be long, and let her width equal her depth*<sup>60</sup>

—*mindudâ* = *middudâ*, *mitdudâ*, the reflexive stem of *madâdu*, corresponding to Arab. *imtâdda*, to be extended, to be long. *Madâdu*, to measure, is a denominative verb which means originally *to ascertain the extent of a thing*. According to ll. 58. 59 both width and height of the Babylonian Ark were 120 cubits or about 200 feet, and the length was considerably more. Cf. my paper on the dimensions of the Babylonian Ark, AJP 9, 422.<sup>12</sup>

### Notes.

(1) See Haupt, *Das babylonische Nimrodepos* (Leipzig, 1891) p. 134. For the name *Nimrod* see my article on Adar and Elul in ZDMG 64. p. 712. n. 2. The abbreviations used in the present article are explained in vol. xxviii of this JOURNAL, p. 101, n. 6; p. 112, n. 1; cf. ZDMG 64, 703, n. 1. Note especially GE = P. Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur* (Straßburg, 1906).—TB = Hugo Gressmann, *Alt-orientalische Texte und Bilder* (Tübingen, 1909).—UG = A. Ungnad und H. Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Göttingen, 1911).—RBA = M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898).

(2) See MDOG, No. 16, p. 14, n. \*; UG 79. 191.

(3) See OLZ 12, 245. 249. 251; ZDMG 63, 529, ll. 6. 29.

(4) See B. Meißner, *Von Babylon nach den Ruinen von Hîra und Hyarnaq* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 12, l. 4; p. 18, l. 10; p. 20, l. 1. Cf. OLZ 12, 68, n. 6.

(5) Despite the statement in l. 9 of the so-called Nippur fragment of the Babylonian Deluge story, *çulûla danna çullîl*, Roof with a strong roof (JAOS 31, 31; UG 73. 212) we must translate l. 31 of the Flood tablet, [e]ma apsî šâšî çullîlsî (NE 135, 31): Float her near the (fresh-water) sea, i. e. Lake Nâjaf. Assyr. *çalâlu* is a synonym of *utûlu* (= *nutâ'ulu* = *nutahhulu*). Cf. NE 50, 208: *utûlu-ma edlê ina ma'âl mûšî çallû*, The men lay down and rested on the night couches. For *utûlu* and *ma'âlu* see my paper on the Heb. stem *nahâl*, to rest, AJSJL 22, 195. 199. For *çalâlu* cf. my remarks on Heb. *çalâlû* (Ex. 15. 10) in AJSJL 20, 162. Contrast KAT<sup>2</sup>, 69, l. 5; UG 53. l. 31. *Ema* (HW 79<sup>a</sup>) = Heb. 'em, Arab. ma'a (e. g. ma'a 'l-hâ'itî, along the wall).

(6) See Guyard, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, vol. ii, part 2 (Paris, 1883) p. 73. The Arabic text (p. 299, below, of the

Paris edition) reads as follows: الحيرة على موضع يقال له النجف زعم الاوائل ان ببحر فارس كان يتصل به وبينهما اليوم مسافة بعيدة. *Nájjaf* means *dam, dike*. Cf. OLZ 12, 251; ZDMG 63, 521, n. 42.

(7) Cf. A. Sprenger, *Babylonien* (Heidelberg, 1886) pp. 33. 45. 73. See also Haupt, *Über die Ansiedlung der russischen Juden im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiete* (Baltimore, 1892) p. 16. Contrast H. Wagner, *Die Überschätzung der Anbaufläche Babyloniens*, pp. 289—296 (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Göttingen, 1902, part 2).

(8) See R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi* (Chicago, 1904) p. 108; H. Winckler, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis* (Leipzig, 1904) p. 83, ll. 57—63.

(9) Assyr. *çimmu marçu* = Heb. *makkâh nahlâh* (Nah. 3, 19). *Çimmu* may be connected with Arab. *çamma*, to strike (cf. *çammama 's-saifu*). It could stand also for *çimu* = Arab. *ḍaim*, hurt, injury, oppression; but this is less probable. Nor can it be combined with Arab. زحمة, *zâḥmah, zuḥmah*, trouble, disease.

(10) For the omission of the relative pronoun cf. GK, § 116, x; Duval, *Grammaire syriaque* (Paris, 1881) § 401.

(11) Nor is *tâmur âtâmar* (KB 6. 265) in the last column of the twelfth tablet a parenthesis: see BA 1, 69, n. \*\*; GE 53, n. 6; TB 61: UG 68.

(12) Cf. HW 4\*; UG 53. 57. 59; E. Suess, *Die Sintflut* (Prag, 1883) pp. 21. 24. 44—49. 54. 68; also the remarks at the end of my paper *The Dimensions of the Babylonian Ark* in AJP 9, 424. Praetorius' combination of *abûbu* with Arab. *habûb* (KAT<sup>2</sup>, 66, 19) may be correct (cf. Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 389). The catastrophe was caused chiefly by Enlil, and he was the god of storms; Ea, the god of the sea, saved Hasis-atra, but he could not prevent the cyclone. *Enlil* = *bêl šâri*, lord of the wind; it does not mean *lord of the plain*; contrast PSBA 33, 78: cf. *ibid.* p. 80, and below, end of n. 20.

(13) The chief deity of Suripak seems to have been *Sukurru*: cf. MDOG, No. 16, p. 14. n. \*; Thureau-Dangin, *Les inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad* (Paris, 1905) p. 215. No. III; German edition (Leipzig, 1907) p. 151, below. This deity may have been the consort of Enlil; cf. BA 5, 537. l. 18, and p. 554, below; UG 79, below; RBA, German edition, p. 55. It is possible that Enlil was induced by his consort



to send the cyclone (*cf.* ll. 120—122 of the Flood tablet, UG 56) just as Anu was instigated by Istar to send the celestial bull (UG 33, l. 94). It is noteworthy that we find in ll. 118. 163 *dingir max* (not *maġ!* *cf.* below, n. 39) the mighty deity = *bēlit ilāni*, the lady of the gods. The name *Istar* (JAOS 28, 116) in l. 117 is a later adaptation. *Cf.* RBA, German edition, p. 82.

(14) See GK, § 143, b; WdG 2, 256; Driver, *Heb. Tenses* (1892) § 197.

(15) *Qirbūšu* is accusative, and *libbašunu* is nominative; *cf.* *iplax libbašunu*, their heart feared; *ikpud libbašunu*, their heart planned; *kabittaki lipšax*, may thy mind be appeased; see HW 526<sup>a</sup>. 346<sup>a</sup>. 317<sup>a</sup>; AG<sup>2</sup>, pp. 188. 227.

(16) *Tuquntu* = *tuqumtu*; *cf.* Heb. *mitqômém*. For secondary stems with prefixed *t* see ZDMG 63, 518, l. 37; *cf.* below, n. 33.

(17) The second hemistich was, it may be supposed, *minā kabtassa iššī'ânî*.

(18) In the phrase *Marduk ušadkâ-nî libba*, Marduk stirred up my heart (HW 216<sup>b</sup>) the suffix *-nî* is dative (German. *Marduk regte mir an das Herz*). *Cf.* GK, § 117. x; WdG 2, 192, A. Gunkel, *Genesis* (1910) reads *uaj-îâdeq* instead of *uaj-îâreq* in Gen. 14, 14, and combines this with the Assy. *deqû* (*cf.* GB 746<sup>a</sup>). But Winckler's reading *deqû* (with *q*) is as unwarranted as his reading *nîšiq*, bite, instead of *nîšik* (see his edition of the Code of Hammurapi cited above, n. 8). If the Assyrian stem had a *q* instead of *k*. it might be identical with Arab. *dâ'â*, *îad'û*; *cf.* *ârqâ* (Jer. 10, 11) for *âr'â*, earth; Assy. *raggu*, evil = Heb. *ra'*; see WZKM 23, 361, n. 4. The synonym of *raggu*, evil, *çenu* means originally *foolish*; *cf.* Heb. *nēbalâh*, folly, depravity, and *çenu*, sheep = Heb. *çôn* (ZDMG 65, 107, l. 9). For Arab. *dâ'ua*" claim, lawsuit, *cf.* Assy. *rugummû* (HW 612; AJSL 26, 7).

(19) *Cf.* MDOG, No. 7, p. 2 and p. 3 of Meissner's paper cited above, n. 4.

(20) *Cf.* Ex. 25, 2; 35, 21. 26. 29: 36. 2. In 2 K 14, 11, on the other hand, we must read *uē-hiššî'ākā libbēka* (*cf.* Ob. 3). Stade was inclined to read *uē-issā'ākā*. This *hiššî*, to lead astray, must be derived from the stem of *šau*, vanity, falsehood (*tertiae Aleph*). To the same stem belong Heb. *šā'ôn* (*cf.* JBL 26, 19. 44) and the Assy. synonym of *mezû*, gale: *šû* (NE 140,

n. 11; BA 1, 134). *Ittarik šū* means: the storm abated (*abate* means originally *to beat down*). Another word for *gale* is *kūku* (in ll. 46. 88) = Syr. *kaḫkīta*, whirlwind, tempest. Jensen (KB 6, 233. 235. 485) and Ungnad (UG 55) adhere to the translation *darkness*, which I suggested more than 22 years ago, but which I declared to be extremely doubtful (JHUC, No. 69, p. 18). I showed BA 1, 130 (printed in 1888) that we should restore at the beginning of l. 46: *ša ādānu šamaš išākanu-ma*, when the *suu* (not the Sun-god!) indicates the appointed time. The Sun-god did not reveal anything to Hasis-atra; contrast Zimmern. *Beiträge zur babyl Religion* (Leipzig. 1901) p. 88, n. 2; UG 195, n. 6. also pp. 200. 209. 213. *Mu'ir kūki ina līlāti ušaznankunuši šamūtu kibāti* means: The Ruler of the Whirlwind will cause to rain upon you in the evening a downpour of destruction. *Kibāti* is the plural of *kibtu*, a fem. of *kēbu*, *kību* = Syr. *kēbā*, pain, grief: cf. Heb. *hik'ib* in 2 K 3. 19. If *kibtu* were a derivative of the stem *kabātu*, to be heavy (HW 317<sup>a</sup>) the fem. plural would be *kibtāti*, not *kibāti*. Jensen translates: *Schmutz-Regen*; Ungnad: *furchtbarer (?) Regen*. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, in thesis ix of his inaugural dissertation, derived *kibāti* from *qāpu*, to fall into decay, go to ruin (HW 583<sup>a</sup>). For *mu'ir* = *munā'ir* see JBL 19. 58. The *mu'ir kūki* is Enlil; cf. above, n. 12. For the correct translation of ll. 43—45, which Jensen (KB 6. 233) and Ungnad (UG 54) have misunderstood, see Haupt, *Die akkadische Sprache* (Berlin, 1883) p. xli; JHUC, No. 69, p. 18. These lines do not contain an *infamous lie*, as Jensen (*Kosmol.* 405) says. At the beginning of l. 33 we may read *ezēb āli*. For *izirānī* in l. 39 Jensen may compare GK. § 106. g.

(21) If Ungnad and Gressmann had considered this passage, they would not have rendered (UG 27. 109): *Schön ist ihr Schatten, ist voller Jubel*. I referred for *malī rīšāti* to Lat. *lucus laetissimus umbrae* &c. Nor does Ungnad (UG 8) seem to know my explanation of NE 8, 36. 37, given in BA 5, 471 (Friedrich's remarks in BA 5, 468—477 should have been cited in UG 1) and the interpretation of the description of the garden of the gods (UG 43, 164—167; cf. p. 163) which I gave in *Proverbs* 60, 30—40. For Gressmann's *Brunnenschwengel* (UG 103) see AJSL 23, 234.

(22) UG 60, 224—229; 62, 262 (cf. p. 141) practically repeats Jensen's meaningless translations.

(23) Cf. *lā banîtu*, impurity (HW 180<sup>a</sup>) or *lā ullâti* (Zimmern, *Šurpu*, p. 53, below) and Heb. *lô-kén* &c.

(24) Gressmann's idea (UG 123, n. 5) that this text belongs to the myth of Irra and Išum (TB 71) is at variance with the line (NE 51, 17) *Ištar ana nakrišu ul išākan qaqqadsa*, Istar cannot resist its (the city's) enemy. Istar did not send an enemy against the city of Erech, but Erech was besieged by enemies for three years, and Istar could not make head (Heb. *natân rôš*; cf. GB 524<sup>a</sup>, l) against them.

(25) The same reading was adopted by A. Jeremias in *Das AT im Lichte des Alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 228.

(26) Cf. KB 6, 216, 28; UG 46, 78. The end of this line may be read *iqútap ligna*, he plucks a thistly plant; cf. JAOS 22, 11, l. 4; KB 6, 250, l. 284; UG 62, 284. In Syriac, *lāgnâ* denotes an artichoke. Pliny (19, 152; 20, 262) calls the artichoke *carduus* (Greek σκόλυμος). *Carduus benedictus*, the blessed thistle, was held in high esteem as a remedy for all manner of diseases. In Arabic, *laġm* denotes leaves (of thorny gum-acacias, Arab. *ṭalh*) used as food for camels; see G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben* (Berlin, 1897) pp. 13. 240. For the Assyrian stem *lagânu* see HW 373<sup>a</sup>; also Zimmern's *Beitr. zur bab. Rel.* 176, 18. In S<sup>c</sup> 2 (AL<sup>3</sup>, 77) *ligittu* (for *ligintu*) appears as a synonym of *nîbittu* (cf. NE 147, 295). *Nîbittu* stands for *ma'battu*, and means *interlacement, intertwinement, interwoven foliage*; cf. Heb. 'עץ 'abôt, leafy tree; Syr. 'âbê 'abbîê, dense woods.

(27) At the beginning of this line we may read: *Lû damqata*, be good; cf. NE 42, 7—9 (UG 30). The preceding line (NE 12, 33) shows that there is space enough for *lu-u dam-* before *-qa-ta* in l. 34. The meaning of the line is: *Be good, love me; then thou wilt be like a god.*

(28) Cf. my remarks in JHUC, No. 163, p. 50, n. 9; JAOS 25, 71, n. 1; also RBA 476.

(29) See AJSL 15, 193—214; cf. especially p. 202, n. 33, and p. 209, n. 54; also ZAT 23, 174; Skinner's *Genesis*, p. 91; UG 99. Contrast KAT<sup>3</sup>, 528, n. 3; Gunkel's *Genesis* (1910) p. 38. For Eve (Heb. *Ḥawwâh*) = serpent (Aram. *ḥiwiâ*) see AJSL 23, 228; cf. ZDMG 42, 487, cited in EB 61.

(30) See JBL 21, 66; ZDMG 63, 519, l. 22. Cf. Gunkel, *Genesis* (1910) p. 31, conclusion of *b*.

(31) Cf. the first line of the seventh tablet of the Nimrod

epic (NE 50, 212; KB 6, 179; UG 36) and Syr. *itmallāk* (Heb. *uāi-īmmalēk* Neh. 5, 7).

(32) Assy. *kapādu* has no connection with Arab. *qáfada*; contrast Muss-Arnolt's dictionary, p. 421<sup>b</sup>; BA 1, 167, n. \*.

(33) Read *tašib* (not *tame*!) For secondary stems with prefixed *t* cf. above, n. 16.

(34) *Qiqqišu*, at the end of l. 20 is an archaic plural in *-û*; cf. SFG 23, 5; AG<sup>2</sup>, p. 192, 5. It could, of course, stand also for the gen. sing. (cf. *e. g.* NE 142, n. 7).

(35) Cf. Amos 6, 11: For lo! JHVH commands, and the great house is dashed to pieces, and the small house to splinters, which is a misplaced gloss to vv. 14. 15:

On the day when I punish her    ivory houses go to ruin;  
I 'll destroy the winter house    along with the summer house.

(36) There may have been minor preliminary seismic floods; see Sness' work (cited above, n. 12) p. 68.

(37) Cf. *Proverbs* (SBOT) 53, 34, and my paper on *immeru*, lamb = *hammar*, *hammal* in ZDMG 65, 107.

(38) Cf. SAI 692 s. v. *kikkišu*.

(39) For the final *k* in *sik* see ZDMG 64, 705, n. 1; cf. above, n. 13.

(40) Cf. Is. 1, 8 and the cut on p. 162 of the translation of *Isaiah* in SBOT.

(41) Cf. the conclusion of n. 20 (thesis ix of Lehmann).

(42) See MDOG, No. 22, p. 70; cf. also No. 25, p. 74; contrast No. 31, pp. 8. 39. 44; No. 32, pp. 23. 25; No. 43, p. 19.

(43) On p. 8 of the paper cited above, n. 4; cf. *ibid.* p. 12, l. 12.

(44) See KB 6, 483; cf. UG 192.

(45) See Dnval (cf. above, n. 10) § 356, c; § 368, a; Nöldeke's Syr. grammar, § 202, C.

(46) See H. Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (Leyden, 1898) p. 444.

(47) See also *Kings* 262, n. \*\*.

(48) JAOS 22, 10, n. 6; cf. ZDMG 63, 516, l. 42.

(49) Contrast UG 194, l. 7.

(50) See p. 9 of the paper cited above, n. 4.

(51) Contrast Schneider's explanation cited in UG 138, n. 3. As to the force necessary to pull out poles 120 feet long, after they have been imbedded in quagmire, I was informed by an engineer, who has had much experience in driving and subsequently pulling piles used for piers and wharves,

that a wooden pole, 120 feet long, having a diameter at the butt of 25 inches and at the point of 4 inches, would weigh, approximately, 5400 pounds. While such a pole can be readily driven, it requires a force equal to 25 horse-power to withdraw it when it is imbedded in mud and clay to a depth of 50 feet. Using a 25 horse-power engine to pull these poles, it is necessary to employ what is known as a triple rig or pulley. Of course, if such a rig were not used, the direct force necessary to pull the piles in question would be much greater, probably about 50 horse-power. I am indebted for information to Professor Gellert Alleman, of Swarthmore College.—The ancient cuneiform poet believed, of course, that paddles and oars were unknown in the times of Nimrod. *Cf.* EB 4478, l. 20.

(53) Not *šūt*! Contrast UG 137. n. 2; *cf.* also pp. 184. 207.

(54) UG 195 still thinks that Hasis-atra gave the people of Suripak daily banquets while he was building his ship!

(55) Contrast UG 55, below.

(56) *Cf.* above, note 22.

(57) According to Jensen (KB 6, 488, below) these plugs were intended for holes in the bottom through which the ship was supplied with water! A. Jeremias, following Winckler, gives the meaningless translation: I poured water over the *šikkat* in its interior. *Cf.* above, n. 25.

(58) *Cf.* JAOS; 13, ccxliii, n. 14; 25, 71; 31, 37; BA 1, 124.

(59) *Op. cit.* *Cf.* above. p. 4.

(60) Literally *height*. It cannot be *length*.

*The five Assyrian stems la'u.*—By PAUL HAUPT, Professor  
in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

I.—In my paper on Leah and Rachel (ZAT 29, 281)<sup>1</sup> I showed that Leah meant *cow*, Assy. *lêtu*, feminine of *lû*, bull. *Lû* is a contraction of *lê'u*, and corresponds to the Arabic *lâ'a'* (for *lâ'aïu'*) wild bull. *Lê'u* (for *lêïu*, *la'ïu*, *lâ'ïïu*) means originally, like Heb. *abbîr*, strong (cf. OLZ 12, 214, n. 18; UG 130). Arab. *la'a'* means also *misfortune*, lit. *strength, hardship* (cf. Arab. *siddatu'*). This explains the meaning of Assy. *lâ'u* (for *lâïu*, *lâ'aïu*) wretched (not *lâ'û*, HW 366<sup>b</sup>) which means originally *hard up*. There is no connection between *lâ'u*, wretched, and the negative *lâ*, not (contrast AJSL 22, 261, n. 17). In Hebrew, we have the stem *la'âh*, to trouble oneself, lit. *to try hard*. Assy. *lû*, bull (Arab. *lû'a'*) appears in the story of Hagar (Gen. 16, 14) as *rôî* (for *lôî*, *lâî*, *la'î*, *lâ'îî*). See my explanation of this passage in ZAT 29, 284; contrast Gunkel's *Genesis* (1910) p. 189; and Skinner's commentary (1910) p. 288.

The name *Bênê Le'âh* meant originally *cowboys*, and *Bênê Rahêl* denoted the southern *sheepmen*. Westerners say, cattle and sheep do not mix.<sup>2</sup> There has always been more or less trouble between cowboys and sheepmen. Their interests can never be mutual, since cattle and sheep cannot thrive on the same range. The sheep absolutely spoil the pasturage for the cattle by cropping the grass so close that no sustenance is left to the bigger animal, and, besides that, they are supposed to leave a taint that is highly offensive to the bovines. The close nibbling of the herbage is not the only damage done by the sheep. They travel in dense formation, and their sharp hoofs cut the sod and pack it down so hard that it takes the range a long time to recuperate.

<sup>1</sup> For the abbreviations see above, p. 10, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from an article in the *Baltimore American*, Nov. 15, 1909.  
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The Assyrian stem *lâ'u*, to be strong, means also to *have power, to be able* (HW 365<sup>b</sup>). *Ilê'i*, he can, stands for *ilâ'ai*.

II.—On the other hand, *ilê'i*, he likes (HW 364<sup>b</sup>, below) stands for *ilâhai*, and must be connected with Arab. *lâhiya*, *jalhâ*, to like (syn. *aḥâbba*). Ethiopic *alhâia*, to cheer up, to comfort (Arab. *âlhâ* or *lâhhâ*) means originally to *make pleased, satisfied, reconciled*; cf. Arab. *lâhiya 'an* (contrast ZAT 29, 282, l. 10). Delitzsch (HW 365<sup>a</sup>) correctly derives *lê'u*, sensible, intelligent, wise, from this stem, pointing to Assy. *ṭēmu* (for *ṭa'mu*) which means *will, mind, sense, intellect, intelligence, information, news*.<sup>1</sup> Similarly *milku* (HW 413<sup>b</sup>) means *counsel, decision, deliberation, understanding, insight*. Our *mind*, which corresponds to the Latin *mens*, means not only *intellect*, but also *desire, intent, purpose, will*. To have a *mind* means to be inclined, to intend, to like.

Assyr. *ṭēmu*, intelligence, message, appears in Aramaic as *ṭibbâ*. This is often used in the Talmud in the sense of Heb. *mišpâṭ*, the right way of doing a thing, the proper manner, German *Art*. Heb. *mišpâṭ* may mean also *skill, knack*, just as *Art* is identical with our *art* (cf. AJSL 27, 20, n. 24). German *artig* means *mannerly, well-mannered, well-bred*. In Middle High German, *Art* denoted *family, extraction*. In Wagner's *Lohengrin* Lohengrin says to Elsa: *Nie sollst du mich befragen, noch Wissens Sorge tragen, woher ich kam der Fahrt, noch wie mein Nam' und Art*.

In the Syriac Bible, *mâ ṭibbē(i)* appears in Ruth 3, 9 as the equivalent of Heb. *mî att*, and in the shorter recension of *Judith*,<sup>2</sup> published by Gaster in PSBA 16, 162, Seleucus says to Judith: *Mâh ṭibēk*. Gaster translates: *What is it that thou wishest?* but it means: *How art thou?* Heb. *mî att* in Ruth 3, 9 has the same meaning; the rendering *Who art thou?* is incorrect (see BA 1, 17, l. 1; AJSL 24, 127). The literal meaning of *mâh ṭibēk* is *What is thy report*, i. e. *the report concerning thee, what is the news of thee?* The suffix must be explained according to GK § 128, h; § 135, m.

The traditional Jewish pronunciation is *ṭibâ*, for *ṭēbâ*, not

<sup>1</sup> HW 297; cf. *Ezra and Nehemiah* (SBOT) p. 34, l. 49. Syr. *ṭibbâ* (originally *ṭēbâ*) means *message, news, tidings, rumor, fame, report*.

<sup>2</sup> For the Book of Judith, which is a Palestinian Pharisaic Purim legend, see Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 7, ll. 33–39.

*ṭibbā*. Also the Aleph in Syriac ܬܒܬܐ (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 35) points to an original pronunciation *ṭēbā*. The Aleph in this case must be explained in the same way as in *kēmēnā*, *nēṣṣā*, *mēlē'ā*, discussed in BA 1, 7. 166; BL 123, n. †. The Syriac Pael *ṭabbīb* (cf. *ṭēbbība*, renowned, *ṭēbbībūtā*, renown) is denominative, derived from *ṭibbā* = *ṭibā*, *ṭēbā* = Assy. *ṭēmu* = *ṭa'mu*. For the interchange of *m* and *b* see *Ezra and Nehemiah* (SBOT) 67, 33. There is certainly no connection with Arab. ظَبْ zā'b, *zāb*, clamor, noise, injustice, violence, although Fleischer raised no objections to this etymology in Levy's Talmudic dictionary (2, 153. 210). In his Targumic dictionary (1, 292) Levy reads *ṭibbā*, but in his Talmudic lexicon (2, 153) he has *ṭēbā*. Dalman's *Wörterbuch* (p. 156) gives Heb. *ṭēb* (with suffixes *ṭibbō*, like *libbō*, his heart) and Aram. *ṭibbā*, Art, Wesen, Ruf; but on p. 159 he gives Heb. *ṭēb*, Art und Weise. This would seem to be the original pronunciation. The form *ṭibbā* instead of *ṭibā* = *ṭēbā* = Assy. *ṭēmu* (for *ṭa'mu*) may be influenced, not only by *τύπος* (which is used also in the sense of *characteristic assemblage of particulars or qualities*, character, quality) but also by *dibbāh*: in Gen. 37, 2 some Targumic MSS read *dibbēhōn* instead of *ṭibb'hōn*. *Ṭibbā*, or rather *ṭēbā*, is the Assyrian *ṭēmu* (for *ṭa'mu*) which was afterwards pronounced *ṭēmu*, *ṭūmu*, and *dibbāh* is connected with Assy. *dubābu* which belongs to the same root (AJSL 23, 252) as Heb. *dibbār*, to speak.<sup>1</sup>

Assyr. *lē'u* (not *le'ū*) wise, stands for *lēju*, *lāju*, *lahju*, *lāhju*.

III.—Assyr. *lī'u* (not *li'ū*, HW 366<sup>b</sup>) tablet, stands for *līju*, which corresponds to Heb. *lūh*, just as we have in Arabic, *rīh*, wind, and *rūh*, spirit, whereas in Hebrew, *rūh* is used for both *wind* and *spirit*; cf. *Kings* (SBOT) p. 96, l. 25.<sup>2</sup>

IV.—Assyr. *lū'ū* (*lu'ū*, HW 366<sup>a</sup>) soiled, defiled, disgraced, may stand for *luhhuju*, and may be connected with Arab. *lāhā*, *īālāhā*, which means not only *to blame* and *to curse*, but also *to disgrace*, *vilify*, *insult*, (syn. *qābaḥa*). Assy. *lū'ū* could be connected also with Arab. *lāu'atu*, which is said to mean

<sup>1</sup> Both Heb. *dob*, bear, and *dēborāh*, bee, mean originally *Brummer* (growler, hummer). Cf. Heb. *hamāh* and *haḡāh*, also the remarks in my paper on the trumpets of Jericho, WZKM 23, 360—362.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase *lē-rūh hai-jōm* (Gen. 3, 8) means according to Gunkel, *Genesis* (1910) *at daybreak*; see BL 74; contrast AJSL 22, 203; 24, 136.



shame, disgrace, or Ethiopic *lauuâu*, perverse, depraved; but this is less probable.

V.—Assyr. *la'û*, a kind of wine (HW 366<sup>b</sup>) may be compared with Syr. *lâ'*, *nělû'*, to lick, to lap. Also the word *lû*, discussed in HW 374<sup>a</sup>, iii, may be connected with this stem. This Assyr. *la'û* may mean *to sip*, *to swallow*, and may stand for *la'âu*, just as we have *urû* (cf. Heb. 'ûrûâh, Arab. 'urîatu") and *ûru* (Arab. 'âuratu") sbame; cf. ZDMG 65, 108, l. 14.

VI.—For the etymology of Heb. *leuî*, Levite, see OLZ 12, 163; ZDMG 63, 522, l. 9; ZAT 29, 286.

*Babylonian Legends, BM Tablets 87535, 93828 and 87521, CT XV, Plates 1—6.* — By Rev. FREDERICK A. VANDERBURGH, Ph. D., Columbia University, New York City.

Part XV of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* contains twenty-four plates of "Early Sumerian Religious Texts." It also contains, at the beginning, six plates, entitled "Old Babylonian Legends." The religious texts are purely Sumerian, but the so-called legends are Assyrian. There are really three tablets of the legends, which, according to the publication, seem to be considerably broken. Yet cols. i and viii of the first tablet, cols. i and ii of the second tablet and cols. ii and vii of the third tablet furnish six interesting texts which may properly be called poems, a translation of which is given in the following pages.

I take great pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to Professor John Dyneley Prince of Columbia University for much valuable help in the translation of these difficult Old Babylonian unilingual poetic texts.

## I.

### Plate 1, Tablet 87535, Obverse, Col. i.

This poem relates to the goddess Mama. Its language reminds us of the phrase in Psalm xix, 11: מתוקים מדבש ונפת "sweeter than honey and the honey-comb." The poet dwells on the pleasure of singing the song of the goddess Mama and the character of her maternal relations.

*za-ma-ar* <sup>1st</sup> *bi-li-it ili a-za-ma-ar*

The song of Belit ili I sing.

*ib-ru us-si-ra ku-ra-du ši-me-a*

O friend regard, O warrior listen!

<sup>11</sup>*at* *ma-ma za-ma-ra-ša-ma e-li*

The goddess Mama, her song more

*di-iš-pi-i-im u ka-ra-nim ta-bu*

than honey and wine is sweet;

5 *ta-bu-u e-li di-iš-pi u ka-ra-ni-i-im*

sweeter than honey and wine;

*ta-bu-u e-li ha-na-na-bi-i-ma ha-aš-ḥu-ri-i-im*

sweeter than sprouts and herbs;

*e-lu-u lu ḥi-me-e-tim za-ku-u-tim*

superior indeed to pure cream;

*ta-a-lu e-lu ha-na-na-bi-im-ma ha-aš-ḥu-ri-i*

sweeter than sprouts and herbs.

<sup>11</sup>*at* *ma-ma iš-ti-na-am u-li-id-ma*

The goddess Mama, one she hath brought forth,

10 *a-ap-pa-a-am na-ši-u pi-ri šar-ra-am*

who in the vanguard beareth the ivory of the king.

<sup>11</sup>*at* *ma-ma ši-e-na u-li-id-ma*

The goddess Mama, two she hath brought forth,

*ši-e-na-ma ša <sup>11</sup>ša-ri-bi il ekalli-šu*

two by the god Zaribu, the god of that temple.

<sup>11</sup>*at* *ma-ma ša-la-ti u-li-id-ma*

The goddess Mama, three she hath brought forth.

— — — — —  
— — — — —

1. *bi-li-it ili* (or *belit ilāni*): NI.NI is a common compound ideogram for *ili* "gods" (Br. 5356), probably derived from reading NI.NI phonetically as *i-li* (Br. 5307 & 5309). That *bi-li-it ili* is an epithet is shown by the fact that several goddesses bear the title. The consort of Ea, Damkina, for example, was called *Belit ilāni*: *e-a mu-uš-ti-šir naḫ-bi-šu bi-lit ilāni mu-rap-pi-šat-ta lit-ti-šu*. Cylinder of Sargon, line 70.

2. *ib-ri* (חבר): root literally = "surround, protect." *uṣ-ši-ra* (prob. עצר), II. 1. 2d. m. s. impv.

3. <sup>11</sup>*at* *ma-ma*, the name of a very ancient divinity, as is evinced by its appearance in personal names of early Babylonian times. It may be found in the name of a man who was an official (*damḫar*) apparently before the days of Uru-

kagina: (<sup>dingir</sup> n) in-din-dug-ga ur-ma-ma (d)am-ḫar (<sup>il</sup> e)n-(lil) (a-mu-na-šub). Pl. 43. No. 95. Old Babylonian Inscriptions, Part II. There was also a Patesi, before the days of the dynasty of Ur, bearing this name: *mu ur-ma-ma pa-te-si*; Thureau-Dangin, *Récherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme*, No. 184. In later Babylonian times, beginning even with the period of Hammurabi this goddess seems to appear as Gula, which is evidently a form of Mama (*m = g*, &c.). Here her personality has developed into that of the consort of Ninib: *nin-ib šar šamê u iršitim u gu-la kal-lat ê-šar-ra*; Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I, Col. ii, line 39. In union with Ninib she performs the function of life-giving: *nin tin dib-ba* (V R. 52. Col. iv. 7). She is called the great physician: <sup>il</sup>at *gu-la-a asîtu gal-la-tu* (III R. 41. c. 11).

6. *ḫa-na-na-bi-i-ma* (really *ḫanabu*) exhibits a curious reduplication of the syllable *na*. It seems proper here to raise the question as to whether wine and herbs had any relation in thought to her art of healing. We know that these products were used to some extent in incantations: *šikari sa-kil-bir u šamni ištēniš tuballal šipti III-šu tamanni i-na šin-ni-šu tašakkan*, "wine of *sa-kil-bir* and oil together thou shalt pour; the incantation thrice thou shalt repeat; on his tooth thou shalt put it" ("Legend of the Worm," lines 25 & 26, see Thompson's Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia). *ar-su-up-pu še-gu-šu in-nin-nu ša i-na ši-ir'-i-ša im-ša kaš-da-at pur-šum-tu ina ḫatā-ša ellāti li-te-en-ma ištēniš bu-lul-ma ina kaḫ-ka-di-šu šu-kun* "the *ar-su-up-pu*, *še-gu-šu* and *in-nin-nu* which in its height its day has reached, let an old woman with her clean hands grind it, mix it together, on his head place it" (Headache Series, Tablet IX, lines 125—130; see Thompson). (*diš-pu*) *hi-me-tu eli-šu šu-ru-up-ma* "honey and butter upon it burn" (Fever Incantation, Plate 58, line 59; see Thompson).

9. *u-li-id-ma*, I. 1. pret. This act of giving birth attributed to the goddess here may be the second birth over which she presided apparently even in earliest times as this song with this interpretation attests.

12. *ša-ri-bi* "fiery one." Nergal the war god sometimes is called *šarbu*.

## II.

## \*Plate 2, Tablet 87535, Reverse, Col. viii.

This plate being a part of the reverse of the same tablet as plate 1, must naturally present a phase of the same subject as that of the plate just read. While that one gave us a story of coming to life, this, however, contains a story of departing from life. The concrete factor here is that of the land of Sumer which seems to have been devastated by flood. Inhabitants were carried away to the lower world through the machinations of evil spirits. Some people remained in desolation.

— — — — —  
 — — — *ma i-ri* — — — — —

*an-nu-um ša-al-la-at šu-mi-ri* — — *e-li ša a-a i-li*

On account of sin the booty of Sumer (is carried away);

*šu-ba-ru-u-um lu-u ir-ši-id ka-ša-ši-im-ma*

Protection, let it be established because of diminution!

5 *ša-at-ti-ša-am-ma šu-mi-ru-um li-iḫ-ta-ša-aṣ-ši*

Yearly (they say), let Sumer be diminished!

*iš-um-ma da-mu-u-šu* <sup>nat</sup> *ištar u šu-u*

They seek its blood; Ištar and he

*ina pu-ḫu-ur ur-du-ni-i-im*

are among the assembly of those who go down (to trial).

<sup>nat</sup> *ištar i-ga-tu gi-ni-i-ša*

Ištar, come to an end hath her offering.

*u-li i-pa-ša-ḫa-am a-na-a-ma* <sup>li</sup> *li-el-li*

"My woes are appeased, I repulse the divine Lellu."

10 *i-ḫu-uz-ma-ḫar-ra-di-i-ša*

He seized her strong ones.

<sup>nār</sup> *diklat i-na ḫu-ut-la-ti ši-pa-ri iz-ki-e-ir*

The river Tigris with the slain of Sippar was raised;

*i-na ḫu-ut-la-ti ši-pa-ar-ri*

with the slain of Sippar

*ši-ga-ri pi-ri-im* <sup>nār</sup> *diklat iz-ki-ir*

a bar of ivory the Tigris ran high.

*i-lu i-zi-bu-ma a-li-šu-nu*

The god, he forsook their city,

15 *šu-ub-ti-šu-nu ma-ši-iš uš-bu*

in their dwellings forgotten they sat.

3. *an-nu-um*, apparently accusative. *šu-mi-ri*: perhaps the idea is that the Sumerians are already feeling the overpowering effect of Semitic intrusion in the Euphrates valley. Sumer of course means Babylonia.

4. *šu-ba-ru-u-um*, same root as *ib-ru*, plate 1, line 2. *ir-ši-id*.

I. 1. pret. *ka*(KA)-*ša*(ZA)-*ši*(ZI)-*im-ma*, probably pl.

6. *iš-um-ma* = *iše-u-ma* from *še'u. du-mu-u-šu*: the first sign seems to be *id* not *da*, no doubt a scribal error. <sup>iat</sup> *ištar u šu-u*: reference to Ištar and Tammuz in the lower world.

7. *ur-du-ni-i-im*, I. 1. pret. m. pl. from *arâdu*.

8. *i-ga-tu*, I. 1. pres. from *katû. gi-ni-i-ša*. Ištar's offering for Tammuz.

9. *u-li* from *alû* "lament." *i-pa-ša-ḫa-am* seems to be f. pl. *a-na-a-ma* (נא), I. 1. pres. 1st per. s.

<sup>u</sup> *li-el-li*, no doubt the same as the Sumerian *lil-la* (to which לילית must be related), mentioned in several lists of demons as *lilu*, who are opposed to the gods and to whose devices the ills of human life are attributed; see Incantation K 3586 (IV R. 16. 15—22) where *lilu* is listed with the evil *utukku* and fourteen other demons. In hymns, however, we find *lillu* (rather than *lilu*); see K 4980 (IV R. 27. 57), Hymn to Bêl: <sup>lu</sup> *lil-lum* (Sum. <sup>mu-lu</sup> *lil*), where the phrase <sup>lu</sup> *lil-lum* is attributively given to Bêl who was chief demon when the name *en-lil* lord of demons was first applied to him.

10. *i-ḫu-uz-ma*, I. 1. pret. 3d. per. m. s.; the subject is Lellu.

11. <sup>nar</sup> *diklat*: *id* or *i* (A.TUR) = *nâru. idigna* (BAR.TIG. KAR) = *diklat*; the derivation of the Semitic *diklat* from the Sumerian *idigna* is apparent, but some steps of contraction might elude us in tracing the derivation of *idigna* from the signs A.TUR.BAR.TIG.KAR (water-course-cutting-banks-powerfully). *ḫu-ut-la-ti*, a rare word but having a meaning similar to *kašasu. ši-pa-ri*, also *ši-pa-ar-ri* in the next line: the more common spelling is Sippar, modern Abu Habba, situated between the Tigris and the Euphrates, north of Babylon, seat of the cult of Šamaš. *iz-ḫi-e-ir*: I. 1. is unusual from this root.

15. *uš-bu* (ašâbu), contracted form of I. 1. pret.

## III.

## Plate 3, Tablet 93828, Obverse, Col. i.

Plate 3 gives us a prayer to a goddess for some king that he may have victory in conquest; the prayer is continued in plate 4, plates 3 and 4 forming successive columns in the obverse of the same tablet. In lines 1 to 7, the petitioner, whoever he may be, extols the virtues of the goddess and states his petition. Perhaps the petitioner is the king himself. Lines 8 to 14 seem to interrupt the prayer by giving us a picture of a council of war among the gods with whom the goddess is in communication, while the battle is already going on.

— — *ši-e-me ik-ri-bi lu na-i-id*

O hear my truly solemn prayer!

*al-ti ši-e-me ik-ri-bi lu na-i-id*

O my lady, hear my truly solemn prayer!

*šar ku-um-mi a-na<sup>u</sup> ramani*

O king of my habitation, on behalf of the divine Ramanu!

*ni-ši im-me-ir ni-ta šu-pi aš-ṭa-at*

My prayer is pure; in attack, O my glorious one, thou art supreme.

5 *i-ni-i-ma ma-ta-am la uš-ni-e-eš*

He repulseth the land, it resisteth him not.

*ti-bi-e mi-ši-i gi-bi-šu li-iš-me*

In attacks and conquests, to his word may he hearken!

*a-ma-ta ak-li-ni i-ra-az-zu*

The word our mighty ones obey.

*<sup>u</sup> bēl pa-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma i-pu<sup>2</sup>-ru*

Bēl opened his mouth and took account;

*ka-la i-li iz-za-ag-ga-ar*

all the gods he mentions.

10 *iš-ti-a-nim ša-du-u i-li ma-ḥu-ur*

The mountain is sought, the gods are present.

*ša-aš-ma-am il-gi-e-ma e su-lum-ma*

The battle he begun, no quarter (is allowed).

*bi-li-it i-li li-ib-bu-ku-nim*

O lady of the gods, let them turn back,

*li-ši-ri-bu-ni iš-ši a-na maḥ-ri-ia*

let them enter with me in my presence!

*bi-li-it i-li ib-bu-ku-ni-ma*

For the lady of the gods they turn back

15 <sup>uu</sup> *bēl ši-a-ši-im iz-za-ag-ga-ar-ši*

Bēl, unto her he calls.

— — — — —  
— — — — —

1. *ik-ri-bi*, from *karābu* with preformative *mi* or *ni* shortened to *i*. *lu* = adv. *na-i-id* = adj. from *na'idu*.

3. *šar*, probably the consort of the goddess. *ku-um-mi* (כום): the construct would be *kum*. <sup>ni</sup> *ramani*: the aid of the storm-god might be essential, as kings often invoked the wrath of the storm-god on their enemies.

4. *ni-ši*, from *našû* "lift up." *im-me-ir*, from *namâru*, I. 1. pregnant pret. *ni-ta*, f. noun, from same root as *a-na-a-ma*, plate 2, line 9. *aš-ṭa-at*, from *ašṭu* "high," perm. form.

5. *uš-ni-e-eš*, III. 1. with suf.

6. *ti-bi-e*, pl. *mi-ši-i*, from *mašû* "find, take possession of by force."

7. *ak-li-ni* "our mighty," probably from same root as *aklu* "food." *i-ra-az-zu*, from *rašû*.

8. *i-pu'-ri* (𐎶𐎶), word of rare occurrence.

10. *iš-ti-a-nim*, I. 3. *ma-ḥu-ur*: must be perm. for *maḥir*.

11. *il-gi-e-ma*, from *lakû*, I. 1. pret. *e* = "not," like 𐎶𐎶. *li-ib-bu-ku-nim*, I. 1. pret. 3d per. pl. with prec. *li*.

12. *bi-li-it ili* suggests that the goddess addressed in this tablet is most likely Mama the object of praise in tablet 87535. We can see how Gula, being the lady of the gods and the goddess who giveth life as well as being the consort of Ninib who was considered a god of battle, could be properly invoked by a king for military achievement.

#### IV.

#### Plate 4, Tablet 93828, Obverse, Col. ii.

Continuing the prayer of the preceding plate, in lines 1 to 6 of this plate, the petitioner appeals for divine aid on behalf



of the stricken in battle. Lines 7 to 13 touch upon the enhancement of the honor of divinity. Lines 14 to 19 renew the direct petition for the king's victory.

*im-hu-ur-šu-ma a-bu i-li — — — —*

He received him — — — —

*zi-ik-ri ta-ni-it-tim iz-za-ga-ar-šu*

My name of majesty he names to him.

*ašarid-a iḫ-ḫi-i-ka šu-ur-ša ma-a-i*

O my leader! Turn thee to the woe-stricken ones, O my mighty one!

*ša na-ap-ša-at ka-la ni-ši iṣ-ti-i-ka*

Thou from whom cometh the life of all people!

5 *im-ma-ti-ia ša-ḫu-ur-ra ta-am-ta at-bu-uk*

My petition in the enclosure of the sea I pour out.

*ku-ul-la-at ta-at-mi ga-ab-la-ka im-ru-ur-ma*

All that thou sayest is bitter in the midst of thee.

*uṣ-ta-at-li-im ku-um bi-li pa-ra-ak-ki*

It hath been given in the room of the lord of the shrine.

*e-bi-a-tim a-na bi-ti-i-ka eš-ši-id*

Adornments for thy house are gathered.

*im-ma-ti-ia li-ku-un šu-pa-at-ka*

It is my petition, may thy dwelling endure!

10 *ki u-mi ta-la-ka-am im mu-ut-ti*

When thou goest to the front,

*pa-aš-šu-ru lu-u li-ri-iš u-um-šu*

the festal table, may it be spread on that day!

*šar-ru um-šu ud-ab-bi-i-šu li-ib-la'-ka*

The king on that day will beautify it, may he honor thee!

*at-ta ši-me-e mi ik-ri-bi-i-šu*

Do thou hearken to his prayer!

*kan-kal-la-a-am šu-uz-ni-na-am ma-ti-šu*

With long life do thou adorn his land!

15 *ša-at-ti-i-ša-am-ma ši-im-ta-šu wa-tu-ur*

Annually do thou increase his fortune!

*ma-ta-tim šu-uk-ni-ša-am ši e-pi-iš-šu*

The lands do thou subjugate! it is his work,

*i-nu-ša ina ni-iš i-ši-ab-ba-šam-ma*

when in prayer he desireth it!

*iš-ti-i-šu a-li-ik tu-pu-un ma-ḫi-ir-šu*

From him do thou go, conquer his opponent!

*ši e-pu-uš-šu šu-uk-ni-ša-am ma-ta-am*

That is his work; do thou subjugate the land!

— — — — —  
— — — — —

2. *ta-ni-it-tim*, same root as *na-i-id*, plate 3, line 1.

3. *ih-ḫi-i-ka* (חכה), I. 1. impv. with suf. *-ka*. *ma-a-i*, adj. from *ma'u*.

5. *im-ma-ti-ia*, same as *amātu*, with suf. *ia*.

6. *ta-at-mi*, I. 1. pret. from *tamû*. *im-ru-ur-ma*. also pret. of I. 1.

8. *e-bi-a-tim* (בהב), "produce, gifts." *eš-ši-id*, probably for *e-ši-id*.

9. *ki u-mi* = "according to the day, when." *mu-ut-ti* "front;" probably *im-mu-ut-ti*.

11. *li-ri-iš*, from root represented by ערש.

16. *ši*, personal pronoun.

17. *i-nu-ša*, noun with suf. *ša*.

## V.

### Plate 5, Tablet 87521, Obverse, Col. ii.

This plate seems obscure except in the light of plate 6 which gives the sequel. In plate 5, Bêl is incensed at a goddess; that goddess is evidently Ištar who seems to be guilty of an offense which cannot be condoned in the family of the gods. According to plate 6, Ištar becomes of child by her brother Šamaš. The family relationships are as follows. Sin is the offspring of Bêl; Ningal is the consort of Sin; Ištar is the offspring of Sin; Šamaš is the offspring of Sin.

Lines 1 to 3, the anger of Bêl. Lines 4 to 8. the exalted position of Sin. Lines 9 to 11, interview of Sin with Ningal.

*i-na e-ir-ši id-di i-ni-lu*

On the couch he threw it, it lay.

*ûu bēl i-zi-ib ri-ḥi-iš-šu ik-ka-ar-ši*

Bēl hath abandoned her; his trust is estranged to her.

*iš-bu-la-am-ma wa-ta-ar-bi šal-ta-am*

He has become enflamed; he has begun the battle.

*ûu sin i-na bu-ku-ur ûu bēl ša-ni-ni la i-šu*

O Sin, as the first born of Bēl, no equal thou hast.

5 *a-wa-u-da-at i-ra-am ûu sin*

Thou hast firmly fixed it; Sin has had compassion;

*i-na ma-na ri-ši-ib-šu ki-na-at*

by means of tribute thou hast fixed his power.

*pa-ši ka-az-zu zi-u-zu la-a i-na mu-ti-iš-šu*

My reign his hand apporions; not with his property,

*e-li ba-e-ru-ti-im uš-ta-ab-ni-i-ma*

among the hunters it is formed.

*a-na <sup>ûat</sup> nin-gal iš-ta-ka-an u-zu-un-šu*

Unto the goddess Nergal he (Sin) giveth ear.

10 *ûu sin ik-ru-uš a-na kar-ri-iš ik-ra-ab*

Sin has brought her; at his summons she approacheth.

— — *ši-i-ma u-ul i-ša-al a-ba-ša*

She maketh no petition to her father.

— — — — —  
— — — — —

1. *i-ni-lu*, from *na'alu*.

3. *iš-bu-ba-am-ma*, from *šababu*. *wa-ta-ar-bi*, from *erêbu*. *šal-ta-am*, from *šalû* "shoot."

5. *a-wa-u-da-at*, root *emêdu*. *i-ra-am* from *râmu*.

6. *ri-ši-ib-šu* from *rašûbu*.

7. *pa-ši*, root *pâšu*. *ka-az-zu* "his hand" or "thy hand." *zi-u-zu*, root *zâzu*. *mu-ti-iš-šu*, root *išu*.

8. *ba-e-ru-ti-im*, from *bâru*.

9. <sup>ûat</sup> *nin-gal*: Ningal, "great lady," appears particularly in the time of Rim-Sin. The title "mistress of Ur" may be found several times.

## VI.

## Plate 6, Tablet 8752r, Reverse, Col. vii.

Lines 1 to 6, confession of Ištar. Lines 7 to 12, reprimand of Bêl.

— — — — —  
 — — — — —  
 — — a-at-ma a-ḥa aš-tu na-aš — — — — —  
 — — — — —

*iš-ta-ri-i-tim it-ta-na-al*

The goddess Ištar hath gone to rest;

*la ag-gi ir-bu-um ê-kur*

let not the turbulent enter the temple.

5 *a-na-ku a-ḥi te-ri-a-ku a-ḥi*

I, O my brother, am of child by my brother,

*ša a-na a-ḥi-ia wa-al-du*

I who to my brother have borne a child.

<sup>il</sup>*u bêl pa-a-su i-pu-ša-am-ma*

Bêl, his mouth he opened:

*iz-za-ag-ga-ar a-na la-pa-tim* <sup>ilat</sup> *ištar*

He mentions the fall of Ištar.

*a-a-ia-am a-ḥa-ki tu-ri-a-at*

Woe is me! by thy brother thou art with child,

10 *a-ha-ki ša a-na a-ḥi i-na a-ḥi-i-ki wa-al-du*

by thy brother thou who by thy brother hast borne a child.

<sup>il</sup>*u i-ša-am* <sup>ilat</sup> *nin-lil*

O divine Išum! Bêlit

*a-na* <sup>il</sup>*u šamaš u-li-id-ma*

unto the god Šamaš hath borne a child.

3. *it-ta-na-al*, see *i-ni-lu*, plate 5, line 1.

4. *ag-gi*, from *agāgu*. *ir-bu-um*, I. 1. impv. *erēbu*.

5. *te-ri-a-ku*, a perm. form from *erû*; in line 9 a noun from the same root.

8. *la-pa-tim*, root *lapātu*. <sup>ilat</sup> *ištar*, confirmation that *iš-ta-ri-i-tim* in line 3 is correctly rendered *ištar*.

1. <sup>īu</sup> *i-ša-am*: Išum was no doubt a local deity. The word Išum appears in proper names as early as the time of Hammurabi. In some inscriptions he appears as a sun-god brought into subjection to Šamaš. He also appears sometimes as a servant or guardian (*rabišu*), a position which he seems to occupy in this tablet.

<sup>īat</sup> *nin-lil*, title applied to Ištar in about the same way that the name Bêl is applied to Marduk.

*The Vedic Dual*<sup>1</sup>: *Part VI, The Elliptic Dual; Part VII, The Dual Dvandva*.—By Dr. SAMUEL GRANT OLIPHANT, Professor in Grove City College, Grove City, Penna.

THE purpose of this paper is to present various phenomena that are associated with the elliptic dual and the dual dvandva, to present for reference what is believed to be complete lists of these two species of the dual as found in the Rig and Atharva Vedas, and to propose solutions of the mooted problems of their genesis and relationship.

I.

The elliptic dual, or, as I should prefer to call it were not the term so firmly established in its literature, the sylleptic dual, is the dual of one substantive connoting both its own singular and another singular suggested by it. In its obvious kinship with such rhetorical tropes as metonymy, synecdoche, antonomasia, &c., and with such syntactical schemata as zeugma, ellipsis, syllepsis, &c., as well as in its possible relationship to the so-called σχῆμα Ἀλκμανικόν of Greek poetry (*Vid. Fraser, Classical Quarterly*, IV, 25 ff.), this dual is essentially artistic and poetic. This appears also from the fact that even the Vedic *pitārā* and *mātārā*, though occurring eighty-five times in the Rig Veda alone, are used figuratively at least seventy-two times. In nine of the remaining instances the words may be duals in comparison with a dual antecedent and not elliptic duals at all and in at least three of these instances this would seem unmistakably the preferable interpretation.

The ratio of one hundred and twenty-nine instances (including the doubtful cases) of this dual in the Rig Veda to only sixteen independent examples in the Atharva Veda, would show that it is also essentially hieratic as well as poetic.

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<sup>1</sup> See this Journal, XXX, 155 ff.  
Vol. XXXII. Part I.

These conclusions find additional corroboration in the infrequency of this dual even in the ancillary Vedic literature, in which except a mere<sup>1</sup> handful of analogical growth, only a<sup>2</sup> few stereotyped forms remain, reminiscent of the older hieratic and more artistic period, and also in its<sup>3</sup> non-occurrence in the later poetic recrudescence.

In their use of the elliptic dual the rishis show in various ways that they are quite conscious of the syllepsis. In ninety-nine of the hundred and forty-five instances in the two Vedas they seem to have taken especial pains that others should not misunderstand them by taking the words too literally. Their methods show considerable variety and artistic skill and seem important enough to warrant a rather full presentation. They may be subsumed under eight classes, described as follows:

I. The dual of the unexpressed member of the syllepsis follows closely in the context the dual of the expressed member.

Thus *mātārā* in<sup>4</sup> III, 7, 1<sup>b</sup>, referring to *dyāvāprthivī* as the parents of Agni is followed in the very next *pāda* by *pitārā* with the same meaning and reference. In this instance there is the additional reinforcement of *pitṛbhyām* in 6<sup>a</sup>. Similar are,

III, 5, 7<sup>d</sup>, *mātārā*, and 8<sup>d</sup>, *pitṛōr*,

I, 140, 3<sup>b</sup>, *mātārā*, and 7<sup>d</sup>, *pitṛōh*,

I, 159, 2<sup>c</sup>, *pitārā*, and 3<sup>c</sup>, *mātārā*,

IX, 75, 2<sup>c</sup>, *pitṛōh*, and 4<sup>b</sup>, *mātārā*.

Thus this phenomenon is associated with eleven of the duals.

II. There is in the neighboring context either specific mention or suggestion, or both, of the unexpressed member of the syllepsis.

(a) Mention. In VIII, 27, 2<sup>b</sup>—*uśāsā nāktam ōṣadhīh*, the *nāktam* implicit in *uśāsā* is expressed immediately after it.

I, 155, 3<sup>b</sup>, *mātārā* = *dyāvāprthivī*, 3<sup>c</sup> *pitūr* = *dyāus*,

I, 140, 3<sup>b</sup>, *mātārā*, 3<sup>d</sup> *pitūh*,

<sup>1</sup> The following have been noted in Pāṇini, Hemachandra and the *Amarakoṣa*: *āulūkhalāu*, *kukkuṭāu*, *ṛṣadāu*, *putrāu*, *brāhmanāu*, *bhrātārāu* and *çvaçurāu*. There are probably a few others of sporadic occurrence.

<sup>2</sup> See, *e. g.* under *adhvaryū*, *uśāsā* and *pitārā* in the appended list.

<sup>3</sup> Ahani alone of the Vedic elliptic duals is cited by PWB. for the *Mahābhārata*.

<sup>4</sup> All references are to the RV. unless the AV. be particularly specified.

I, 140, 7<sup>d</sup>, *pitrór*, 9<sup>a</sup>, *mātú*,

IV, 5, 10<sup>a</sup>, *pitrór*, 10<sup>c</sup>, *mātús*,

VIII, 25, 2<sup>a</sup>, *mitrá* (initial in *pāda*), 2<sup>b</sup> *váruṇo* (also initial in *pāda*).

(b) Suggestion.

I, 31, 2<sup>d</sup>, the epithet *dvimátá* referring to the *aráṇī* as parents of Agni, suggests the member implicit in the *pitrór* of 4<sup>c</sup>.

V, 3, 2<sup>a</sup> and X, 68, 2<sup>b</sup>,—the mention of *Aryamā* suggests marriage and the unexpressed member of *dāmpatī* in 2<sup>d</sup> and 2<sup>c</sup> respectively.

VIII, 52, 1<sup>b</sup>,—*kṣonī* is followed in the same *pāda* by *súr-yam*, suggestive, if not metonymic, of the connoted *dýāús*.

I, 146, 1<sup>b</sup>,—*pitrór* finds its connoted feminine amply suggested by *ene* in 2<sup>a</sup> and *dhenú* in 3<sup>b</sup>.

(c) Both mention and suggestion.

III, 1, 7<sup>d</sup>,—*mātārā* (= *dýāvāprthivī*) has its connoted masculine mentioned in *pitúḥ* in 9<sup>a</sup> and 10<sup>a</sup> and suggested by the *diváh* of 2<sup>c</sup>, 6<sup>b</sup> and 9<sup>c</sup> and both its members are explained by 3<sup>b</sup>—

*diváh subāndhur janúṣī prthivyáh*.

In addition to these twelve, three others are listed under class VIII.

III. The unexpressed member is sometimes represented by a heterogeneous adjective as an attributive of the expressed member. So *pūrvajā* with *pitārā* in VII, 53, 2<sup>a</sup> and *pūrvajā-varī*, also with *pitārā*, in X, 65, 8<sup>c</sup>. Conversely we have the masculines *ubhā*, *kṛṣṇaprūtāu* and *sakṣitāu* with *mātārā* in I, 140, 3<sup>b</sup>.

As *dýāvā* is the masculine element in *dýāvāprthivī*, so it would seem preferable to take it when it is the elliptic dual as still masculine and explain *māhine* in III, 6, 4<sup>b</sup>, and *ubhé* in IX, 70, 2<sup>b</sup> as heterogeneous adjectives representing the unexpressed member.

In X, 76, 1<sup>c</sup> *sacābhuvā* and *udbhidā*, heterogeneous attributives to *āhanī*, seem due to the thought of the dual *nāktā*. In I, 113, 2<sup>d</sup>, the adjectives *amṛte*, *anūci* and *āmināné* may be taken as neuters in a *constructio ad sensum* with *dýāvā* as equivalent to *ahorātré*.

IV. The implied member of the syllepsis is sometimes sug-



gested by a differentiating adjective, sometimes with a distinctly oxymoronic effect.

In I, 123, 7<sup>b</sup> and VI, 58, 1<sup>b</sup>, *viśurūpe* applied to *āhanī* differentiates between day and night. So *virūpe* as applied to *uśāsā* in III, 4, 6<sup>a</sup> and V, 1, 4<sup>c</sup> distinguishes between the connoting and connoted members. The phrase *vārṇam . . . āmināné*, attribute of *dyāvā* in I, 113, 2<sup>d</sup>, has a similar function.

In the Atharva Veda we find *nānārūpe* applied to *āhanī* in XIII, 2, 3<sup>b</sup>, *sāmyatoḥ* to *āhnos* in XVI, 8, 22<sup>c</sup> and *sām carataḥ* predicated of *uśāsā* in VIII, 9, 12<sup>c</sup>, all serving to mark a distinction between the expressed and unexpressed members of the syllepses.

V. The most frequent method is the use of distributive appositives or attributives.

(a) Distributive appositives.

I, 160, 3<sup>a</sup>, *pitróḥ*, 2<sup>b</sup>, *pitá mātá ca*.

X, 32, 3<sup>b</sup>, *pitror*, 3<sup>c</sup>, *jāyá pátim vahati*.

(?) I, 36, 17<sup>c</sup>, *mitrá*, 17<sup>c</sup>, *médhyatithim* + 17<sup>d</sup> *upastutám*.

X, 10, 5<sup>a</sup>, *dāmpatī* = *yamó yamí ca*.

X, 85, 32<sup>b</sup>, *dāmpatī* = *sómaḥ sūryā ca*.

X, 95, 12<sup>c</sup>, *dāmpatī* = *pururāva urváḥ ca*.

III, 33, 1<sup>c</sup>, *mātārā*, 1<sup>d</sup>, *vípāṭ chutudrí*.

III, 33, 3<sup>c</sup>, *mātārā*, 3<sup>a</sup>, *sindhūm mātātamām* + 3<sup>b</sup>, *vípācam*.

IV, 55, 3<sup>c</sup>, *āhanī*, 3<sup>d</sup>, *uśāsānāktā*.

III, 31, 17<sup>a</sup>, *kṛṣṇé*, 16<sup>d</sup>, *dyúbhir . . . aktúbhir*.

I, 142, 7<sup>c</sup>, *mātārā*, 7<sup>b</sup>, *náktosāsā*.

IV, 22, 4<sup>c</sup>, *mātārā*, 3<sup>d</sup>, *dyám . . . bhúma*.

4<sup>b</sup>, *dyāúr . . . kṣāḥ*.

V, 5, 6<sup>a</sup>, *mātārā*, 6<sup>c</sup>, *dośám uśásam*.

VII, 2, 5<sup>c</sup>, *mātārā*, 6<sup>b</sup>, *uśāsānāktā*.

VII, 7, 3<sup>c</sup>, *mātārā*, 5<sup>c</sup>, *dyāuḥ ca yám prthiví*.

X, 1, 7<sup>b</sup>, *mātārā*, 7<sup>a</sup>, *dyāvāprthiví*.

X, 35, 3<sup>b</sup>, *mātārā*, 3<sup>a</sup>, *dyāvā no adyá prthiví*.

X, 64, 14<sup>a</sup>, *mātārā*, 14<sup>a</sup>, *dyāvāprthiví*.

I, 31, 9<sup>a</sup>, *pitror*, 8<sup>d</sup>, *dyāvāprthiví*.

I, 110, 8<sup>d</sup>, *pitārā*, 6<sup>c</sup>, *pitúr* + 8<sup>c</sup>, *mātārām*.

I, 121, 5<sup>a</sup>, *pitārāu*, 11<sup>a</sup>, *dyāvākṣāmā*.

III, 3, 11<sup>c</sup>, *pitārā*, 11<sup>d</sup>, *dyāvāprthiví*.

X, 65, 8<sup>a</sup>, *pitārā*, 8<sup>c</sup>, *dyāvāprthiví*.

V, 65, 6<sup>a</sup>, *mitrá*, 1<sup>c</sup>, *vārūṇo*, 1<sup>d</sup>, *mitró*.

4<sup>a</sup>, *mitró*, 4<sup>c</sup>, *mitrásya*.

5<sup>a</sup>, mitrásya, 5<sup>d</sup>, várūṇa.

The AV. instances belonging here are:

XIV, 2, 9<sup>b</sup>, dāmpatī, 9<sup>c</sup>, vadhvāi.

7<sup>c</sup>, vadhū, 7<sup>d</sup>, pátye.

1<sup>c</sup>, pátibhyo, jáyām.

2<sup>a</sup>, pátnim, 2<sup>c</sup>, pátir.

XIV, 2, 64<sup>b</sup>, dāmpatī, 63<sup>a</sup>, nāri, 63<sup>c</sup>, pátir.

VI, 120, 3<sup>d</sup>, pitárāu, 1<sup>b</sup>, mātáram pitáram va.

2<sup>a</sup>, mātá, 2<sup>c</sup>, pitá.

XX, 34, 16<sup>a</sup>, pitárāu, 14<sup>a</sup>, dyāvā cid asmāi prthivī.

(b) Distributive attributives.

VI, 58, 1<sup>b</sup>, áhanī, 1<sup>a</sup>, çukráṁ ... anyád.

1<sup>a</sup>, yajatám ... anyád.

X, 120, 7<sup>c</sup>, mātārā (= dyāvāprthivī).

7<sup>a</sup>, ávaram, páram.

I, 146, 1<sup>b</sup>, pitrór (= dyāvāprthivī).

1<sup>c</sup>, cárato (dyāús), dhruvásya (prthivī)

(c) The distributive appositives are sometimes suggested rather than expressed.

VIII, 7, 22<sup>b</sup>, kṣonī, equivalent to dyāvāprthivī,

22<sup>b</sup>, apāḥ (prthivī), sūryam (dyāús).

VII, 65, 2<sup>d</sup>, dyāvā, 1<sup>a</sup>, sūra (dyāús), 2<sup>b</sup>, kṣitīḥ (prthivī).

VIII, 31, 5<sup>a</sup>, dāmpatī, 6, 7, 8, 9, *passim*, suggest the married pair.

X, 162, 4<sup>b</sup>, dāmpatī, all the poem suggests the pair, esp. the wife.

AV. V, 1, 4<sup>c</sup>, mātārā, 2<sup>c</sup>, dhāsyur yónim.

(d) Two of the foregoing may be united.

*a + b.* I, 113, 2<sup>d</sup>, dyāvā = daily and nightly heavens.

2<sup>a</sup>, rúcatī çvetyá, 2<sup>b</sup>, kṛṣṇá.

1<sup>d</sup>, rátri, 3<sup>d</sup>, náктоśāsā.

I, 122, 4<sup>d</sup>, mātārā = ahorātré.

2<sup>b</sup>, uṣāśānāktā.

2<sup>c</sup>, starīr (barren night).

2<sup>c</sup>, sudṛśī (fair morn).

*a + c.* X, 37, 2<sup>b</sup>, dyāvā, 2<sup>d</sup>, ápo, sūryaḥ.

6<sup>a</sup>, dyāvāprthivī.

I, 161, 10<sup>d</sup> and 12<sup>b</sup>, pitārā = dyāvāprthivī.

11<sup>a</sup>, udvátstv asmā akr̥ṇotanā tṛṇam.

11<sup>b</sup>, nivátstv apāḥ (akr̥ṇotanā).

11<sup>c</sup>, ágoḥyasya gr̥hé, 13<sup>b</sup>, ágoḥya.

12<sup>a</sup>, bhúvanā.

14<sup>a</sup>, divā . . . bhúmyā.

AV. XIV, 2, 37<sup>a</sup>, pitārāu, 37<sup>b</sup>, mātā pitā ca.

37<sup>c</sup>, marya iva yōṣām.

37<sup>d</sup>, prajāṁ kṛṇvāthām.

XII, 3, 7<sup>d</sup>

3, 14<sup>d</sup>

3, 27<sup>c</sup>

3, 35<sup>c</sup>

dāmpatī, 1<sup>a</sup>, púmāns, 1<sup>b</sup>, priyā,  
context of hymn *passim*.

VI. The appositive is sometimes a collective dual.

III, 2, 2<sup>b</sup>, mātṛór, 2<sup>a</sup>, ródasī.

III, 26, 9<sup>c</sup>, pitṛór, 9<sup>c</sup>, ródasī.

VII, 6, 6<sup>d</sup>, pitṛór, 6<sup>c</sup>, ródasyor.

IX, 68, 4<sup>a</sup>, mātārā, 3<sup>c</sup>, mahī apārē rájasī.

IX, 70, 6<sup>a</sup>, mātārā, 2<sup>b</sup>, ubhé dyāvā.

5<sup>b</sup>, ródasī.

IX, 75, 4<sup>b</sup>, mātārā, 4<sup>b</sup>, ródasī.

IX, 85, 12<sup>d</sup>, mātārā, 12<sup>d</sup>, ródasī.

X, 11, 6<sup>a</sup>, pitārā, 9<sup>c</sup>, ródasī deváputre.

X, 140, 2<sup>c</sup>, mātārā, 2<sup>d</sup>, ródasī.

VII. The appositive sometimes refers only to the expressed member, by name or suggestion.

(a) By name.

I, 28, 8<sup>c</sup>, vanaspatī, 6<sup>a</sup>, vanaspate.

7<sup>a</sup>, āyajā vājasátamā.

1<sup>c</sup>, 2<sup>c</sup>, 3<sup>c</sup>, 4<sup>c</sup>, 5<sup>b</sup>, ulúkhala.

X, 79, 4<sup>b</sup>, mātārā, 3<sup>a</sup>, mātúḥ.

X, 8, 3<sup>a</sup>, }

X, 8, 7<sup>c</sup>, }

pitṛór, 7<sup>b</sup>, pitúr párasya.

(b) By suggestion.

X, 39, 12<sup>a</sup>, áhanī, 12<sup>c</sup>, duhitā divāḥ (uṣás).

12<sup>d</sup>, vivásvataḥ (morning sun).

II, 16, 3<sup>a</sup>, kṣoṇibhyām, 3<sup>b</sup>, samudrāiḥ párvatāir.

X, 115, 1<sup>b</sup>, mātārāv, 1<sup>c</sup>, anūdḥā.

I, 124, 5<sup>d</sup>, pitṛór, 3<sup>a</sup>, divó duhitā.

X, 31, 10<sup>c</sup>, pitṛór, 10<sup>d</sup>, çamyām.

VIII. Two or more of the foregoing may unite into a complex.

I + II a.

I, 159, 2<sup>c</sup>, pitārā = 3<sup>d</sup>, mātārā.

2<sup>a</sup>, pitúr, 2<sup>b</sup>, mātúr.

1<sup>a</sup>, dyāvā yajnāiḥ pṛthivī.



10<sup>d</sup>, pitá mātá ca rakṣatam.

11<sup>b</sup>, pítar mátar.

3<sup>a</sup>, ródasī.

4<sup>b</sup>, ródasī deváputre.

X, 12, 4<sup>d</sup>, pitárā, 4<sup>b</sup>, dyāvābhūmī.

4<sup>b</sup>, ródasī.

X, 59, 8<sup>b</sup>, mātárā, 7<sup>a</sup>, prthivī, 7<sup>b</sup>, dyāúr.

8<sup>d</sup>, dyāúḥ prthivī.

8<sup>a</sup>, ródasī.

Vc + VI.

IX, 70, 2<sup>b</sup>, dyāvā, 3, double ref. to gods and men.

1<sup>b</sup>, purvyé vyòmana.

4<sup>b</sup>, madhyamāsu mātṛṣu.

5<sup>b</sup>, ródasī.

The AV. has the following:

IV + Va.

XIII, 2, 3<sup>b</sup>, áhanī, 3<sup>b</sup>, nánārūpe.

8<sup>d</sup>, cukró, 8<sup>d</sup>, támo.

5<sup>d</sup>, ahorātré.

XVI, 8, 22<sup>c</sup>, áhnos, 22<sup>c</sup>, sámýatoḥ.

21<sup>c</sup>, ahorātráyoḥ.

IV + VII.

VIII, 9, 12<sup>a</sup>, uśásā, sám caratah.

12<sup>c</sup>, sūryapatnī.

Of the elliptic duals not listed in the foregoing classes, the unexpressed members of thirty in the RV. and of three in the AV. are clearly suggested by the general context, as in those instances in which *mātárā* or *pitárā* is a term for the *aránī* as parents of Agni, or for *dyāvāprthivī* as the parents of the Ribhus, &c. Of the remaining thirteen, ten are used in similes with the Aṣvinā as the second member and one each in comparisons with *kṣonī*, *ródasī* and *indrāvárūnā*.

The irreversibility of the elliptic dual has been remarked by others. Only one member of each pair can, in general, be used. *Pitárā* and *mātárā* are the striking exception and are used in the RV. in the ratio of forty-nine to thirty-six, in the AV. of three to two. Another exception does not appear to have been noted. The compound is *dyāvākṣāmā*, but *kṣāmā* is an elliptic dual. Here *dyāvā* would suggest only the far

more frequent *pr̥thivī*. The same is true of *kṣṇī*, though the compound is not Vedic.

## § 2.

### Elliptic Duals.

The following alphabetic list of these duals is believed to be complete for both the Rig and the Atbarva Veda.

### RV.

*adhvaryū* (2) = *adhvaryú* + (*pratiprasthātī*).

I, 16, 5<sup>c</sup>, and to be supplied with *dvā* in VIII, 72, 7<sup>b</sup>.

Cited also for ÇB. 4, 3, 4, 22 and Kātj. ÇS. 5, 5, 24, 26.

*āhanī* (7) = *āhan* + (*rātrī*).

I, 123, 7<sup>b</sup>; 185, 1<sup>d</sup>; IV, 55, 3<sup>c</sup>; V, 82, 8<sup>a</sup>; VI, 58, 1<sup>b</sup>; X, 39, 12<sup>d</sup>; 76, 1<sup>c</sup>.

Cited also for MBh. I, 301.

*udumbalāū* (1), see under *çabālāu* infra.

X, 14, 12<sup>b</sup>.

*uṣāsā* (5) = *uṣās* + (*nākta*).

I, 188, 6<sup>c</sup>; III, 4, 6<sup>a</sup>; 14, 3<sup>a</sup>; V, 1, 4<sup>c</sup>; VIII, 27, 2<sup>b</sup> (cf. Bergaigne, *Rel. Ved.* 1. 248, n).

Cited also for VS. 21, 50; 29, 6.

*kṛṣṇé* (2) = *kṛṣṇā* + (*çvetā*, cf. VII, 90, 3<sup>d</sup>).

III, 31, 17<sup>a</sup>, *kṛṣṇé vāsudhitī* = *ahorātré* (Sāy.).

IV, 48, 3<sup>a</sup>, *kṛṣṇé vāsudhitī* = *dyāvapr̥thivī* (Sāy.).

(VS. 28, 15, explains *vāsudhitī* as *dyāvapr̥thivī*. As *kṛṣṇā* is not applicable to *āhar* or *dyāús*, we follow Bergaigne in *Rel. Ved.* 1, 250, in taking it as an elliptic dual,—“la noire et la brillante”).

*kṣāmā* (2) = (*dyāús*) + *kṣām*.

II, 39, 7<sup>b</sup>; X, 106, 10<sup>d</sup>.

(Both instances are in Açvin similes. In both the *Paḍa-pāṭha* reads *kṣāma-iva* and G.W.B. takes it as the sing. of *kṣāman*. Sāyaṇa writes *kṣāmā* each time, but paraphrases the former by *ródasī*, the latter by *kṣīṇā gāuh*. LRV and GRV interpret the word differently in the two passages. *kṣāmā* in X, 12, 1<sup>a</sup>, is unmistakably a dual from *kṣām*

*Dyāvā ha kṣāmā prathamé ṛtēna*.

In a comparison with the Açvinā the law of numerical concord holds with great strictness and almost of itself compels

us to take both instances as duals, elliptic duals equivalent to *ródasī* or *dyāvāprthivī*. This gives also a much better interpretation in each instance and has the added virtue of consistency. The *sám ajatan̄ rājānsi* of the former passage and the *ūrjā sacethe* of the latter both become especially apposite. The second passage would mean—"As Earth and Heaven ye help strengthen with food from the grassy mead" or perhaps, better, "help with strength the creature that grazes the grassy mead", comparing *sūyavasād* in I, 164, 40 and Sāyana's derivation of the word in our passage from the radical *ad*. In either case it becomes another allusion to the Aṣvinā as the great succorers).

*kṣoṇī* (4) = (dyāús) + *kṣoṇi*.

II, 16, 3<sup>a</sup>; VIII, 7, 22<sup>b</sup>; 52, 10<sup>b</sup>; 99, 6<sup>b</sup>.

(*kṣoṇa*, "earth", is cited for R. I, 42, 23 and Bh. P. V, 18, 28; VIII, 6, 2. So *kṣoṇi* in Bh. P. IV, 21, 35 and *kṣāuṇi* in Bh. P. III, 14, 3 and 24, 42. These seem to justify the inclusion of this word among the elliptic duals, a view supported by Nāigh, 3, 30. The word presents also the phenomena associated with the elliptic duals).

*dāmpatī* (7) = *dāmpati* + (*dāmpatnī*).

V, 3, 2<sup>d</sup>; VIII, 31, 5<sup>a</sup>; X, 10, 5<sup>a</sup>; 68, 2<sup>c</sup>; 85, 32<sup>b</sup>; 95, 12<sup>c</sup>; 162, 4<sup>b</sup>.

*dyāvā* (4) = *dyāús* + (*prthivī*).

III, 6, 4<sup>b</sup>; VII, 65, 2<sup>d</sup>; IX, 70, 2<sup>b</sup>; X, 37, 2<sup>b</sup>.

*dyāvā* (1) in sense of *náktośásā*, or the sky by day and the sky by night. See pp. 35 and 37.

I, 113, 2<sup>d</sup>.

*dyāvī* (1) = *dyāús* + (*prthivī*).

IV, 56, 5<sup>a</sup>.

(Lanman, NI. 433<sup>c</sup> and Grassmann WB. agree that this anomalous *ἄπαξ εἰρημένον* is a neuter form).

*pitārā* (49) = *pitā* + (*mātā*).

I, 20, 4<sup>a</sup>; 110, 8<sup>d</sup>; 111, 1<sup>c</sup>; 161, 10<sup>d</sup>, 12<sup>b</sup>; IV, 33, 2<sup>a</sup>, 3<sup>a</sup>; 34, 9<sup>a</sup>; 35, 5<sup>a</sup>; 36, 3<sup>c</sup>, (*rbhūṇām*).

I, 31, 4<sup>c</sup>, 9<sup>a</sup>; 146, 1<sup>b</sup>; III, 3, 11<sup>c</sup>; 5, 8<sup>d</sup>; 18, 1<sup>b</sup>; 26, 9<sup>a</sup>;

VI, 7, 5<sup>c</sup>; VII, 6, 6<sup>d</sup>; X, 8, 3<sup>a</sup>; 11, 6<sup>a</sup>; 31, 10<sup>c</sup>, (*agnés*).

I, 121, 5<sup>a</sup>, (*indrasya*); I, 124, 5<sup>d</sup>, (*uśásas*).

I, 160, 3<sup>a</sup>, (*súryasya*); II, 17, 7<sup>a</sup>, (*aparipitáyās*).

IX, 75, 2<sup>c</sup>, (*sómasya*); X, 8, 7<sup>c</sup>, (*tritása*).

X, 32, 3<sup>b</sup>, (*kásya cid*); X, 61, 1<sup>c</sup>, (*pakthasya*).

I, 140, 7<sup>d</sup>; 159, 2<sup>c</sup>, 185, 2<sup>c</sup>, 5<sup>b</sup>; III, 7, 1<sup>c</sup>, 6<sup>a</sup>; IV, 5, 10<sup>a</sup>;  
 VI, 7, 4<sup>d</sup>; VII, 53, 2<sup>a</sup>; X, 12, 4<sup>d</sup>; 65, 8<sup>a</sup>, (= dyāvāprthivī).  
 IV, 41, 7<sup>d</sup>, comparison with mitrávárūnā.  
 III, 54, 16<sup>a</sup>; 58, 2<sup>b</sup>; VII, 67, 1<sup>d</sup>; X, 39, 6<sup>b</sup>; 85, 14<sup>d</sup>; 106, 4<sup>a</sup>;  
 131, 5<sup>d</sup>, comparison with aṣvínā.  
 Cited also from VS. 19, 11, and from the Kāthaka recension  
 of the YV. 23, 12.

*mātārā* (36) = mātā + (pitā).

I, 122, 4<sup>d</sup>; 140, 3<sup>b</sup>; III, 1, 7<sup>d</sup>; 2, 2<sup>b</sup>; 5, 7<sup>d</sup>; V, 11, 3<sup>a</sup>; VII, 3, 9<sup>c</sup>;  
 7, 3<sup>c</sup>; VIII, 60, 15<sup>a</sup>; X, 1, 7<sup>b</sup>; 79, 4<sup>b</sup>; 115, 1<sup>b</sup>; 140, 2<sup>c</sup>, (agnés).  
 I, 142, 7<sup>c</sup>; V, 5, 6<sup>b</sup>; VI, 17, 7<sup>d</sup>; IX, 102, 7<sup>b</sup>; X, 59, 8<sup>b</sup>, (rtásya).  
 IX, 75, 4<sup>b</sup>; 85, 12<sup>d</sup>, (sómasya).  
 I, 155, 3<sup>b</sup>; 159, 3<sup>b</sup>; III, 7, 1<sup>b</sup>; IV, 22, 4<sup>c</sup>; VI, 32, 2<sup>a</sup>;  
 IX, 9, 3<sup>a</sup>; 68, 4<sup>a</sup>; 70, 6<sup>a</sup>; X, 35, 3<sup>b</sup>; 64, 14<sup>a</sup>; 120, 7<sup>c</sup>, (= dyāvā-  
 prthivī).

IX, 18, 5<sup>b</sup>, (= ródasī).

III, 33, 1<sup>c</sup>, 3<sup>c</sup>, comparison with vipāt chutudrí ca.

VII, 2, 5<sup>c</sup>, comparison with uṣāśānāktā.

VIII, 99, 6<sup>b</sup>, comparison with kṣonī.

*mitrá* (5) = mitrá + (várūṇa).

I, 36, 17<sup>c</sup>, so Ludwig, Grassmann and Bergaigne (2, 116)  
 take it, but Sāyaṇa takes it as *mitrāṇi*, plural. It may  
 be taken also as dual, "friends", in apposition to the  
 proper names immediately after it.

I, 14, 3<sup>b</sup>, if the *Padapāṭha* is correct in its resolution of  
*mitráḥnim* into *mitrá-āgnim*. The metre does not favor  
 this and the presence of *āgna* . . . *mitrásya* in 10 below,  
 without any reference to *várūṇa* makes it more doubtful  
 whether we have a dual here at all.

V, 65, 6<sup>a</sup>; VIII, 25, 2<sup>a</sup>.

X, 106, 5<sup>b</sup>, in comparison with *aṣvínā*. Sāyaṇa takes it as  
 equivalent to *mitrávárūṇāu*, but G-WB. and LRV. take  
 it as "*freunde*".

*vanaspatī* (2), metonym = ulúkhala + (músala).

I, 28, 8<sup>a</sup> and to be supplied also in 7<sup>a</sup> with the adjectives  
*āyaji* and *vājasátamā*.

*ṣabálāu* (1) = ṣabála + (ṣyāmá).

X, 14, 10<sup>b</sup>; (see Bloomfield: "*Cerberus, The Dog of Hades*",  
 p. 32).

The foregoing equation is based on AV. VIII, 1, 9<sup>a</sup>. The  
 color of these hell hounds is stated in RV. X, 114, 12<sup>b</sup> to



be *udumbulāu*—evidently another elliptic dual. In VII, 55, 2<sup>a</sup><sup>b</sup>, the colors *árjuna* and *piçāṅga* are used in reference to one of them.

*Açvínā* and *ródasī*; the evidence seems too meagre to warrant the admission of these into the number of elliptic duals.

## AV.

*aghnyāu* (1) = *aghnyás* + (*aghnyá*).

XIV, 2, 16<sup>d</sup> if a metaphor for the bride and groom; if, as Kāuṣ. 77, 15 takes it, the two oxen that drew the bridal car, it is not an elliptic dual at all.

*áhanī* (2) = *áhan* + (*rátri*).

XIII, 2, 3<sup>b</sup>; XVI, 8, 22<sup>c</sup>.

*uṣásā* (1) = *uṣás* + (*nákta*).

VIII, 9, 12<sup>a</sup>.

*dāmpatī* (7) = *dāmpati* + (*dāmpatnī*).

VI, 122, 3<sup>d</sup>; XII, 3, 7<sup>d</sup>, 14<sup>d</sup>, 27<sup>c</sup>, 35<sup>c</sup>;

XIV, 2, 9<sup>b</sup>, 64<sup>b</sup>.

*pitārāu* (3) = *pitá* + (*mātá*).

VI, 120, 3<sup>d</sup>; XIV, 2, 37<sup>a</sup>, literal.

XX, 34, 16<sup>a</sup>, figurative = *dyávāprthivī* (*indrasya*).

*mātārā* (1) = *mātá* + (*pitá*).

V, 1, 4<sup>c</sup>, figurative? = *dyávāprthivī*? (*súryasya*)?

*sammātārāu* (1).

XIII, 2, 13<sup>b</sup>, if literal, dual is due to comparison with *ántān* preceding; if figurative, perhaps alludes to the *arāṇī* as parents of Agni.

The following are common to both Vedas:

*dāmpatī*, RV. X, 85, 32<sup>b</sup> = AV. XIV, 2, 11<sup>b</sup>.

RV. X, 10, 5<sup>a</sup> = AV. XVIII, 1, 5<sup>a</sup>.

*pitārā*, RV. X, 11, 6<sup>a</sup> = AV. XVIII, 1, 23<sup>a</sup>.

RV. X, 12, 4<sup>d</sup> = AV. XVIII, 1, 31<sup>d</sup>.

*çabálāu*, RV. X, 14, 10<sup>b</sup> = AV. XVIII, 2, 11<sup>b</sup>.

## II.

### The Dual Dvandva.

In our presentation of this dual we shall start with that form which, from one view taken of its historical relationship to other forms, may be called the tmetec dvandva, or, from an-

other view, the inchoative dvandva. In this there is an "alien intrusion" of one or more words between the parts of the compound. We may select as one extreme RV. VI, 42, 5<sup>a</sup>—

*ā náktā barhīḥ sadatām uṣāsā*

in which the members are, practically, at the opposite ends of a triṣṭubh pāda and separated by the maximum of five full syllables. To illustrate the other extreme we may select RV. V, 45, 4<sup>b</sup>—*indra nv āgní*, in which the intervening monosyllabic word coalesces in pronunciation with the second term and disappears as a separate entity.

The appended list of dual dvandvas shows that the RV. has thirty-five instances of this form, in only two of which five syllables intervene; in eighteen, three syllables; in eight, two syllables; in five, one full syllable and in two a syllable that coalesces with the second term. The AV. has but one example of this class, in which a monosyllable comes between the members of the compound.

That this class is of pro-ethnic origin is shown by the few parallels found in the Avestan and the Old Russian, in both of which languages, however, the degree of possible separation is narrowly restricted. The Avestan *haurvatāsča nō aməratātā*, in Vr. 9, 3 and *pāyūčā ŋwōraštāra*, in Y. 42, 2, show that the limits for that language are one or two monosyllabic enclitics. The three examples given by Zubaty (*Věstník České Akademie*, X, 520) show that the Old Russian allows only a monosyllabic conjunction to come between the members of the dvandva, *e. g.* *perenesena vysta Borisa i Glěba*.

In the second form this foreign matter is extruded and the two duals stand juxtaposed but without any other evidence of incipient coalescence into a compound; *e. g.*, RV. VII, 66, 1<sup>a</sup>—*mītrāyor vāruṇayoh*, and I, 147, 1<sup>c</sup>—*toké tānaye*. The RV. has four examples of this and the unique tmetlic "freak", V, 62, 3<sup>b</sup>—*mītrarājānā varuṇā*. The AV. has no example of this type. That it is at least <sup>1</sup>Aryan, however, is shown by the fact that it is the usual and final form of the dual dvandva in Avestan. A rather short search has yielded a full score of examples,

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<sup>1</sup> Since writing this I have somewhere seen a statement that Wackernagel has suggested this as an additional explanation, of the much mooted Homeric Ἀκροπῶνε Μολιῶνε in A, 750. I regret I have no access to Wackernagel's book.

such as *pasu vīra* (nom.), Yt. 13, 12; *pasvā vīrayā* (gen.), Yt. 13, 10; *pasubya vīraēibya* (inst.), V, 6, 32; *antara aēθrya aēθra-paiti* (acc.), Yt. 10, 116; *tavēši utayūiti* (acc.), Y. 45, 10; &c., &c.

In our third type the two members, each preserving its own accent and dual form, coalesce into a compound. This doubly dualized dvandva is the prevailing type in either Veda, occurring 321 times out of a total of 487 in the RV. and 126 times out of a total of 237 in the AV. It is found, however, only in the strong cases, the nom., acc. and voc.; e. g. *indrāvāruṇā, agniśūma, indrābṛhaspātī*, &c.<sup>1</sup> In the weak cases one of the two concords is lost, either that of number or that of case. The loss of numerical concord occurs four times, only in the RV. *divāsprthivyós*; the loss of case concord occurs three times in the RV. and ten times in the AV.; e. g. *dyāvāprthivībhyām, dyāvāprthivyós*, &c.

In our next type the doubly dualized dvandva appears with only one accent, as that of the prior member is absent. Slight as this change is, it is very significant as it indicates a growing feeling of the compound. The RV. preserves only six examples of this type: the AV., thirteen; e. g. *somāpūṣābhyām, sūryācandramāsū*, &c.

In our final type the two members are fused into a unit by the complete loss of inflection of the prior element; e. g., *indravāyā, pārjanyavātā* (voc.), &c. The RV. has 120 cases of this, or nearly 25%; the AV. has 87 cases, or 33%. This is the regular dual dvandva of the later language. The other types are distinctively poetic and hieratic and hieratic conservatism seems to be shown in the eighteen instances of the metrical resolution of *indrāgnī* out of a total of eighty-nine instances in which the form is found.

There are some noteworthy phenomena associated with the hieratic types of the dual dvandva. Of the thirty-five examples of our first type, the prior members of thirty-two stand initial in their *pādas* and the other three are preceded only by a prepositional particle.

The doubly dualized dvandva also has its favorite positions. Of the 321 in the RV., 119 are initial in their *pādas*; 30 stand second, usually preceded by a monosyllabic particle; 154 stand

<sup>1</sup> The AV. shows in *agnāviṣṇū*, VII, 29, 1<sup>a</sup>, 2<sup>a</sup>, a metabolism in the stem of the prior element, due to analogy with the numerous *a* stems.

in the exact middle of a triṣṭubh or jagati *pāda* and only 18 are final. This is not *metri causa* as they would frequently scan as well in other positions, but seems due rather to an artistic desire to get the long compound into one of the two effective positions of the *pāda*, either initial or at its medial summit. It would seem to have been done for conscious effect as the instances seem too numerous to be accidental.

The dual dvandva resembles the elliptic dual in its general irreversibility. The appended list shows that in the Vedas only *uśāsānāktā*, *parjānyāvātā* and *dyāvāprthivī* can be reversed to *nāktosāsā*, *vātāparjanya* and *prthivīdyāvā* respectively. The last of these is a ἄπαξ εἰρημένον in RV. III, 46, 5<sup>a</sup>.

## § 2.

### The Dual Dvandvas.

In the following lists we follow the order in which the various types were presented and give first the RV. and then the AV. examples of the respective types.

#### I. The tmetric dvandva.

*agnī*, see *indrā*.

*indrā*.

V, 45, 4<sup>b</sup>; VI, 59, 3<sup>c</sup>,—*indrā* nv *agnī*.

VI, 60, 1<sup>b</sup>,—*indrā* yó *agnī*.

VI, 57, 1<sup>a</sup>,—*indrā* nú *pūṣāṇā*.

IV, 41, 1<sup>a</sup>,—*indrā* kó *vām varuṇā*.

IV, 41, 2<sup>a</sup>,—*indrā* ha yó *varuṇā*.

IV, 41, 3<sup>a</sup>,—*indrā* ha *rātnaṁ varuṇā*.

IV, 41, 4<sup>a</sup>, 5<sup>a</sup>,—*indrā* yuvām *varuṇā*.

IV, 41, 6<sup>c</sup>,—*indrā* no *átra varuṇā*.

VI, 68, 5<sup>b</sup>,—*indrā* yó *vām varuṇā*.

*uśāsā* and *uśāsā*, see *nāktā*.

*kṣāmā*, see *dyāvā*.

*dyāvā*.

X, 12, 1<sup>a</sup>—*dyāvā* ha *kṣāmā*.

I, 63, 1<sup>b</sup>—*dyāvā* jajñānāḥ *prthivī*.

I, 143, 2<sup>d</sup>,—*dyāvā* ṣociḥ *prthivī*.

I, 159, 1<sup>a</sup>; VII, 53, 1<sup>a</sup>,—*dyāvā* yajñāḥ *prthivī*.

I, 185, 2<sup>d</sup>—8<sup>d</sup>,—*dyāvā* rakṣatam *prthivī*.

II, 12, 13<sup>a</sup>,—*dyāvā* cid *asmāi prthivī*.

II, 41, 20<sup>a</sup>,—*dyāvā* naḥ *prthivī*.

- V, 43, 2<sup>b</sup>,—dyāvā vājāya prthivī.  
 VI, 11, 1<sup>d</sup>,—dyāvā hotrāya prthivī.  
 VIII, 97, 14<sup>d</sup>,—dyāvā rejete prthivī.  
 X, 35, 3<sup>a</sup>,—dyāvā no adyā prthivī.  
 X, 46, 9<sup>a</sup>,—dyāvā yām agnīm prthivī.  
 X, 91, 3<sup>d</sup>,—dyāvā ca yāni prthivī.  
 I, 61, 14<sup>b</sup>,—dyāvā ca bhūmā.

*nāktā*.

- I, 73, 7<sup>c</sup>,—nāktā ca cakrūr uśāsā.  
 VII, 42, 5<sup>c</sup>—ā nāktā barhiḥ sadatām uśāsā.

*pūṣānā*, see *indrā*.

*prthivī*, see *dyāvā*.

*bhūmā*, see *dyāvā*.

*mitrā*.

- VI, 51, 1,—mitrāyōr āñ éti priyām vāruṇayoh.

The AV. has its only example in

- XVIII, 1, 29<sup>a</sup>, dyāvā ha kṣāmā, = RV. X, 12, 1<sup>a</sup>.

II. Our second type, juxtaposition without composition, appears in I, 147, 1<sup>c</sup>; VIII, 103, 7<sup>c</sup>,—toké tánaye.

- IX, 58, 3<sup>a</sup>,—dhvasráyoh puruśāntyor.

- VII, 66, 1<sup>a</sup>,—mitrāyor vāruṇayoh.

V, 62, 3<sup>b</sup>,—mitrarājānā varuṇa, a unique variant and sort of hybrid between the types.

III. The doubly dualized dvandvas.

\**āgnīparjanyaū*, VI, 52, 16<sup>a</sup>.

*āgnīśomāu*, I, 93, 1<sup>a</sup>, 5<sup>d</sup>, 10<sup>a</sup>, 11<sup>a</sup>.

*āgnīśomā*, I, 93, 2<sup>a</sup>, 3<sup>a</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup>, 6<sup>c</sup>, 7<sup>a</sup>, 9<sup>a</sup>, 12<sup>a</sup>; X, 19, 1<sup>c</sup>.

*agnīśómā*, I, 93, 8<sup>a</sup>; X, 66, 7<sup>a</sup>.

\**ūrṇācitrārathā*, IV, 30, 18<sup>c</sup>.

\**indrākutsā*, V, 31, 9<sup>a</sup>.

*indrāparvatā*, I, 122, 3<sup>c</sup>; 132, 6<sup>a</sup>.

*indrāparvatā*, III, 53, 1<sup>a</sup>.

*indrāpūṣānā*, VII, 35, 1<sup>d</sup>.

*indrābṛhaspatī*, IV, 49, 1<sup>b</sup>, 2<sup>b</sup>, 3<sup>a</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup>, 6<sup>a</sup>.

*indrābṛhaspatī*, IV, 49, 5<sup>a</sup>.

\**indrābrahmaṇaspatī*, II, 24, 12<sup>c</sup>.

*indrāvaruṇā*, I, 17, 7<sup>a</sup>, 8<sup>a</sup>, 9<sup>b</sup>.

*indrāvaruṇā*, III, 62, 1<sup>c</sup>, 2<sup>c</sup>, 3<sup>a</sup>; IV, 41, 1<sup>d</sup>; 42, 9<sup>b</sup>, 10<sup>c</sup>; VI, 68,

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\* ἀπαξ εἰρημένον in the Veda cited.

4<sup>c</sup>, 7<sup>b</sup>, 8<sup>a</sup>; VII, 82, 8<sup>d</sup>, 9<sup>a</sup>; 83, 1<sup>d</sup>, 2<sup>d</sup>, 3<sup>b</sup>, 7<sup>b</sup>, 9<sup>d</sup>; 84, 1<sup>b</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup>; VIII, 59, 3<sup>a</sup>, 4<sup>c</sup>, 5<sup>c</sup>.

*īndrāvaruṇā*, I, 17, 5<sup>b</sup>; VI, 68, 10<sup>a</sup>, 11<sup>a</sup>; VII, 82, 1<sup>a</sup>, 3<sup>c</sup>, 4<sup>d</sup>, 5<sup>a</sup>, 7<sup>b</sup>; 83, 4<sup>a</sup>; VIII, 59, 1<sup>b</sup>, 2<sup>b</sup>, 6<sup>a</sup>, 7<sup>a</sup>.

*īndrāvāruṇā*, VI, 68, 3<sup>b</sup>; VII, 35, 1<sup>b</sup>; 82, 2<sup>b</sup>.

*īndrāvaruṇāu*, VI, 68, 6<sup>c</sup>; VII, 83, 8<sup>b</sup>; 85, 2<sup>c</sup>.

*īndrāvaruṇāu*, VII, 83, 5<sup>a</sup>.

*īndrāvāruṇāu*, VI, 68, 1<sup>c</sup>.

*īndrāviṣṇū*, I, 155, 2<sup>b</sup>; IV, 55, 4<sup>a</sup>; VI, 69, 1<sup>b</sup>, 3<sup>a</sup>, 4<sup>b</sup>, 5<sup>a</sup>, 6<sup>a</sup>, 7<sup>a</sup>; VII, 99, 5<sup>a</sup>.

*īndrāviṣṇū*, IV, 2, 4<sup>b</sup>; VI, 69, 2<sup>b</sup>; VIII, 10, 2<sup>d</sup>; X, 66, 4<sup>b</sup>.

*īndrāsomā*, II, 30, 6<sup>c</sup>; VI, 72, 1<sup>a</sup>, 2<sup>a</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup>, 5<sup>a</sup>; VII, 104, 1<sup>a</sup>—6<sup>a</sup>, 7<sup>c</sup>.

*īndrāsómā*, VII, 35, 1<sup>c</sup>.

*īndrāsomāu*, VI, 72, 3<sup>a</sup>.

*uṣṣāsānāktā*, I, 122, 2<sup>b</sup>; 186, 4<sup>b</sup>; II, 3, 6<sup>b</sup>; 31, 5<sup>b</sup>; IV, 55, 3<sup>d</sup>; V, 41, 7<sup>a</sup>; VII, 2, 6<sup>b</sup>; X, 36, 1<sup>a</sup>; 70, 6<sup>b</sup>; 110, 6<sup>b</sup>.

*turvācāyādū*, IV, 30, 17<sup>a</sup>.

*dyāvāksāmā*, VIII, 18, 16<sup>a</sup>,

*dyāvāksāmā*, I, 96, 5<sup>c</sup>; 102, 2<sup>b</sup>; 121, 11<sup>b</sup>; 140, 13<sup>b</sup>; III, 8, 8<sup>b</sup>; VI, 31, 2<sup>c</sup>; X, 36, 1<sup>b</sup>.

*dyāvāprthivī*, I, 31, 8<sup>d</sup>; 159, 5<sup>c</sup>; 160, 5<sup>b</sup>; 185, 11<sup>a</sup>; II, 32, 1<sup>a</sup>; VI, 50, 3<sup>a</sup>; VII, 52, 1<sup>d</sup>; 53, 2<sup>c</sup>, 3<sup>b</sup>; VIII, 42, 2<sup>d</sup>; IX, 69, 10<sup>d</sup>; X, 67, 12<sup>d</sup>; 93, 1<sup>a</sup>, 10<sup>a</sup>.

*dyāvāprthivī*, I, 35, 9<sup>b</sup>; 52, 14<sup>a</sup>; 61, 8<sup>c</sup>; 101, 3<sup>a</sup>; 112, 1<sup>a</sup>; 115, 1<sup>c</sup>, 3<sup>d</sup>; 160, 1<sup>a</sup>; II, 1, 15<sup>d</sup>; 2, 7<sup>c</sup>; III, 3, 11<sup>d</sup>; 25, 3<sup>a</sup>; 26, 8<sup>d</sup>; 30, 4<sup>c</sup>; 32, 10<sup>c</sup>; 58, 8<sup>d</sup>; IV, 14, 2<sup>c</sup>; 54, 6<sup>c</sup>; 56, 1<sup>a</sup>, 3<sup>b</sup>; V, 47, 2<sup>d</sup>; 51, 11<sup>d</sup>; 55, 7<sup>c</sup>; 63, 2<sup>d</sup>; 83, 8<sup>c</sup>; VI, 18, 15<sup>a</sup>; 44, 24<sup>a</sup>; 70, 1<sup>c</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup>, 5<sup>a</sup>; 75, 10<sup>b</sup>; VII, 35, 5<sup>a</sup>; 44, 1<sup>d</sup>; VIII, 22, 5<sup>c</sup>; 48, 13<sup>b</sup>; 96, 16<sup>c</sup>; IX, 68, 10<sup>c</sup>; 81, 5<sup>a</sup>; 97, 42<sup>d</sup>; X, 1, 7<sup>a</sup>; 2, 7<sup>a</sup>; 31, 7<sup>b</sup>, 8<sup>b</sup>; 35, 1<sup>c</sup>; 36, 1<sup>d</sup>; 37, 6<sup>a</sup>; 45, 12<sup>c</sup>; 47, 8<sup>c</sup>; 63, 9<sup>d</sup>; 64, 14<sup>a</sup>; 65, 8<sup>c</sup>; 66, 4<sup>c</sup>, 6<sup>c</sup>, 9<sup>a</sup>; 70, 10<sup>d</sup>; 81, 4<sup>b</sup>; 82, 1<sup>d</sup>; 89, 6<sup>a</sup>; 92, 11<sup>a</sup>; 110, 9<sup>a</sup>; 113, 1<sup>a</sup>, 5<sup>b</sup>; 114, 8<sup>b</sup>; 125, 6<sup>d</sup>; 149, 2<sup>d</sup>.

*dyāvābhūmī*, IV, 55, 1<sup>b</sup>; VII, 62, 4<sup>a</sup>; X, 12, 4<sup>b</sup>.

*dyāvābhūmī*, X, 65, 4<sup>b</sup>; 81, 3<sup>d</sup>.

\**dhūnīcūmurī*, VI, 20, 13<sup>b</sup>.

*nāktosāsā*, I, 13, 7<sup>a</sup>; 96, 5<sup>a</sup>; 113, 3<sup>d</sup>; 142, 7<sup>b</sup>; IX, 5, 6<sup>c</sup>.

*parjanyaṇvātā*, VI, 50, 12<sup>d</sup>; X, 65, 9<sup>a</sup>.

\**prthivīdyāvā*, III, 46, 5<sup>a</sup>.

\**mātārāpitārā*, IV, 6, 7<sup>b</sup>.

*mītrāvaruṇā*, I, 15, 6<sup>b</sup>.

*mītrāvaruṇā*, I, 122, 6<sup>a</sup>, 15<sup>c</sup>; 137, 1<sup>f</sup>, 3<sup>f</sup>; 152, 1<sup>d</sup>, 3<sup>b</sup>, 7<sup>a</sup>; 153, 1<sup>b</sup>—3<sup>b</sup>;

II, 27, 5<sup>c</sup>; 29, 3<sup>c</sup>; 31, 1<sup>a</sup>; 41, 4<sup>a</sup>; III, 62, 16<sup>a</sup>; IV, 39, 2<sup>d</sup>, 5<sup>d</sup>; V, 47, 7<sup>a</sup>; 51, 14<sup>a</sup>; 62, 2<sup>a</sup>; 63, 1<sup>c</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup>, 5<sup>b</sup>, 7<sup>a</sup>; 64, 4<sup>a</sup>; 69, 3<sup>c</sup>, 4<sup>d</sup>; VI, 67, 3<sup>a</sup>, 9<sup>a</sup>; VII, 36, 2<sup>a</sup>; 50, 1<sup>a</sup>; 52, 1<sup>c</sup>; 60, 2<sup>a</sup>, 3<sup>c</sup>; 61, 3<sup>a</sup>, 6<sup>b</sup>; 62, 5<sup>d</sup>; 63, 5<sup>d</sup>; 64, 2<sup>c</sup>, 4<sup>c</sup>; 65, 2<sup>c</sup>, 3<sup>c</sup>, 4<sup>a</sup>; VIII, 72, 17<sup>a</sup>; 101, 3<sup>a</sup>; X, 51, 2<sup>c</sup>; 132, 2<sup>a</sup>.

*mītrāvaruṇā*, V, 63, 2<sup>b</sup>.

*mītrāvāruṇā*, I, 2, 9<sup>a</sup>; 23, 5<sup>c</sup>; 71, 9<sup>c</sup>; 75, 5<sup>a</sup>; 111, 4<sup>c</sup>; III, 20, 5<sup>c</sup>; 56, 7<sup>b</sup>; V, 46, 3<sup>a</sup>; 63, 3<sup>b</sup>; VI, 11, 1<sup>c</sup>; 49, 1<sup>b</sup>; 67, 1<sup>b</sup>; VII, 33, 10<sup>b</sup>; 41, 1<sup>b</sup>; 42, 5<sup>d</sup>; VIII, 23, 30<sup>b</sup>; 25, 4<sup>a</sup>; IX, 7, 8<sup>a</sup>; 97, 42<sup>b</sup>, 49<sup>b</sup>; 108, 14<sup>c</sup>; X, 61, 17<sup>c</sup>; 64, 5<sup>b</sup>; 93, 6<sup>b</sup>; 125, 1<sup>c</sup>.

*mītrāvaruṇāu*, I, 2, 8<sup>b</sup>; 122, 9<sup>a</sup>; V, 41, 1<sup>a</sup>; 62, 9<sup>c</sup>; 63, 6<sup>a</sup>; VI, 67, 2<sup>c</sup>, 11<sup>b</sup>; VII, 60, 12<sup>b</sup>; 61, 2<sup>a</sup>.

*mītrāvāruṇāu*, I, 35, 1<sup>b</sup>; 167, 8<sup>a</sup>; VII, 35, 4<sup>b</sup>; VIII, 101, 1<sup>c</sup>; X, 93, 6<sup>b</sup>.

\**śūnāsīrāu*, IV, 57, 5<sup>a</sup>.

*sūryāmāsā*, VIII, 94, 2<sup>c</sup>; X, 64, 3<sup>c</sup>; 68, 10<sup>d</sup>; 92, 12<sup>c</sup>; 93, 5<sup>b</sup>.

*sómāpūṣanā*, II, 40, 1<sup>a</sup>, 3<sup>a</sup>.

*sómāpūṣanāu*, II, 40, 5<sup>c</sup>.

*sómārudrā*, VI, 74, 1<sup>a</sup>, 2<sup>a</sup>, 3<sup>a</sup>.

*sómārudrāu*, VI, 74, 4<sup>b</sup>.

#### AV.

*āgnāviṣṇū*, VII, 29, 1<sup>a</sup>, 2<sup>a</sup>.

*āgnīśomā*, I, 8, 2<sup>d</sup>; XVIII, 2, 53<sup>a</sup>.

*agnīśomā*, VI, 93, 3<sup>c</sup>.

*agnīśomāu*, VI, 54, 2<sup>a</sup>.

*agnīśomāu*, III, 13, 5<sup>b</sup>; VIII, 9, 14<sup>a</sup>.

*īndrāpūṣanā*, VI, 3, 1<sup>a</sup>.

*īndrāpūṣāṇā*, XIX, 10, 1<sup>d</sup>.

*īndrāvaruṇā*, VII, 58, 1<sup>a</sup>, 2<sup>a</sup>.

*īndrāvāruṇā*, XIX, 10, 1<sup>b</sup>.

*īndrāsomā*, VIII, 4, 1<sup>a</sup>—6<sup>a</sup>, 7<sup>c</sup>.

*īndrāsomā*, XIX, 10, 1<sup>c</sup>.

*uśāśānāktā*, V, 12, 6<sup>b</sup>; 27, 8<sup>c</sup>; VI, 3, 3<sup>b</sup>.

*dyāvāprthivī*, II, 29, 4; IV, 22, 4; 26, 1; VI, 40, 1.

*dyāvāprthivī*, II, 12, 5; 16, 2; IV, 26, 2—6; V, 14, 12.

*dyāvāprthivī*, II, 1, 4; 10, 1—8; 12, 1; 29, 5; III, 4, 5; 15, 2; 31, 4; IV, 6, 2; 26, 7; 30, 5; V, 12, 9; 23, 1; 24, 3; VI, 3, 2; 8, 3; 55, 1; 58, 1; 62, 1; 94, 3; VII, 30, 1; 82, 4, 5; 112, 1; VIII, 2, 14; 5, 3, 6, 18; 8, 21, 22; IX, 2, 20; 4, 10; X, 7, 35;

8, 39; XI, 3, 2; 7, 2; XIII, 1, 5, 6 bis, 7, 37; 2, 26, 35; 3, 1, 4;  
XIV, 1, 54; XIX, 10, 5; 14, 1; 15, 5; 20, 4; 49, 1; 58, 3.

*dyāvābhūmī*, XVIII, 1, 31<sup>b</sup>.

*bhāvāṣarvāu*, IV, 28, 1<sup>a</sup>; VIII, 2, 7<sup>c</sup>; XI, 2, 1<sup>a</sup>.

*mitrāvaruṇā*, VI, 97, 2<sup>a</sup>; IX, 10, 23<sup>b</sup>; XIX, 11, 6<sup>a</sup>.

*mitrāvaruṇā*, IV, 29, 3<sup>b</sup>, 4<sup>b</sup>.

*mitrāvāruṇā*, III, 4, 4<sup>a</sup>; 16, 1<sup>b</sup>; IV, 30, 1<sup>c</sup>; XIV, 1, 54; XVIII  
3, 12<sup>a</sup>.

*mitrāvaruṇāu*, I, 20, 2<sup>c</sup>; III, 25, 6<sup>a</sup>; IV, 29, 1<sup>a</sup>; VI, 32, 3<sup>a</sup>.

*mitrāvaruṇāu*, IV, 29, 6<sup>b</sup>; XIII, 1, 31<sup>c</sup>.

*mitrāvāruṇāu*, IV, 29, 7<sup>c</sup>; V, 24, 5<sup>a</sup>; 25, 4<sup>a</sup>; VI, 89, 3<sup>a</sup>; 132, 5<sup>a</sup>;

XIII, 1, 20<sup>b</sup>; XVI, 4, 7; XIX, 10, 4<sup>b</sup>.

*sómārudrā*, VII. 42, 1<sup>a</sup>, 2<sup>a</sup>.

*sómārudrāu*, V, 6, 5<sup>c</sup>, 6<sup>c</sup>, 7<sup>c</sup>.

The instances in which there is a loss of numerical concord  
in the weak cases are

*divāsprthivyoś*, RV. II, 2, 3<sup>b</sup>; V, 49, 5<sup>d</sup>; X, 3, 7<sup>b</sup>; 35, 2<sup>a</sup>.

Those in which there is a loss of concord in case are

*agnīśómābhyām*, AV. XII, 4, 26<sup>a</sup>.

*indrāvārunayos*, RV. I, 17, 1<sup>a</sup>.

*dyāvāprthivībhyām*, AV. V, 9, 7; VII, 102, 1; XI, 3, 33; XIX,  
17, 5.

*dyāvāprthivyoś*, AV. VI, 58, 2; XVI, 8, 23.

*mitrāvāruṇābhyām*, RV. V, 51, 9<sup>a</sup>.

*mitrāvārunayos*, RV. X, 130, 5<sup>a</sup>.

AV. X, 5, 11<sup>a</sup>; XI, 3, 44<sup>d</sup>; XVI, 8, 25<sup>c</sup>.

IV. Doubly dualized dvandvas with single accent.

#### RV.

\**vātāparjanya*, X, 66, 10<sup>b</sup>.

*sūryācandramāsā*, I, 102, 2<sup>c</sup>.

*sūryācandramāsāu*, V, 51, 15<sup>b</sup>; X, 190, 3<sup>a</sup>.

Here, too, there is loss of case concord in the weak cases:

*indrāpūṣṇós*, I, 162, 2<sup>d</sup>.

*somāpūṣābhyām*, II, 40, 2<sup>d</sup>.

#### AV.

\**bhavārudrāu*, XI, 2, 14<sup>a</sup>.

*bhavāṣarvāu*, IV, 28, 7<sup>c</sup>; X, 1, 23<sup>a</sup>; XI, 6, 9<sup>a</sup>; XII, 4, 17<sup>c</sup>.

*vātāparjanya*, X, 4, 16<sup>c</sup>.

*sūryācandramāsāu*, VIII, 2, 15<sup>d</sup>; XI, 3, 2<sup>b</sup>; 6, 5<sup>b</sup>.



Weak cases with loss of case concord are  
*vātāparjanyāyos*, VI, 93, 3<sup>d</sup>.

*sūryācandramāsābhyām*, VI, 128, 3<sup>b</sup>; XI, 3, 34.

*sūryāmāsāyos*, III, 29, 5<sup>d</sup>.

The vocatives of these words are naturally not indicative of their accentual condition, so they are included in the longer lists preceding.

V. The dvandva in its final form.

#### RV.

*indravāyū*, I, 2, 4<sup>a</sup>; 135, 5<sup>f</sup>; II, 41, 3<sup>b</sup>; IV, 46, 3<sup>b</sup>, 4<sup>b</sup>, 5<sup>c</sup>, 6<sup>a</sup>, 7<sup>b</sup>; 47, 4<sup>d</sup>; VII, 90, 5<sup>c</sup>, 6<sup>c</sup>; 91, 2<sup>c</sup>, 4<sup>d</sup>, 5<sup>b</sup>, 6<sup>b</sup>.

*indravāyū*, I, 14, 3<sup>a</sup>; 23, 2<sup>b</sup>, 3<sup>a</sup>; 139, 1<sup>c</sup>; VII, 90, 7<sup>b</sup>; 91, 7<sup>b</sup>; X, 65, 9<sup>b</sup>; 141, 4<sup>a</sup>.

*indrāgnī*, I, 108, 1<sup>a</sup>, 2<sup>b</sup>, 3<sup>c</sup>, 4<sup>d</sup>, 5<sup>a</sup>, 7<sup>a</sup>—13<sup>a</sup>; 109, 5<sup>a</sup>, 6<sup>d</sup>, 7<sup>b</sup>, 8<sup>b</sup>; VI, 59, 4<sup>a</sup>; X, 161, 1<sup>d</sup>.

*indrāgnī*, I, 21, 5<sup>b</sup>, 6<sup>c</sup>; 109, 1<sup>b</sup>, 2<sup>d</sup>, 4<sup>b</sup>; III, 12, 1<sup>a</sup>, 2<sup>a</sup>, 5<sup>c</sup>, 6<sup>a</sup>—9<sup>a</sup>; V, 27, 6<sup>a</sup>; VI, 59, 1<sup>d</sup>, 7<sup>a</sup>, 10<sup>a</sup>; 60, 8<sup>c</sup>, 9<sup>c</sup>, 15<sup>a</sup>; VII, 94, 1<sup>b</sup>—3<sup>b</sup>, 7<sup>a</sup>, 8<sup>c</sup>, 9<sup>c</sup>; VIII, 38, 1<sup>c</sup>—9<sup>c</sup>.

*indrāgnī*, I, 21, 1<sup>a</sup>, 2<sup>b</sup>, 3<sup>b</sup>, 4<sup>c</sup>; 139, 9<sup>c</sup>; III, 12, 4<sup>c</sup>; V, 46, 3<sup>a</sup>; 86, 2<sup>d</sup>; VI, 60, 14<sup>d</sup>; VII, 35, 1<sup>a</sup>; VIII, 40, 4<sup>b</sup>; X, 125, 1<sup>d</sup>; 161, 4<sup>d</sup>.

*indragñibhyām*, I, 109, 3<sup>c</sup>; VIII, 40, 5<sup>b</sup>, 12<sup>a</sup>; X, 116, 9<sup>a</sup>; 128, 9<sup>b</sup>.

*indragñyós*, VIII, 38, 10<sup>b</sup>; 40, 8<sup>c</sup>.

*rkṣāmābhyām*, X, 85, 11<sup>a</sup>; 114, 6<sup>d</sup>.

*pārjanyavātā*, VI, 49, 6<sup>a</sup>.

\**viçvāmītrajamadagnī*, X, 167, 4<sup>d</sup>.

\**sāçanānaçané*, X, 90, 4<sup>d</sup>.

\**satyānr̥tē*, VII, 49, 3<sup>b</sup>.

In the following instances the double dual of *indrāgnī* is practically restored by the metrical resolution. A comparison of the numerical citations shows that the two forms sometimes exist side by side.

*indrāgnī*, VI, 60, 13<sup>a</sup>.

*indrāgnī*, V, 86, 1<sup>a</sup>; VI, 59, 2<sup>b</sup>, 6<sup>a</sup>, 8<sup>a</sup>, 9<sup>a</sup>; 60, 7<sup>a</sup>; VII, 93, 1<sup>b</sup>, 4<sup>c</sup>; VIII, 40, 1<sup>a</sup>.

*indrāgnī*, V, 86, 4<sup>b</sup>; VI, 60, 4<sup>c</sup>, 5<sup>b</sup>; VII, 93, 3<sup>d</sup>; 94, 10<sup>b</sup>; VIII, 40, 3<sup>b</sup>; X, 65, 2<sup>a</sup>.

*indrāgnibhyām*, V, 86, 6<sup>a</sup>.

#### AV.

\**akṣujālābhyām*, VIII, 8, 18<sup>c</sup>.

\**aghaçaṇsaduḥçaṇsābhyām*, XII, 2, 2<sup>a</sup>.

- \**arkāçvamedhāú*, XI, 7, 7<sup>c</sup>.  
*ahorātré*, X, 7, 6<sup>b</sup>; 8, 23<sup>c</sup>; XI, 5, 20<sup>b</sup>; 6, 5<sup>a</sup>, 7<sup>b</sup>; 7, 14<sup>d</sup>; XII, 1, 9<sup>b</sup>, 36<sup>d</sup>, 52<sup>b</sup>; 2, 49<sup>a</sup>; XII, 2, 5<sup>d</sup>, 32<sup>c</sup>; XV, 6, 6; 18, 4<sup>a</sup>.  
*ahorātrābhyām*, VI, 128, 3<sup>a</sup>; XIII, 2, 43<sup>b</sup>; XIV, 2, 40<sup>b</sup>; XIX, 8, 2<sup>c</sup>, 7<sup>b</sup>.  
*ahorātrāyos*, XV, 6, 6; XVI, 8, 21<sup>c</sup>.  
*\*ādānasamdanābhyām*, XI, 9, 3<sup>b</sup>.  
*\*indravāyñ*, III, 20, 6<sup>a</sup>.  
*indrāgnī*, III, 11, 1<sup>d</sup>; IX, 1, 12<sup>c</sup>.  
*indrāgnī*, XIII, 1, 31<sup>c</sup>.  
*indrāgnī*, I, 35, 4<sup>c</sup>; III, 3, 5<sup>c</sup>; IV, 30, 1<sup>d</sup>; V, 7, 6<sup>b</sup>; VI, 104, 3<sup>a</sup>; 132, 4<sup>a</sup>; VIII, 1, 2<sup>d</sup>, 16<sup>d</sup>; 2, 21<sup>c</sup>; IX, 2, 9<sup>a</sup>; 3, 19<sup>c</sup>; X, 1, 21<sup>c</sup>; XI, 8, 5<sup>c</sup>; XIV, 1, 54<sup>a</sup>; XIX, 10, 1<sup>a</sup>; 16, 2<sup>c</sup>; 20, 1<sup>b</sup>.  
*indrāgnībhyām*, V, 3, 10<sup>b</sup>.  
*indrāgnyós*, IX, 1, 12<sup>c</sup>; XVI, 8, 24.  
*\*uchocanapraçocanāú*, VII, 95, 1<sup>c</sup>.  
*ummocanapramocané*, V, 30, 2<sup>c</sup>, 3<sup>c</sup>, 4<sup>c</sup>.  
*\*ṛṣāmābhyām*, XIV, 1, 11<sup>a</sup>.  
*\*kapotolūkābhyām*, VI, 29, 2<sup>c</sup>.  
*\*palālānupalālāu*, VIII, 6, 2<sup>a</sup>.  
*\*pitāputrāu*, VI, 112, 2<sup>d</sup>.  
*prānāpānāu*, III, 11, 5<sup>a</sup>, 6<sup>a</sup>; VII, 53, 5<sup>b</sup>.  
*prānāpānāu*, II, 16, 1<sup>a</sup>; XVI, 4, 5<sup>b</sup>.  
*prānāpānāu*, V, 10, 8<sup>a</sup>; VII, 53, 2<sup>b</sup>; VIII, 2, 11<sup>a</sup>; X, 7, 34<sup>a</sup>; XI, 4, 13<sup>a</sup>; 5, 24<sup>c</sup>; 7, 25<sup>a</sup>; 8, 4<sup>a</sup>, 26<sup>a</sup>; XVI, 4, 7.  
*prānāpānābhyām*, II, 28, 4<sup>d</sup>.  
*\*bodhapratibodhāú*, V, 30, 10<sup>a</sup>.  
*\*brahmarājanyābhām*, XIX, 32, 8.  
*\*rōdhacakre*, V, 1, 5<sup>d</sup>.  
*vyānodānāu*, XI, 8, 4<sup>c</sup>, 26<sup>c</sup>.  
*vrihiyavāú*, VIII, 2, 18<sup>a</sup>; XI, 4, 13<sup>a</sup>; XII, 1, 42<sup>a</sup>; XX, 129, 15, 16.  
*vrihiyavābhyām*, X, 6, 24<sup>d</sup>.  
*\*satyānṛté*, I, 33, 2<sup>b</sup>.  
*\*sadhavirdhāné*, XII, 1, 38<sup>a</sup>.

The number of ἀπαξ εἰρημένα in this AV. list is noteworthy as indicative of the freedom with which the unified dvandva is thus employed.

## III.

## Origin and Relationship.

What is the origin of the elliptic dual? What of the dual dvandva? What genetic relation, if any, exists between them?

Diametrically differing answers have been given to these questions. The traditional and native theory seems to derive the elliptic dual from the dual dvandva. Such is the natural inference from the name—dvandva ekaṣeṣa—given the former by the Hindoo grammarians. Such was the descent approved by G. Meyer (*KZ.* XXII, 8 ff.) and Wackernagel (*KZ.* XXIII, 309). Bergaigne (*Rel. Ved.* II, 116) and Delbrueck (*S. F.* V, 98), however, reverse the process and consider the dual dvandva a development from the elliptic dual. This view seems now the one more generally accepted.

It will be patent to the careful observer that we may begin with either the elliptic dual or the dvandva and work our way by successive stages to the mechanical evolution of the other, or that we may begin in the middle, *e. g.* with the doubly dualized dvandva, and work both ways. In either of the latter two methods, however, a practical test shows that we must make more assumptions and pass through more complex processes than in the case of the first. There are other difficulties also.

If we start with the elliptic dual we must first find an answer to our first question, the origin of this dual.

The fact that in the RV. *pitarā* and *mātārā* together stand in the ratio of 85 to 129, or almost exactly 2 to 3, to the whole number of its elliptic duals and the fact that these represent the one syllepsis, if any, that can be proved for Indo-European, as shown by the Avestan dual<sup>1</sup> *pitarə*, the Greek dual *τοκῆς δύο*, and the pluralized duals, Greek *πατέρες*, Latin<sup>2</sup> *patres*, Lithuanian<sup>3</sup> *tėvai*, Gothic *berusjos*, Greek *γονεῖς* and *τοκεῖς*, Latin *parentes*, &c., all used to signify "father and mother" or the two parents, though in the strictest etymological sense applicable to but one of the pair, may warrant the

<sup>1</sup> Yt. 10, 117, — *satāyuš* (sc. *asti miθrō*) *antarə pitarə* (acc. du.) *puθrəmča*.

<sup>2</sup> Surviving in this meaning in the Spanish *los padres*, as Dr. C. J. Ogden informs me.

<sup>3</sup> Shown by Joh. Schmidt (*KZ.* XXV, 34) to be from \**ptēvas* = Greek *πατήρ*.

assumption that this particular syllepsis was a nidus, if not the nidus, of the usage. Its extension to *dampatī*, real or potential parents, which in the two Vedas stand next in numerical precedence, and then to other and personified couples exercising some real or fancied parental or generative functions, would be both easy and natural. The Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthātr by an easy figure may be the parents of the sacrifice. Morning and evening, a necessarily complemental pair, may be imagined as parents, and in fact are actually so called in more than one Vedic passage (e. g., I, 142, 7<sup>c</sup>; V, 5, 6<sup>b</sup>; VII, 2, 5<sup>c</sup>; VIII, 99, 6<sup>b</sup>). If Bloomfield is right in identifying the hounds of Yama with the sun and moon, the elliptic duals *udumbalāu* and *ṣabālāu*, admit the same explanation. Only *mitrā* remains and IV, 41, 7<sup>d</sup> shows that *mitrāvāruṇā* are compared to *pitārā*.

Thus one syllepsis and its analogical and figurative inclusions account for every elliptic dual in the Vedas and also for the few others cited from the grammarians and lexicographers. This is the whole story for Sanskrit and for Avestan with its unique elliptic dual (see above).

There seems to be no other pro-ethnic elliptic dual. Sporadic instances in individual languages have been cited. Some of these are doubtful. This interpretation of the Homeric *Αἰαντε*, so ingeniously supported by Wackernagel (*KZ.* XXIII, 308), is not accepted by competent Hellenists. The Latin *Cereres* and *Castores* undoubtedly came to be used as the plurals of such duals, but the origin of the plurals can be explained otherwise.<sup>1</sup> The Greek *παιθεροί* and Latin *soceri* are akin to and includible under the general syllepsis above. The Old Norse *fedgar* and *mædgar*, if genuine, are merely an independent syllepsis. Admitting all of these we have only a handful of isolated syllepses, a weak foundation for the Indo-Europeanism of the elliptic dual outside of the almost necessary syllepsis for parents and its kindred.

In the presentation of the phenomena of the elliptic dual we have shown how often, 99 out 145 instances, the rishis

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<sup>1</sup> There were, for instance, two *Cereres*, one native, one imported. The former was the daughter of Caelus and Vesta and wife of Sicanus, king of the Siculi. She taught the Siculi the use of grain. Also Proserpina is called *Ceres inferna* and *Ceres profunda*. Again Ceres was identified with Terra, Luna and Libera. Cf. also the Catullan plurals *Veneres*, *Cupidines*.

seem to make a conscious effort to mention or suggest the connoted member of the syllepsis, somewhere in the neighboring context. The degree of propinquity may vary from several stanzas to consecutive *pādas*. Assuming that form in which the connoted member is expressed in the dual, either by mere attraction or by a conscious effort to express the parity of the members, as a starting point, we may readily show the possible mechanical evolution of the dual dvandva.

An example like RV. III, 7, 1<sup>bc</sup>—

*ā mātārā vivīṇuḥ saptā vāṇīḥ  
parikṣitā pitārā saṁ carete,*

in comparison with VI, 42, 5<sup>a</sup>—

*ā nāktā barhīḥ sadatam uśāsā*

will show how little these two duals may differ. Intermediate between these is such an instance as VI, 51, 1<sup>ab</sup>,—

*ūd u tyāc cākṣur māhi mītrāyor āñ  
ēti priyām vārunayoḥ adabdhām,*

which seems to partake almost equally of the characteristics of each. On its formal side the difference appears to be one of degree of propinquity. When the dual of the connoted member of an elliptic dual is expressed within some arbitrary limit,—as the *pāda*, the elliptic dual becomes a dual dvandva. Further increments of increase of propinquity will give the successive forms in the order presented above.

Such is an explanation of the dual dvandva consonant with the current view of its origin from the elliptic dual. Easy as this is on the formal side there seems to be ground for objection. It seems too mechanical, too wooden. It takes no account of the prevailing content of these two species of dual. It divorces the origin of the dual dvandva from that of the other forms of the dvandva compound. The dvandva compound is undoubtedly, indisputably pro-ethnic in Indo-European and has a far wider range than can be traced for the elliptic dual. Its obvious origin is a simple asyndeton. Its original type is represented by the Vedic *turvaçam yadum*, *turvaçesu yadusu*, Avestan *Vandarəmainiš Arəjataspō*, Lithuanian *tėtės matės*, Lettish *mīsch-āufas*, Old Bulgarian *bratū sestra*, Latin *pactum conventum*, &c. Juxtaposition led naturally to composition. This in the case of two parathetic singulars gave either a dual or a dvandva singular. Both of these are Vedic. The latter is common to all the Indo-European group.

The general loss of the dual probably made the former less demonstrable.

We are prone to believe that the doubly dualized dvandva of Vedic and Avestan is but a hieratic variant of this former type. If we compare the contents of the lists of doubly dualized dvandvas and of completely unified dvandvas, given above, we see at once that with the exception of a half dozen *āpaś* *εἰρημένα*, the former is made up of sets of names of pairs of associated deities. The latter list presents a marked contrast. It is a distinctively Atharvanic or demotic aggregation of associated pairs of various kinds, but has only three sets of deities. Of these *indravāyū* is found only in this list. *Pārjanyavātā* occurs only once in this form. The numerous metrical resolutions of *indrāgnī* shows that it is now in one class, now in the other, though prevailing in the latter.

This hieratic variant is Aryan. Vedic confined it quite strictly to its hieratic character. In Avestan, of which only hieratic literature remains, it became propagative practically to the exclusion of other types. The double dual is not due to a mere grammatical attraction of number, but rather, we fancy, to a formalistic parataxis or a liturgical fulness of expression arising from a desire to magnify equally each of the associated deities somewhat after the manner of a *dualis maiestatis* or, at least, to express a formal parity between them. This could be effected by making both members either dual or singular, but the singular dvandva was too prone to be either collective or suggestive of a practical unity and too largely pre-empted by the neuter, to be appropriate. In other cases than that of associated deities there would not be the same formal scrupulosity. Hence the doubly dualized dvandva with its special range.

The genetic relation between the elliptic dual and the dual dvandva disappears in this view. The origins of the two kinds of dual become quite distinct. One is an evolution from asyndeton; the other from syllepsis. Thus both are rhetorical in origin. Both belong to the hieratic and more artistic sphere. On the side of form there are strong resemblances, but the genetic development from different sources shows these to be accidental. This hypothesis accounts for differing content, for relative age, for special ranges and for associated phenomena. It keeps together things that seem naturally to belong together. It presents no mechanical but an organic evolution.

*The Dūtāṅgada of Subhāṭa, now first translated from the Sanskrit and Prakrit.*—By Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, Newark, N.J.<sup>1</sup>

THE *chāyānāṭaka* is a dramatic genre unrecognised by Sanskrit works on dramaturgy, yet to this category belong at least seven dramas, the *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhāṭa, Rāmadeva's *Subhadrāpariṇaya*, Pāṇḍavābhyudaya, and Rāmābhyudaya, the anonymous *Harid(y)ūta*, Viṭṭhala's *chāyānāṭaka*, and the modern *Sāvitrīcarita* (Schuyler, *Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama*, 102). Of these the only one yet published is the drama here ✓ translated, the *Dūtāṅgada*, edited by Durgāprasāda and Parab as the twenty-eighth volume of the *Kāvya-mālā* (2d ed., Bombay, 1900; cf. also Schuyler, 85). This is the earliest extant play of its type. According to its *prastāvanā*, it was produced ✓ during the reign of Tribhuvanapāladeva, a Chaulukya king of the dynasty of Anhilvād or Anhilpūr, who ruled in Gujarat in 1242—1243 (Bendall, *JRAS*, 1898, 229—230, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 105—106; Duff, *Chronology of India*, 189). The play was presented at a festival in honour of Kumārapāladeva, a monarch of the same line who ruled from 1143 to 1172 (Bendall, *opp. cit.*; Duff, 149—159; Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, 138—157), the particular event commemorated being Kumārapāladeva's restoration of a

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<sup>1</sup> This translation was originally presented to the Society in 1906. Almost immediately afterward I learned that Professor Richard Pischel was working on the drama, with special reference to the longer recension. Although he very kindly urged me to publish this present version of the shorter text, and most generously added: "I am ready to send you the various readings of doubtful or difficult passages," it seemed to me presumptuous to issue my translation, especially as he proposed to give one in his own edition. Professor Pischel's death—so sore a loss to Sanskritists—renders improbable any completion of his labours on the *Dūtāṅgada*, at least in the near future. Meanwhile the present translation may serve to give some idea of Subhāṭa's literary worth.

Śaiva temple at Devapattan or Somnath in Kathiawar, Bombay (Bendall. *JRAS*, loc. cit.; Forbes. 147—148). The exact time of year at which the play was produced is given by the reading *yātrāyaṁ dolāparvaṇi* in a manuscript recorded by Aufrecht (although the Bombay edition omits the latter word). It was, consequently, given at the *dhooly* festival on the fourteenth of Phālguna (March 7), 1243.

In his *Das altindische Schattenspiel* (*Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1906, 482—502) Pischel has very pertinently remarked (p. 16f. of the offprint) that 'there are almost as many *Dūtāṅgadas* as there are manuscripts' (for a convenient summary of these cf. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, 257; ii, 55, 205; iii, 55); but in general two recensions, a longer and a shorter, may be distinguished. The shorter recension is that on which the present translation is based. Of the longer recension, as represented by a manuscript of the India Office, Eggeling writes (*Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office*, vii. no. 4189): 'not only is the dialogue itself considerably extended in this version by the insertion of many additional stanzas, but narrative verses are also thrown in, calculated to make the work a curious hybrid between a dramatic piece (with stage directions) and a narrative poem. This latter character of the composition is rendered still more pronounced by an introduction of 39 (12 + 27) stanzas in mixed metres (partly, however, placed in the mouths of *Rāma* and *Hanumat*), referring to incidents which lead to the discovery of Sītā's hiding-place.' As the author implies in his closing stanza, he has not hesitated to draw on his predecessors for material, among his sources being, according to Pischel (17f), Murāri, Rājasekhara, Bhavabhūti, and especially the *Hanumannāṭaka*. The *Dūtāṅgada* is divided, at least in its shorter recension, into three scenes; and from a comparison of it with the corresponding portions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (vi, 41, 107—108, 123) it would seem that its action implies a period of three or four days.

The meaning of the term *chāyūnāṭaka* was long obscure. / Wilson (*Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*, ii.<sup>2</sup> 390) supposed it to denote 'the shade or outline of a drama,' and that the *Dūtāṅgada* 'was perhaps intended to introduce a spectacle of the drama and procession, as it is otherwise difficult to conceive what object its extreme conciseness could



have effected.' Lévi (*Le Théâtre indien*, 241f.) dubiously suggests: 'On serait tenté de l'expliquer par "ombre de drame" si les règles de la grammaire ne s'opposaient à cette analyse du composé *chāyā-nāṭaka*. Elles admettent du moins une explication voisine et presque identique: "drame à l'état d'ombre."' Pischel originally held that *chāyānāṭaka* might mean a 'half play' (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1891, 358f., *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, 1902, 403); and in the earlier draft of this introduction I fancied that the word might mean a 'play that is but a shadow' (or, less probably a 'play in shadow' [i. e., in miniature]; cf. for examples of these two types of compound Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, ii, a, 244—245, 250—253), my argument being that the *chāyānāṭaka* was, so to say, 'a condensed yet complete drama, a "shadow" of the *nāṭaka* both in number of acts and in their length, although the general theme is the same in both. The *Dūtāṅgada* may thus not inappropriately be termed the "shadow" of, for instance, the *Mahāvīracarita*.' All these views have been rendered nugatory by Pischel's monograph already noted, in which he has shown that *chāyānāṭaka* means simply and solely 'shadow-play.' This form of drama is expressly mentioned by Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on *rūpopaṣṭavanam* in *Mahābhārata* XII, ccxcv, 5: *rūpopaṣṭavanam jalamaṇḍapiketi dākṣiṇātyeṣu prasiddham, yatra sūkṣmavastram vyavadhāya carmamayair ākarai rājāmātyādīnām caryā pradarsyate, 'rūpopaṣṭavana* is called *jalamaṇḍapikā* among the Southerners, where, having set up a thin cloth, the action of kings, ministers, &c., is shown by leathern figures' (for further details see Pischel, 4ff.). Of such a shadow play the *Dūtāṅgada* is at least the legitimate successor, and the oldest extant Indian specimen, whether it was presented after the fashion of *ombres chinoises* or by real actors (cf. Pischel, 19f.).

The suggestion has been made by Rajendralāla Mitra (*Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of his Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner*, 251) that the *Dūtāṅgada* 'was evidently intended to serve as an *entr'act* to a theatrical exhibition.' If this be true, the Sanskrit *chāyānāṭaka* would correspond almost precisely to the English 'interludes,' which 'seem to have not unfrequently been produced to diversify or fill up the pauses of the banquets ensuing in great houses upon the more substantial part of the repast' (Ward, *History of English*

*Dramatic Literature*, i, 108, 237—238; cf. also Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, introd. 55—56), while in France they were sometimes acted in the intervals of the mysteries, and hence were called *pauses*. If the suggestion of Rājendra-lāla Mitra be taken still more strictly, the *chāyānāṭaka* would find its European parallel in the Italian *intermezzi* of Cecchi and Borghini. as well as in the Spanish *entremeses* of Timoneda, Cervantes, and Lope de Vega (Klein, *Geschichte des Drama's*, iv, 657, 674, 682—684; ix, 185—187, 375—412; x, 510—516). All this, however, is scarcely probable; for if the *chāyānāṭaka* is really a shadow play, as it almost certainly is, the universal mode of presenting such plays would forbid us to consider it as in any sense an interlude.

The *Dūtāṅgada* has already been analysed by Wilson (*loc. cit.*, on which is based the brief note of Klein, *op. cit.*, iii, 369) and by Aufrecht (*Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, 139). It is, as its name implies, based on the *Rāmāyana*, and deals with the sending of the monkey Aṅgada by Rāma to demand the restoration of the captive Sitā by Rāvaṇa. A *nāṭaka* was composed on Aṅgada by Bhūbhāṭṭa (Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, 4), but probably the closest analogue to the *Dūtāṅgada* is to be found in the sixth act of Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita*, which was far anterior to Subhāṭa's play, and which may have served to some extent as his model.

Rāma plays have enjoyed a wide popularity throughout certain portions of the East. Originating in India, and comprising such dramas as Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita*, Rājaśekhara's *Bālarāmāyana*, Murāri's *Anargharāghava*, Jayadeva's *Prasannarāghava*, and Rāmabhadradikṣita's *Jānakīpariṇaya* (Lévi, 267—295), they spread to Java, Bali, Malacca, Burmah, Siam, and Cambodia (Juynboll, *Indonesische en achterindische tooneelvoorstellingen uit het Rāmāyana*, in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 6th series, x, 501—565; Serrurier, *De wajang poerwā*, 171—172; Bastian, *Reisen in Siam*, 328, 503—504; Moura, *Royaume de Cambodge*, ii, 444—458; F. W. K. Müller, *Nāṅg, siamesische Schattenspielfiguren*, supplement to *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, vii; Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 517—519). Aṅgada himself, the hero of Subhāṭa's play, appears in Java, Bali, Siam, and Cambodia, although he is by no means the principal figure in any of

these dramas of Farther India. The source of the Rāma plays in Cambodia, Siam, Burmah, and the Malay Peninsula was doubtless Java (cf. Skeat, 503—521; Hazeu, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het javaansche tooneel*, 28—36). while Java obviously received the Rāma legend from India. Yet from Java, despite its affection for the story of Rāma and the extreme elaboration of its dramaturgy, we gain little light on the *Dūtāṅgada*. In Java the Rāma cycle may be treated in the dramatic categories of the *wayang purwa*, a shadow play produced by puppets of buffalo leather; the *wayang topeng* and the *wayang wong*, produced by masked and unmasked men respectively, and the *wayang beber*, in which pictures are unrolled and explained by the *dalang* (Juynboll, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xiii, 4—5). In many respects the latter, as the manager of the puppets and the speaker of the dialogue, in which he modulates his voice according to the various characters of the drama (Serrurier, 95—96, 106—112; Hazeu, 7—9), corresponds very probably to the Sanskrit *sūtra-dhāra*, although his name seems to signify merely ‘stroller, strolling player,’ and it has been suggested that he was primarily a priest who rendered worship to the ghosts represented by the shadows cast by the puppets on the curtain in the *wayang* (Hazeu, 23—24, 39—57). At all events, we are justified in seeing in the Javanese *wayang purwa*, or shadow play, the analogue of the Sanskrit *chāyānāṭaka*, and both are without doubt the congenors of the Chinese shadow play, the Turkish *qaragöz*, and the marionettes which, originating in India, have spread throughout Asia and Europe to be enacted at the present day (see, for example, Pischel, *Heimat des Puppenspiels*; Rehm, *Buch der Marionetten*; Jacob, *Erwähnungen des Schattentheaters in der Welt-Literatur* and *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*; together with the literature cited in these works).

In conclusion a word may be added regarding the remaining Sanskrit plays classed as *chāyānāṭakas*. The *Harid(y)ūta* is anonymous and of uncertain date, but is clearly an imitation of the *Dūtāṅgada* (Bendall, *Catalogue*, 106). It is in three scenes, and is based on the *Mahābhārata* instead of on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. An analysis is given by Lévi (p. 242), but Pischel (p. 14) doubts whether it can rightly be considered a *chāyānāṭaka*. Rāmadeva, the author of the *Subhadrāpariṇaya*, the *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya*, and the *Rāmābhyudaya*, flourished in the

fifteenth century, the *Subhadrāpariṇaya* being written between 1402 and 1415, and the *Rāmābhyudaya* dating from the middle of the same century (Bendall, *JRAS*, 1898, 231, *Catalogue*, 106—108). These two plays have been analysed by Lévi (p. 242); the *Rāmābhyudaya* is in two acts, and the *Subhadrāpariṇaya* is still shorter. An analysis of the third *chāyānāṭaka* of Rāmadeva, the *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya*, is given by Eggeling (*Catalogue*, no. 4187). Of the brief *chāyānāṭaka* by Viṭṭhila nothing is thus far known beyond the brief statement of Rājendralāla Mitra (*loc. cit.*) that it is based on the history of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty, which ruled in Bijāpūr from 1489 to 1660. The *Sāvitrīcarita*, written by Maheśvarātmaja Śaṅkaralāla, is an entirely modern composition, and, unlike the others of its class, is a long and dreary drama of seven acts (Lévi, 241).

## THE D Ū T Ā Ņ G A D A.

### DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

#### IN THE INDUCTION.

*The Stage-Manager.*

*Vilāsavatī*, an Actress.

#### IN THE PLAY.

*Rāma*, a Prince of India.

*Lakṣmaṇa*, Brother to *Rāma*.

*Sugrīva*, a Monkey-king, ally to *Rāma*.

*Aṅgada*, a Monkey, messenger to *Rāma*.

*Rāvaṇa*, Demon-king of Laṅkā.

*Vibhīṣaṇa*, a Demon, brother to *Rāvaṇa*.

*Mālyavān*, a Demon, counsellor to *Rāvaṇa*.

*Prahasta*, a Demon, porter to *Rāvaṇa*.

*Hemāṅgada*, a Gandharva.

*Citrāṅgada*, a Gandharva.

[*Sītā*], Wife to *Rāma*.

*Māyāmaithilī*, a Demoness in the shape of *Sītā*.

*Mandodarī*, Wife to *Rāvaṇa*.

*Celestial Bard.*

*A Rākṣasī.*

*Demons.*

## ACT I.

[1]

(Induction.—Invocation.)

May Śiva's trump bring safety unto you,  
 All white with jasmine and with lotuses,  
 Whereon the moon hath his abiding-place,  
 And whose dread call doth loose the zones which deck  
 The brides of them that war against the gods.

And, further,

How wondrous would great Rāma's nature seem  
 Did all men know that he is Viṣṇu's self,<sup>1</sup>  
 And that he ever worketh for their weal;  
 He brake Śiv's bow,<sup>2</sup> and yet was not revealed,  
 Slew Śakra's son,<sup>3</sup> and still was unperceived,  
 He built the bridge,<sup>4</sup> nor then was recognized;  
 E'en from the conference of Aṅgada<sup>5</sup>  
 His ways remain untraced by mortals still,  
 For that he hath assumed the form of man.

(End of the invocation.)

(Enter the *Stage-Manager*, looking toward the wings.)*Stage-Manager.* Dear Vilāsavati, hither now!

[2]

(Enter an *Actress*.)*Actress.* Here I am, husband. May my lord tell what is to be done!

*Stage-Manager.* At the command of the council of the great king, the sovereign lord, the glorious Tribhuvanapāladeva,<sup>6</sup> a boar<sup>7</sup> for the support and the like of the burden of all the earth, a royal swan of majesty swimming in the flood of the many tears fallen from the blue lotus eyes of the wives of whole hosts of enemies cloven by his own hands,

<sup>1</sup> Rāma was one of the avatars, or incarnations, of Viṣṇu.

<sup>2</sup> The bow given by Śiva to Janaka, but bent and broken by Rāma, who thus won his bride Sitā (see *Rāmāyaṇa* i, 67).

<sup>3</sup> Vālī, the brother of Sugrīva and father of Aṅgada (*Rāmāyaṇa* iv. 16—22).

<sup>4</sup> The modern Adam's Bridge between India and Ceylon.

<sup>5</sup> The *bija*, or allusion to the subject-matter of the entire drama (cf. Lévi, *Théâtre indien*, 34).

<sup>6</sup> A Chaulukya monarch of Aṇhilvād, who ruled for a year in Gujarat (1242—1243; see *Introduction*).

<sup>7</sup> In other words, a quasi-Viṣṇu (alluding to this god's third or boar-incarnation), and consequently a quasi-Rāma.

I have undertaken a pre-eminent production. What ho! ye members of the audience! hear ye attentively that to-day, at the festival of spring,<sup>1</sup> at the procession of the divine and glorious Kumārapāladeva,<sup>2</sup> a shadow-play<sup>3</sup> is to be presented called *The Messenger Āṅgada*, composed by a great poet, the glorious Subhāṭa, thoroughly versed in knowledge of word and phrase.

*Actress*. The undertaking is excellent, husband!

*Voice* (within).

Upon Suvēla's<sup>4</sup> heights doth Rāma sport,  
Who crossed the sea and slew the simian king,<sup>5</sup>  
Conferring all his realm on Tārā's spouse.<sup>6</sup>

*Stage-Manager*. My dear, the actors have begun, for here are heard the conversations of the heroes attendant upon Rāma. Come, then! Let us both be ready for what must straightway be done!

(*Exeunt*.)

(*End of the Induction*.)

(*Enter Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa*, sitting on a rock in the hills of Suvēla.

*Sugrīva* and others in order of rank as a retinue.)<sup>7</sup>

*Rāma* (to *Lakṣmaṇa*). Good Lakṣmaṇa,

[3] The ocean's passed, and now the monkey-host  
Hath swallowed up the demon-capitol;  
While I that speak have played the man to-day,  
Aided by Fate, or by yon mighty bow.

*Lakṣmaṇa*. Noble sir, what advantage is there in a fate subject to a coward's soul?

Unto the man of deeds fair Fortune comes;  
'Tis only cowards moan that 'Fate is Fate':

<sup>1</sup> *Vasantotsava*, 'formerly held on the full-moon day of Chaitra [March-April], but now on the full-moon day of Phālguna [February-March], and identified with the *Holi* festival' (Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v.). See also *Introduction*.

<sup>2</sup> A Chaulukya monarch of Tribhuvanapāla's dynasty, who ruled from 1143 to 1172 (see *Introduction*).

<sup>3</sup> On the signification of this term, see *Introduction*.

<sup>4</sup> One of the peaks of the mountain Trikūṭa, on whose central height Rāvaṇa's capital was situated.

<sup>5</sup> Vāli.

<sup>6</sup> Sugrīva, who, after Vāli's death, married Tārā, his brother's widow.

<sup>7</sup> The first scene, which begins here, is based on *Ramāyaṇa*, vi, 41, 58—73.

Slay thou thy fate, and strive as heroes strive;  
If then thou fall, not thine the dark disgrace.<sup>1</sup>

And, furthermore,

While half thy brow alone be dark with frowns,  
And while thy bow remaineth still unstrung,  
Let him who ruleth o'er the fiends of night<sup>2</sup>  
Bend low the roots of all the triple world,  
And wax unceasing in his arrogance.

Therefore let Āṅgada be told his message.

*Rāma* (looking at *Āṅgada* respectfully). Good friend,

All words are dumb to tell thy father's deeds  
Against that mighty fiend whose necks are ten,<sup>2</sup>  
And yet this flesh our wonder doth reveal;<sup>3</sup>  
But thou thyself, in reverence to thy sire,  
Curtailest thine own prowess! Do not so!  
Up! prove thee worthy of our trust in thee!

*Āṅgada* (bowing with both hands touching the circle of his head, speaks).

What message shall I bear to Laṅkā's<sup>4</sup> gates?  
Or shall I there raise mighty hosts for thee?

[4] Or ring the ocean through eternity

With all the lofty mountains of the world?

Tell me, O, King! what thou wouldst have me do,  
And what the tasks that wait my sturdy arm!

*Rāma*. Friend,

Swift haste thee now, and unto Rāvaṇ say:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A verse borrowed from the *Pañcatantra* (ed. Kielhorn and Bühler, i, 361; ii, 130) or from the *Hitopadeśa* (ed. Peterson, i, 22), and repeated in Sanskrit anthologies (see Böhrtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, 1255). Durgā-prasāda and Parab note that it is omitted in some manuscripts of the *Dūtāṅgada*.

<sup>2</sup> Rāvaṇa.

<sup>3</sup> Of course an allusion to the familiar 'horripilation' constantly mentioned in Sanskrit literature. The reference to Vālī's deeds of prowess against Rāvaṇa seems to be a mere compliment of Rāma to Āṅgada, unless one may infer from the fact that both Rāvaṇa and Vālī ruled in Laṅkā that there was hostility between them, so that Āṅgada, in a measure, inherited his father's feud.

<sup>4</sup> Usually identified with Ceylon, although this is doubted by Jacobi (*Das Rāmāyaṇa*, 90—93), at least so far as the oldest portions of the Rāma-cycle are concerned.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. the message given Āṅgada for Rāvaṇa by Rāma in *Rāmāyaṇa* vi, 41, 61—72. The Bombay editors note that Kṣemendra, who flourished in the eleventh century (Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i,

‘Unwitting, or by kingly lust inflamed,  
Thou stolest Sītā whilst I was afar;  
Restore her unto me, or with thy sons  
In Death’s grim city thou shalt dwell ere long,  
Thy royal parasol the crimson blood  
Welling from wounds that Lakṣman’s arrows deal.’

*Aṅgada.* Sire,

If I be messenger in peace or war,  
Full soon the spouse of mighty Rāvaṇa  
Shall fall, whether her fate be life or death.

*Rāma.* Good, O, son of Vāli, good! (So saying, laying his hand on his back, he dismisses him. Exit *Aṅgada*, bowing.)

*Sugrīva* (gazing at the summit of the rocks of Laṅkā). Look, sire, look!

Like to a tusker mad with must, the fiend  
Doth gaze in deep disdain, as if he felt  
The host of simian heroes captive made  
And on his shoulder borne unto their doom.

Come then! Let us gaze upon the shores of the sea, adorned  
by the forests on Suvela’s cliffs.

(Exeunt.)

(Enter *Rāvaṇa*, *Mandodarī*, and *Vibhīṣaṇa* and others as retinue.)<sup>1</sup>

*Rāvaṇa* (to *Vibhīṣaṇa*). Friend Vibhīṣaṇa,

Am I not Rāvaṇ, Laṅkā’s lord, and these  
The hands that cure great Indra’s itching arms?<sup>2</sup>

[5] I hear that Rāma bridgeth ocean o’er  
And see the monkey-hosts invade mine isle,  
E’en though no sound is heard, and naught is seen.<sup>3</sup>

And, furthermore,

How comes it that this wanderer ne’er hath heard  
Of my grim blade, that with resistless might  
Could cleave the temples of Airāvata,<sup>4</sup>  
And that men name ‘The Laughter of the Moon’?<sup>5</sup>

135), ascribes this verse, with minor variations, in his *Suṃtātīlaka* (ii, 37 of the *Kāvyamālā* edition) to Bhavabhūti.

<sup>1</sup> The second scene, which begins here, is based on *Rāmāyaṇa*, vi, 41, 74—90.

<sup>2</sup> An allusion to the defeat of Indra by Rāvaṇa and his son Indrajit or Meghanāda (*Rāmāyaṇa* vii, 27—29).

<sup>3</sup> Thus indicating his supernatural power.

<sup>4</sup> The elephant of the god Indra.

<sup>5</sup> *Candrahāsa*, the sword bestowed on Rāvaṇa by Śiva (*Rāmāyaṇa* vii, 16).



But lo, he findeth Laṅkā's shores all bare  
Of Meghanāda and his comrades bold,  
Wherefore his death-doomed soul now wavereth.

Mine arms eclipse the moon of Indra's pride,  
And unto holy hermits work dire woe.  
Oh, portent dread of evil yet to come!

*Mandodarī* (aside).

Even to-day envenomed arrogance  
Pours from his throat as rain to wake the buds  
Upon the tree of doom to all his kin!  
(Aloud.) Look, husband, look! Wonderful, wonderful!  
The surging cries of wrathful monkeys ring  
Within thy house of dalliance, my lord!

*Rāvaṇa* (contemptuously). O, queen, sweet is thy speech by nature, but enough, enough of this terror at the sound of these wretched apes! What further wouldst thou say?

*Mandodarī*.

Still, still thou may'st escape! give Sītā back  
To Rāma's arms! I pray thee, hear my plea!

[6] *Rāvaṇa* (with an angry laugh). My queen,  
It may not be, since she by force was stolen  
And was not given back to him straightway;  
But lo, to-day the surging sea is bound,  
And must I sue for peace by yielding her?  
Therefore leave thou this pleasure-house. (Exit *Mandodarī*,  
weeping.)

*Rāvaṇa* (to *Vibhīṣaṇa*). Friend Vibhīṣaṇa, what speech is thine?

*Vibhīṣaṇa*. Sire, lord of Laṅkā, consider well!

They twain be more than men, and these great apes  
Be more than members of the monkey-folk;  
Behind their guise lurks awful mystery  
Pregnant with woe for Laṅkā's mighty king.

Therefore set Sītā free, a night of doom for the race of Rākṣasas!

*Rāvaṇa* (angrily drawing his sword). Ah! knave, adherent of mine enemy, brand of thy family, and scoundrel! with Canda-hāsa shall I make thy head to fall! (Seizes him; *Vibhīṣaṇa* flees in terror.)

*Mālyavān*<sup>1</sup> (standing between them). Sire, lord of Lankā! consider well whether evil hath been spoken by prince Vibhīṣaṇa.

*Rāvaṇa*. Ha! Art thou, too, like to him? (*Mālyavān*, in terror, stands silent.)

*Rāvaṇa* (to *Vibhīṣaṇa*). Thou cursed kinsman! leave my capital, join that hermit,<sup>2</sup> and make thy skill in ethics known! I will not slay thee again!<sup>3</sup>

*Vibhīṣaṇa*. What needs must hap doth not happen otherwise!

(Exit. Enter a porter named *Prahasta*.)

*Prahasta*. Sire, at the door stands a monkey, saying: 'I am Rāma's envoy.'<sup>4</sup>

[7] *Rāvaṇa* (contemptuously). Let him enter then!

[7] (Enter *Aṅgada* with *Prahasta*.)

*Aṅgada* (looking at *Rāvaṇa*, aside).

'Tis *Rāvaṇa*, that fain would wreck the world!

But in his groves shall Rāma launch his darts!

(Aloud.)

Ye *Rākṣasas*, where stands curst *Rāvaṇa*

Who stole the gem that decks the moon and sun?

He is a moth doomed unto Rāma's flame,

That fills the threefold world with radiance.

(Several *Rākṣasas* assume the form of *Rāvaṇa*.)

How many *Rāvaṇs* art thou, O thou fiend?

In sooth we heard that thou wert multiform;

The one subdued by Kārtavīrya's arm<sup>5</sup>;

Another given as food to dancers vile

By wanton slave-girls of the *Dāitya* lord:

And to a third 'tis direst shame to speak:

Who art thou, if thou art not one of these?

*Rāvaṇa* (assuming various forms, insultingly). Who art thou, ape?

Whose messenger art thou?

<sup>1</sup> Though no 'enter' is given this character, he was doubtless included among the retinue surrounding *Rāvaṇa* at the beginning of the scene.

<sup>2</sup> *Rāma*, in allusion to his exile from his native land.

<sup>3</sup> *Vibhīṣaṇa*, if struck by *Rāvaṇa* once, would never live to receive a second blow.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Mahāvīracarita* vi (Pickford's translation, 131—133).

<sup>5</sup> See *Viṣṇupurāṇa* iv, 11. The allusion to the 'Dāitya lord' (apparently either *Bali* or *Pātālaketu*) is obscure.

*Āṅgada.*

The son who shirks the deeds his father did  
Could scarce instruct the elders of his house.<sup>1</sup>

So be it, then,

Yet one hath come to earth to bear the woe  
By demons wrought through all this mortal world;  
And I, his envoy, stand before thee now.  
Great Rāma's messenger, and Vāli's son.

And, furthermore,

I am the messenger of mighty Rām  
That slew my sire, whose valor thou dost know.

[8] *Rāvaṇa* (to *Āṅgada*).

What doeth Rāma?

*Āṅgada.*

Naught.

*Rāvaṇa.*

And yet but now

He cometh unto ocean's shore!

*Āṅgada.*

'Tis naught!

*Rāvaṇa.* Why hath he bound the sea?

*Āṅgada.*

For kingly sport!

*Rāvaṇa.* Doth he not know that Rāvaṇ shieldeth it?

*Āṅgada.* Vibhiṣaṇa, thy brother, knows it well,

Who stands by Rāma's side on Laṅkā's soil.

*Rāvaṇa* (in alarm). What now is Rāma's course?

*Āṅgada.* Upon his lap he takes Sugrīva's head.

Yea, and the foot of him who Akṣa slew,<sup>2</sup>

Then on a golden deer-skin soft reclines;

And glanceth at the arrow keen and straight

By Lakṣmaṇ made to slay the demon-host,

The while he hearkens to thy brother's words.

(*Rāvaṇa*, gesticulating contempt, speaks thus and thus in the ear of

*Prahasta*.)

*Prahasta.* As my lord commands.

(Exit *Prahasta*; enter a *False Maithilī*<sup>3</sup> with *Prahasta*.)

*False Maithilī.* Victory, victory, my spouse! (Thus speaking, she  
climbs to the lap of *Rāvaṇa*.)

*Rāvaṇa* (aside). Good, good, even though false! thou knowest  
how to please him of ten necks!<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably meaning that if he fails, none will heed his words.

<sup>2</sup> Akṣa, the eldest son of Rāvaṇa, was slain by Hanumān (*Rāmāyaṇa* v, 47).

<sup>3</sup> Maithilī is only a synonym for Sītā.

<sup>4</sup> Rāvaṇa.

[9] *Aṅgada* (aside, in sorrow). Would even Janaka's daughter go the way of her who takes gain from a stranger? So be it! Let me consider now!

*Rāvaṇa*. Lady daughter of Videha, answer thou this monkey, sent by Rāma!

*False Maithilī* (looking at *Aṅgada* respectfully). Good *Aṅgada*, answer thou the son of Raghu in my words:

'O, Rāma, wherefore doth this cause thee woe?

Swift get thee home, for of mine own accord

And publicly I wedded this my lord.

Yea, more than this,

Like to a swan in Rāvaṇ's lotus-lap

I sport the live-long day; so get thee hence

Unto thy realm where Bharata lies dead

Within a land by demons devastate.<sup>1</sup>

*Aṅgada* (stopping his ears). Nay, lady daughter of Janaka!

Such words of shame fair Sītā never speaks,

For spotless purity adorns her soul,

And like the Ganges she doth cleanse the world.

(Enter, with a toss of the curtain,<sup>2</sup> a *Rākṣasī*.)

*Rākṣasī*. Tidings of ill hath Rāma's captive spouse

Heard of her lord. and fain would end her days

Upon a slender cord of tendrils wove.

*Rāvaṇa* (in distress). Ah! Ill words and at a time unseemly!

Rākṣasas, protect, protect the daughter of Janaka!

(Dismisses the *False Maithilī*.)

*Aṅgada* (joyfully). Through the glory of the true Maithilī the blackness of the false Maithilī is hid!

[10] *Rāvaṇa*. What wouldst thou say, thou wrinkle-face?

*Aṅgada*. Disgrace comes not to thee from evil deeds,

Wherein thy hellish race its glory finds;

'Tis natural thou should'st steal another's wife

And think our warriors' wrath unjust to thee.

*Rāvaṇa* (angrily). Thou knave of evil face! through the sight of thy calumny thou deservest nevermore the sight of Raghu's sou!<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A false statement to make Rāma retire from Laṅkā.

<sup>2</sup> In token of hasty entrance.

<sup>3</sup> Rāma.

*Āṅgada.* Nay, consider thou another tale;

Rāma hath passed the sea impassible,  
Fulfilling his great vow, and portions out  
Suvela's forests as thy many arms.<sup>1</sup>

*Rāvaṇa.* Thou fool in understanding!

The ocean is not crossed by simian hosts,  
Or they would swarm on every mountain-peak,  
Unless, forsooth, they lurk in coverts hid;  
But on the touchstone of the sword to-day  
Will I put Rāma's valor to the proof.

Nay, more than this, thou knowest not Rāvaṇa!

With Candrahāsa oftimes I have gone  
To fell the forest of the foemen's throats,  
And lo, the bursting veins wept tears of blood,  
And choking sobs were hushed by Death's chill hand;  
Lord Śiva beareth witness to my words.<sup>2</sup>

*Āṅgada.* Nay, what hath Rām to do with thy keen glaive?

Thine arrows end the terror of the world,  
And, thanks to them, thou fool, thy severed heads  
Shall never rise to lofty majesty  
Like to the changing moon on Śiva's brow.

[11] *Rāvaṇa* (angrily drawing *Candrahāsa*). Away! away from me! I shall not slay thee twice!

*Āṅgada* (anxious to be gone).

Set Sītā free, thou demon of the night!  
In vain thou prancest through thy valorous steps;  
Before thee standeth all the simian host,  
Dread with the might of their immortal king,  
And with their prowess hymned by kinnaras.<sup>3</sup>

And, more than this,

He will not give thee wives as Śiva did,<sup>4</sup>  
Though many be thy heads, for lo, he makes  
The sea a lake, thou soldier of Kailās;<sup>5</sup>  
Thou wert my friend when he did slay my sire—

<sup>1</sup> Rāvaṇa had twenty arms.

<sup>2</sup> The deity who had given him his sword.

<sup>3</sup> Celestial musicians, dwelling in Kuvera's paradise and having the form of a man with the head of a horse.

<sup>4</sup> An obscure allusion.

<sup>5</sup> An allusion to Rāvaṇa's victory over the semi-divine Yakṣas at Mount Kailāsa, a peak of the Himālayas (*Rāmāyaṇa*, vii, 14—15).

O shaken pillar of fame! restore the spouse  
Of Rām, the noble kin of lotuses!

Nay, too,

He that lopped off the arms of Tāṭakā,<sup>1</sup>  
Yea, marred thy sister's wondrous loveliness,<sup>2</sup>  
Destroyed thy soldiers in the forest-glades,  
And bindeth now the sea, doth work thy doom;  
Yet still to fond delusion thou dost cling.

Yea, furthermore,

Thou foolish fiend! trust not to Śiva's boon,  
Since he is wroth with thee for Sītā's sake;  
Else he had given back thy sacrifice  
When he was girt with skulls that he did break.

Yet, more than this, we know the true nature of thine attachment to the service of the Lord,<sup>3</sup> but thou art proud in vain!

Why dost thou vaunt thyself, Paulastya<sup>4</sup> cruel:  
Lo, I that speak brought joy to Śiva's heart  
By gifts of his own beauteous lotuses:

[12] But on thee he bestowed thy blade divine

Through merest pity of thy penances,  
And in remorse for the fifth head of Brahm,  
Which he destroyed in olden days of sin.<sup>5</sup>

Hearken, thou ten-faced fiend! we shrink not in terror of the words which come from the hole within thy face!

(Exit *Aṅgada*.)

*Voice* (within).

Thou art the sovereign of the threefold world,  
And yet the apes of Rāma slay thy hosts!  
Swift to the fray! or hath thy valor quailed?

*Rāvaṇa* (anxiously). Alas! mightily wail our subjects that are being slaughtered!

(Enter *Demon-Warriors* with wounded limbs.)

<sup>1</sup> The demonic daughter of Suketu, slain by Rāma (*Rāmāyaṇa* i, 26).

<sup>2</sup> Śūrpaṅakhā, a hideous demoness, became enamoured of Rāma, who bade his brother Lakṣmaṇa cut off her nose and ears (*Rāmāyaṇa* iii, 18).

<sup>3</sup> Śiva.

<sup>4</sup> Rāvaṇa, as being the grandson of the *ṛṣi* Pulastya.

<sup>5</sup> Alluding to the Puranic legend that Śiva pinched off the fifth head of Brahma.

*Demons.*

'Tis shame for us to die at simian hands!  
 If thou be lord, make not thy wisdom vain  
 While thou dost live and breathe in Lankā's isle.

*Rāvaṇa* (angrily calling *Prahasta* in haste).

Arm swift my mighty demons for the fray!  
 What be these apes in cursed Rāma's host?  
 Lo, in my hand doth Candrahāsa wake,  
 Grim 'Laughter of the Moon' to mourning brides  
 Of the immortals falling 'neath its blade.

(Again striding about terribly.) To-day the world will be without Rāvaṇa or without Rāma! (Exit.)

(Enter *Hemāṅgada* and *Citrāṅgada*, two *Gandharvas*<sup>1</sup> wandering in the path of sky).<sup>2</sup>

*Hemāṅgada.* Good *Citrāṅgada*,

With arms divine that cried 'Earth, Ether, Sky!'<sup>3</sup>  
 Great Rāma severed Rāvaṇa's ten heads,  
 Whilst an eleventh sun shone through the clouds;  
 And by Kakutstha's wondrous scion slain,<sup>4</sup>  
 Yea, killed by his swift dart that Brahma sped,  
 The lord of demons of the night doth lie  
 A headless thing upon a hero's couch.

[13] *Citrāṅgada.* Good friend, long have we travelled fearlessly by this path of sky!

(Loud noise within.)

Crushed is the might of Rāvaṇ, Lankā's king,  
 He whose ten heads were made to rule the world,  
 Whose twenty arms gave him a strength tenfold;  
 Yet slain upon the field by Sitā's spouse  
 With crescent arrows radiant and keen.

*Celestial Bard.*

Hearken, Hemāṅgada! look, Citrāṅgada, as on a picture!  
 With arrows tawny as great Caṇḍa's<sup>5</sup> gold

<sup>1</sup> Celestial bards.

<sup>2</sup> The third scene, which begins here, is based on *Rāmāyaṇa* vi, 107—108. Comp. also the last scene of the sixth act of the *Mahāvīracarita* (Pickford's translation, 135—148).

<sup>3</sup> *Bhur, bhuvah, svaḥ*, a cry of mystic power as early as the Yajur Veda.

<sup>4</sup> Kakutstha, king of Ayodhyā, was the father of Raghu, and thus an ancestor of Rāma.

<sup>5</sup> A démon slain by Durgā.

All demons save Vibhīṣaṇa are slain  
 And set by Rāma in his precious store  
 Of boons to aid him through the lives to come;  
 Yet in their fear of Yama's conqueror<sup>1</sup>  
 The timid gods shower no garlands down,  
 Nor dare to sound the drums of victory.

*Citrāṅgada* (to *Hemāṅgada*, wondering). Good *Hemāṅgada*, this victor over the rangers of the night and this diadem of heroes is this marvellous vessel of the sentiment of wonder, glorious through his love for the spouse of Bhavānī,<sup>2</sup> before whom all gods and demons bow through the might of his exceeding majesty. But he who, in ages past, in his devotion to the foe of cities,

Paid ten-faced worship unto Śiva's bride,  
 Who thought the world, yea, and its Lord,<sup>3</sup> his own,  
 And fain would lay his hands on Brahm's five heads,  
 Doth roam no more on Durgā's mountain-heights.<sup>4</sup>

(Beholding the might of *karma*, anxiously.)

Look, *Hemāṅgada*, look!  
 What vengeance dread for ancient deeds of sin!  
 Great Śiva, see! the heads that once were thine<sup>5</sup>  
 Are now defiled by loathsome birds of prey!

*Hemāṅgada*. Is not this exceeding clear, my friend? 'Where justice is, is victory', is a true saying of the text-books.<sup>6</sup> Therefore in this very instance is revealed the future of those who work good or evil by their bodies and the like. There Rāvaṇa himself forms an example, for

[14] Lo, on this earth thy body is but wealth  
 To win thee everlasting righteousness,  
 And when 'tis gone it cometh nevermore;  
 So Rāvaṇ gave his heads and worlds threefold  
 To Brahma for a wondrous lotus blue.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In allusion to Rāvaṇa's victory over Yama, the god of death (*Rāmāyaṇa* vii, 20—22).

<sup>2</sup> The husband of Bhavānī (Pārvatī) is Śiva.

<sup>3</sup> Śiva.

<sup>4</sup> The Himālayas, which include the Mount Kailāsa already mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> An obscure allusion.

<sup>6</sup> The same proverb occurs in the *Dharmaviveka* and the *Prasaṅga-bhāraṇa* (*Indische Sprüche* 2348, 5030).

<sup>7</sup> See *Rāmāyaṇa* vii, 10.



*Voice* (within).

Its banner-pole all gashed with Rāma's darts,  
 Its charioteer a-faint in streams of blood,  
 The carrion vultures hovering o'er its path,  
 And with its axle broken 'neath the fall  
 Of Rāvan's headless corpse, his car now comes  
 To Laṅkā, swiftly drawn by whinneying steeds  
 That would return to their remembered stalls.

(Again within.)

Come from your homes, ye brides of gods immortal,  
 And thou, mahout of our dread deities,  
 Fast tie thy mighty elephant divine;  
 Go forth, ye gods, as watchmen of the night,  
 And brighter, sweeter far be now the bloom  
 Of coral trees in Indra's holy grove;  
 For at the eastern gate lies Rāvan's head,  
 Defiled and branded by the hands of slaves.

And, more than this,

Girt round with fragrance showered from the hands  
 Of brides divine rejoicing in the fray,  
 Himself descended from his car of war,  
 And with his hand resting on Lakṣmaṇa,  
 His ears filled with the cry of 'victory'  
 Torn from the prisoners' reluctant lips,  
 Doth Rāma, Sītā's mighty spouse, draw nigh!

*Rāma* (crowned with flowers, going to Ayodhya,<sup>1</sup> to *Sītā*, pointing out the battle-field of Laṅkā).

Here Phaṇipāś yielded to Lakṣmaṇ's might,  
 There, rent and torn, Droṇādri once became  
 The captive of divinest Hanumān;  
 Here by my brother Indrajit was slain,  
 And there did one<sup>2</sup> whose name I may not tell  
 Hew Rāvan's heads from his accursed frame,  
 Like some unholy wood, sweet Eyes 'o Fawn!<sup>3</sup>

Joying the heart of Sītā with such words,  
 Whose sentiment is new to mortal ears,

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<sup>1</sup> The modern Oudh.

<sup>2</sup> Rāma himself.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. with this speech *Rāmāyaṇa* vi, 123, 3—15, and the last act of the *Mahāvīracarita*.

His limbs a-thrill with beauty and delight,  
[15] Let Rāma haste unto his capital;  
And there rule o'er his land forevermore—  
Guarding his realm and loyal citizens,  
Whom he shall bless with bounties manifold.

By Subhāṭa this drama hath been writ  
Upon a theme dear to the bards of old,  
And to it he hath added his own words,  
Commingleing prose and verse in flavor sweet.

*The Hebrew Metheg*<sup>1</sup>.—By FRANK R. BLAKE, Ph. D.,  
Johns Hopkins University.

**The Traditional View.**

THE traditional views of the Jewish grammarians on the sign Metheg are ably set forth by Baer in his article on "Die Methegsetzung".<sup>2</sup> In this article, which forms the basis of the treatment of this subject in modern Hebrew Grammars, Baer states that when any sound that does not bear the primary tone is to be emphasized, a Metheg is affixed to the sign for that sound, the Metheg, conformably with its name (bridle), indicating that the sign to which it is attached is to be dwelt upon and not hastened over in pronunciation. He divides the various Methegs into three classes, light, heavy, and euphonic, with a number of subdivisions. His scheme is in outline as follows.

I. The light Metheg (מתן קל).

A. The ordinary Metheg (פשוט) indicating the secondary tone, in the first open syllable two or more places from the primary tone, as, e. g., in הָאֵלִים (Gen. 1. 27).

B. The indispensable Metheg (תמך).

a) with long vowel before Shewa, e. g., הֵיחָה (Gen. 1. 2).

b) with long vowel before Maqqeph, e. g., שְׁתִּלִּי (Gen. 4, 25).

c) with Sere in Nasog Ahor, e. g., אֶהָב (Prov. 12, 1).

d) with a vowel before a Hateph, e. g., גִּעְשָׁה (Gen. 1, 26).

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<sup>1</sup> In the following article the primary accent or tone of Hebrew words will be marked by the sign  $\acute{}$ , e. g., הָאֵלִים, unless there is some special reason for employing the proper accent marks. In the application of Metheg, two or more words connected by Maqqeph are treated as if they formed one word.

<sup>2</sup> S. Baer, *Die Methegsetzung nach ihren überlieferten Gesetzen dargestellt*, in Merx's *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des alten Testaments*, Bd. 1, Halle 1869, pp. 55—67 and 194—207.

- e) with the vowel before the initial consonant of הִיה, חִיה, e. g., יְהִיָּה (Gen. 1, 29).
- f) in the forms of the plural of בֵּית, e. g., בְּתִים, and in אָנָּה.

## II. The heavy Metheg (מתג כבד).

### A. with vowels.

- a) with the vowel of the article before a consonant with Shewa and without Dagesh, e. g., הַמְכַסֶּה (Lev. 3, 3).
- b) with the Pathah of ה interrogative, e. g., הֵאֱלֶךְ<sup>1</sup> (Ex. 2, 7).
- c) in certain forms with a short vowel (including Pathah, Segol, short Hireq, and short Shureq) three places before the primary tone, provided this is marked with a disjunctive accent, e. g., וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ (Gen. 3, 8).
- d) in the second closed syllable before the tone with the vowels Segol, short Hireq or short Shureq<sup>2</sup>, when the first syllable before the tone contains Pathah or Segol, and the tone is marked by a disjunctive accent, e. g., הַמֶּתְהַפֵּקֶת (Gen. 3, 24).
- e) with the first syllable of imperfects with Qames Hataf before Maqqeph, e. g., יִשְׁמְרֵצֶאתָךְ (Ps. 121, 8).
- f) with the Pathah of the forms יִרְעֶכֶם, יִרְעֶךָ with disjunctive accent,
- g) with the Pathah of יִהְיֶי and יִהְיֶי before Maqqeph and when accented with Pashta.
- h) with the vowel of the initial syllable of a number of miscellaneous forms, accented for the most part with Zarka.

### B. with Shewa in the initial syllable.

#### 1.—in the metrical books.

- a) with a Shewa three places before the tone, when the word is marked by a disjunctive accent without preceding conjunctive, instead of on the following open syllable, e. g., נִסְתַּחֲעֲלִינוּ (Ps. 4, 7).
- b) with the Shewa of the divine names אֲדֹנִי (יהוה) and

<sup>1</sup> The Metheg with ה interrogative is regularly placed to the right of the vowel to distinguish the ה from the article, except in the poetical books: cf. Baer, *op. cit.*, p. 196, ft. nt. 1.

<sup>2</sup> That Pathah is not entirely excluded is shown by הִתְחַלְלוּ (Hos. 4, 17). For the second Metheg cf. III, A. a.

אלהים when they are accented with great Rebia without preceding conjunctive accent, e. g., אֱלֹהֵי<sup>1</sup> (Ps. 25, 2).

- c) with the Shewa of a word accented with Oleveyored, Great Rebia, or Dehi, without preceding conjunctive accent, provided at least one vowel intervenes, and this has not already Metheg, e. g., וְהָיָה (Ps. 1, 3).
- d) with אֲנִי when accented with Mnnah as conjunctive accent before Dehi.

2.—in the other books of the Bible

- a) with the Shewa of words accented with Gershaim or Pazer without preceding conjunctive accent, when at least two vowels lie between Shewa and tone syllable, and the first has not already Metheg, e. g., וְאֶת־פִּתְרֹנָם (Gen. 10, 14).
- b) with the Shewa of words accented with Darga as second conjunctive accent before Rebia, with Kadma as second conjunctive accent before Pashta or Tebir, or with Munah as third conjunctive before Telisha, provided that at least one vowel lies between Shewa and the tone syllable, and that this vowel has not already Metheg, e. g., שְׁלֹמִים (Gen. 34, 21).

III. The Enphonic Metheg (נֶעֱיָא לְתַקֵּן הַקְרִיאה).

A. at the end of a word.

- a) with a final ע preceded by Pathah in a word accented on the penult, when this word is connected by a conjunctive accent with a word accented on the first syllable, e. g., וַיִּשְׁבַּע לוֹ (Gen. 24, 9).
- b) with a final guttural consonant of a word closely connected by Maqqeph or conjunctive accent with a word beginning with a guttural, e. g., גְּבִיעַ הַבֶּסֶר (Gen. 44, 2).

B. at the beginning of a word.

- a) in the closed initial syllable of certain dissyllabic words, e. g., קָדַפּוּ (Ps. 71, 11).

This classification is of course entitled to respect as representing the views of the native Jewish grammarians, but it must be remembered that they were not the same men who

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<sup>1</sup> When Metheg is affixed to a composite Shewa it is placed between Shewa and vowel as here, cf. Baer, *op. cit.*, p. 202, ft. nt.

invented the pointing, but later commentators on this pointing. They represent what they thought was the meaning of the various points at their time, basing their conclusions in all probability not only on tradition, but also on their own individual opinions<sup>1</sup>. The body of rules for Metheg was a gradual growth, compiled from various sources. This is indicated by the variation of the manuscripts in its use, and by the fact that in the best and oldest manuscripts some of its most prominent uses are practically unknown, e. g., the use of Metheg before a Hateph (I. B. *d*)<sup>2</sup>. There is no reason, therefore, why the traditional view should be accepted simply because it is traditional, its acceptance or rejection will depend largely on its ability to explain the actual phenomena.

As a matter of fact the traditional classification of the uses of Metheg is not satisfactory. While there is a certain amount of justification for it in general, many of the details are not properly worked out and assimilated to the general scheme (cf. e. g., II. A. *h*, III. B. *a*). We find uses separated that belong together, and those which are quite different placed under the same heading. For example the Metheg in such forms as וְיִתְנַבֵּן and that in those like וְיִתְעַצֵּב are placed in different sub-classes of the heavy Metheg (viz., A. *c*, and A. *d*), though they evidently belong together. On the other hand the Metheg in the forms of the verbs הִיהָ and חִיהָ, e. g., וְהִיהָ, is placed under the same general heading as the Metheg in forms like יַעֲשֶׂה (viz. light Metheg B. *d* and B. *e*), though they are used to denote two entirely different things. Moreover the connection between the various kinds of Metheg is not made sufficiently clear, nor is the general principle underlying the use of the Metheg in all cases adequately emphasized. A more accurate and scientific classification of the various uses of Metheg is certainly to be desired.

### The underlying Principle.

The general principle which underlies all the uses of Metheg, according to the traditional explanation, is that of emphasis, but the emphasis is certainly not always an actual emphasis,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. D. Ginsburg, *Introd. to the Massoretico-critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, London, 1897, pp. 462–465; B. Stade, *Lehrbuch der Hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 54, § 50.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ginsburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 469–775 *passim*.

as is indicated by Baer's statement<sup>1</sup>, cf. I. B. *b*. The fundamental use of Metheg seems to have been, not necessarily to emphasize, but to call special attention to; it was thus a sort of *nota bene*. The fact that the majority of the syllables marked with Metheg bore the secondary tone led to the idea that emphasis or lingering on the sound in question was the underlying signification of the sign.

Considering this faculty of calling special attention to, to be fundamental, the chief uses of Metheg may be classed under three heads. It may be employed to call special attention to—

- a) a consonant,
- b) a vowel,
- c) an accent, or accented syllable.

#### Metheg used to call attention to a Consonant.

This Metheg corresponds to Baer's III. A. *a* and *b*. In both these cases the Metheg is placed under a final guttural to call special attention to it in positions where it would be likely to be slurred over.

#### Metheg used to call attention to a Vowel.

This Metheg calls special attention to a vowel which is likely to be mispronounced in the form in question, or which is irregular or out of place in the form. The vowel which is thus marked may be long or short.

This Metheg is employed with a long vowel in the following cases, viz.:

- (1) It is used with a long final vowel in a closed syllable before Maqqeph, e. g., שְׁתִּילִי (Gen. 4, 25), עֵץ־הֵן (Gen. 2, 16): in the first case without Metheg the reading would naturally be *šōth-lî*, while before Maqqeph a Sere regularly becomes Segol: cases like עֵים־נָא (Gen. 47, 29) and בְּתוֹךְ הֵן (Gen. 3, 3), where there is no danger of a mistake without Metheg, have followed the analogy of the first two cases, the point of contact being that both sets of cases end in long vowels.
- (2) It is used with Sere which is to be retained in Nasog Ahor, e. g., אֶהְיֶה־בְּצֵת (Prov. 12, 1); without Metheg the reading would naturally be אֶהְיֶה.

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<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 56, § 1.

(3) It is used with a long vowel before Shewa, the Shewa being silent as in גִּרְשׁוֹן (Gen. 46, 11), בְּלִמְשָׁאֲצֹר (Dan. 5, 12), or vocal as in הִיְתָה (Gen. 1, 2), גִּדְּהָ (Gen. 22, 12), יִרְעִי (Gen. 3, 5). Here originally as in (1) the Metheg was used to prevent an improper pronunciation, e. g., גִּרְשׁוֹן or *ĩdʒza*; cases like יִרְעִי are due to an extension of the principle to all long vowels. In cases in which the Shewa is vocal, as it probably is in הִיְתָה, גִּדְּהָ, &c.<sup>1</sup> the Metheg stands in the syllable which bears the secondary tone, and so came to be regarded as the sign of this tone. It is not impossible that the use of Metheg as an accentual sign originated with cases like these.

(4) It is used in the forms of בָּתִּים and in אָנָּה to insure the pronunciation *bâtîm*, *ânná* instead of *böttîm*, *önná*.

This Metheg is employed with a short vowel in the following cases, viz.:

(1) It is used in the forms of הִיה and חִיה to call special attention to the *i* vowel before ה and ח where we should expect Segol or Pathah, e. g., יִהְיֶה, יִחְיֶה, &c.; the Metheg in forms like אִהְיֶה (Gen. 26, 3), וְיִחְיֶה (Gen. 12, 2), וְיִהְיֶה (Gen. 20, 7), is probably due to the analogy of the more numerous forms with Hireq.

(2)<sup>2</sup> It is used to call special attention to an *ö* vowel in a situation where it might be mistaken for *â*, e. g., אָהֳרֵלִי (Nu. 23, 7), קָהֳלִי (Nu. 22, 11. 17). קָרָשִׁים and שָׂרָשִׁים in numerous instances. Here the Qames of the first syllable would naturally have been read *â*, as it stands in an open syllable. The use of the Metheg with Qames Hataf was also extended to cases in which this vowel stood before Shewa. In certain imperative forms with *ö* in the first syllable Metheg was employed to call attention to the unusual vocalization, *ö* instead of the regular *i*, e. g., שָׁמְרָה (Ps. 86, 2). In certain infinitive and imperfect forms with suffix ה—, Metheg was used with Qames to call special attention to the fact that the regular *ö* (Holem) of the infinitive had been changed to *ö* (Qames

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgr. der Hebr. Spr.*, Leipzig, 1881. 1<sup>te</sup> H., pp. 111—118.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the pronunciation of the Qames in these forms cf. König, *op. cit.*, pp. 104—111.



Hatuph), e. g., לְמִשְׁחָהּ<sup>1</sup> (1 Sam. 15, 1), לְהִרְגָהּ (1 Sam. 24, 11), יִפְגֹּשֶׁהּ (Gen. 32, 18). The extension of this Metheg to the infinitive form בָּעֲבְרוּ (Jos. 4, 7) is apparently without special reason, as *ō* is the regular vowel in such forms; possibly it is due to formal analogy with the imperatives like שִׁמְרָה. The fact that Metheg was ordinarily employed to mark a long Qames before Shewa, would naturally lead to a confusion between *ō* and *ā*, and this is doubtless the reason why the Metheg with *ō* is preserved only in exceptional cases. The Metheg with *ō* in forms like פָּעֵלָהּ, פָּעֵלוּ does not belong here, but under the accentual Metheg (cf. below p. 85).

- (3) In the forms of the divine name אֲדֹנִי with prefixed particles, Metheg is used with the Pathah of the particle in all cases where the *ā* is written without Hatuph, to call attention to the fact that Pathah is the proper vowel here, and not Qames (*ā*) even though the *ā* has apparently quiesced, e. g., בְּאֲדֹנִי, לְאֲדֹנִי, וְאֲדֹנִי, &c.: so also with similar forms of יהוה, viz., בְּיְהוָה, לְיְהוָה, וְיְהוָה, &c., because they were read וְאֲדֹנִי, &c.
- (4) In the word אֲשֶׁרִי, a Metheg is employed after the Shewa to indicate that it is vocal, viz., אֲשֶׁרִי<sup>2</sup> (Ps. 1, 1), and elsewhere.

### Accentual Metheg.

The third and most common use of the Metheg is to call attention, not to the vowel itself to which it is affixed, but to the fact that the vowel bears a special stress. This use may have originated from the fact that in certain forms the Metheg marked a vowel which bore the secondary accent (cf. above pp. 83, 80). This use may be subdivided as follows.

#### I.

It is employed with a full vowel in the first open syllable two or more places before the tone to denote a secondary accent. This is Baer's so called ordinary Metheg (I. A.). Examples are הָאָדָם (Gen. 1, 27), הָאֲדֹנִי (Gen. 10, 18), מִתְחַתָּנוֹת.

<sup>1</sup> Baer-Delitzsch has לְמִשְׁחָהּ with Hatuph Qames; this is an additional indication of the *o* quality of the preceding Qames.

<sup>2</sup> For the Metheg with Pathah cf. below p. 94.

(Ezek. 42, 5), בַּאֲצֵמָה (Gen. 7, 1), קְבֵרְת־רָחֵל (Gen. 35, 20). The vowel of the open syllable is usually long as in the examples cited, but it may also be short as in מִלְךְ-צָר (2 Sam. 5, 11), נָחֵלִי (Jos. 14, 1).

This ordinary Metheg, however, includes a great deal more than Baer states. He enumerates cases like וַיְהִי־לוֹ (Gen. 4, 8) and וַאֲעֻשֶׂה (Gen. 12, 2) under this head, but places cases like תַּעֲבֹד (Gen. 4, 12) and נֶאֱחָזוּ (Gen. 22, 13) under the so-called indispensable Metheg. This latter class of cases, and all cases in fact in which Metheg is employed with a vowel before a Hateph such as e. g., הָעֲשִׂירִי (Gen. 8, 5), צִחָקָה (Gen. 18, 13), וַיִּסְתָּר (Job. 17, 9), &c., are simply examples of forms with the ordinary Metheg. These forms are to be read, *tâ-'a-bôd*, *nè-'e-ház*, *hâ-'a-sî-rî*, *çà-ha-qáh*, *û-to-hár*, &c.

In the case of forms beginning with copulative ו the usage varies. Many such forms are without Metheg under ו, as e. g., וַלְמִקְנָה (Gen. 1, 10), וַכְּמוֹ (Gen. 19, 15), וַשְׁתִּי (Gen. 19, 30), וַשְׁפָּחֹת (Gen. 12, 16), &c. Other forms again, particularly those with sibilants after the ו take the Metheg with ו, the following consonant having Hateph Pathah, e. g., וַיֹּהֶב (Gen. 2, 12), וַיִּשְׁדֶּה (Lev. 25, 34), וַשְּׁמַע (Num. 23, 18), וַקָּרֵב (Ps. 55, 22), וַרְעַם (Ps. 28, 9), &c. In the first case the forms are probably meant to be read *ul-miq-qéh*, *ukh-mô*, *uš-té*, *uš-fu-hóth*, the *u* being regarded as short, and forming one syllable with the following consonant; thus there is no open syllable two or more places before the tone to receive Metheg. In the second case the forms, as is shown still more clearly by the use of the Hateph, are intended to be read *û-za-hav*, *û-sa-dhéh*, *û-qa-ráv*, *û-ra-'ém*, the *u* being probably regarded as long, and forming by itself an open syllable, which being two places before the tone takes Metheg. The inconsistency in the use of Metheg with ו may be due to the fact that it was pronounced *û* by some and *u* by others, one tradition being preserved in one case, and the other in another, or it may be due to the fact the ו was pronounced *û* only before sibilants and certain other consonants.

Cases in which the vowel *a* of the article takes Metheg before a consonant with Shewa, and cases in which the *a* of the interrogative ה takes Metheg are also to be classed here, the Metheg in all these cases marking the secondary tone in the first open syllable with full vowel two or more places back from the tone. Such forms as הַמִּכְבָּשָׁה (Lev. 3, 3), הֵלִיזִים (Lev.

25, 32), בַּצְפָּרָדַיִם (Ex. 7, 27), לְמִסְלָה (Jer. 31, 21), are to be read *hà-me-kas-séh*, *hà-le-ṣī-îm*, *bā-ṣe-far-de-‘im*, *lā-me-sil-láh*<sup>1</sup>: forms like הַמְּכָסָה<sup>2</sup> (Gen. 18, 17), הַכְּזוּנָה (Gen. 34, 31), הַחֲזָלָה (Ex. 2, 7), הַחֲנֻם (Job. 1, 9), are to be read *hà-me-kas-séh*, *hà-ke-zo-náh*, *hà-’e-lékh*, *hà-ḥin-nám*.

The Metheg is not used in the above cases when *yod* is the consonant immediately following the article or interrogative particle, e. g., הִלְדִּיִם (Gen. 33, 5), הִדְעָתֶם (Gen. 29, 5), &c.: nor in cases like הַמְעַם<sup>3</sup> (Nu. 35, 8), לְקָרֵב (Ps. 144, 1), הָאֵף (Gen. 18, 13), הַכָּעָר (Job. 22, 13), where the tone is on the syllable immediately following; nor in cases where the syllable adjoining the article or interrogative particle has already what Baer calls the usual Metheg as, e. g., בְּאִתְּמַשְׁנֵי (2 Ki. 9, 11), הָאֲחִיָּם (Num. 32, 6)<sup>4</sup>. In the first of these exceptions the *yod* forms a diphthong with the preceding *a*, viz., *hai-la-dhím*, *hai-dha-tém*, so that we have what was regarded as a closed syllable two places or more before the tone, and hence no Metheg. In the second series of exceptions no Metheg is used because the *a* of ה stands immediately before the tone: forms in which ה precedes a consonant with Shewa are to be read as dissyllabic, viz., *ham-‘át*, *laq-ráv*, *hav-‘ádh*, &c. In the third series of exceptions, the Metheg stands on the syllable which was preferred as the place of the secondary tone: in the first example *ham* probably forms a closed syllable, viz., *bā-ham-šu-gá’*; in the second, *ha* is only one place before the secondary tone<sup>5</sup>. In the case of ה interrogative, moreover, no Metheg is employed in those forms in which Daghes is placed in the consonant following

<sup>1</sup> It is not impossible to regard the first syllable of forms with the article like הַמְּכָסָה as having an initial closed syllable, viz. *ham-kas-seh*; and forms like הַמְעַם (Nu. 35, 8) in which the first syllable is certainly closed, viz. *ham-‘at*, and hence without Metheg, might seem to point that way. The Metheg would then belong under the second subdivision of accentual Metheg (cf. below). The difficulty with this view, however, is that it offers no explanation of the absence of Metheg in forms like הִלְדִּיִם.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above p. 79. ft. nt. 1

<sup>3</sup> Written with Metheg, viz., הַמְעַם by Van der Hooght, 1705. This writing indicates the pronunciation *ha-me-‘at*, the Metheg being the ordinary accentual Metheg.

<sup>4</sup> Van der Hooght has הָאֲחִיָּם with the second variety of accentual Metheg described below.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Baer *op. cit.* p. 58, § 7.

the ה. The *a* in these forms was of course regarded as standing in a closed syllable, hence no Metheg.

## II.

Metheg is employed in a number of cases in a closed syllable<sup>1</sup> with the vowels of the article, ו consecutive, the preposition מן, the reflexive prefix הַת, with a vowel before a doubled consonant, and with the vowel of certain particles and constructs before Maqqeph; e. g., הַכְּנַעֲנִי (Gen. 10, 18), וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ (Gen. 3, 8), מִזְרַעְךָ (Gen. 17, 12), הַתִּיבָבוּ (Ex. 14, 13), אֲשַׁלְחֶנּוּ (Gen. 32, 27), אֶל-פְּלִעֹת (Ex. 16, 9), מִמֶּרְ-אַרְצְכֶם (Deut. 11, 14), &c. According to Baer this Metheg is used only in the third syllable before the tone with the short vowels *a*, *i*, *e*, *u*<sup>2</sup> when the first syllable before the tone has Shewa and the word in question has a disjunctive accent. It is true that this variety of Metheg is used chiefly under the above conditions, but it does not seem to be confined to them, e. g., מִן-הַשָּׂדֶה (Gen. 30, 16), מְבַלֵּה-הַמְקוֹמוֹת (Ezr. 1, 4), עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ (Ex. 29, 21), וַיִּתְעַצֵּב (Gen. 6, 6), הַתְּנַלְנָלִי (Job. 30, 14), &c.

This use of Metheg is probably due to the fact that a special stress fell on the vowel in each of these cases. That the article and ו conversive bore originally a strong stress is indicated by the doubling of the following consonant<sup>3</sup>. It is also quite natural for a special stress to fall on the heavy prefix הַת and on the vowel before a doubling, and on the final syllable (i. e. the original tone syllable) of a construct. Why a special stress should fall on proclitic prepositions and particles, except in the case of מן which for the most part comes under the head of a vowel before a doubled consonant, the *nun* being regularly assimilated, is not entirely clear.

<sup>1</sup> Olshausen apparently regards this Metheg as accentual, cf. *Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache*, Braunschweig, 1861. p. 88, c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> According to Baer the vowel *ö*. Qames Hatuph, is not included here, because Qames with Metheg is ordinarily long Qames and confusion would therefore have resulted, e. g., קַלְמִעִינֹת (Gen. 7. 11) &c. All the examples given by Baer (*op. cit.*, p. 199, § 27) are cases in which the *ö* vowel is the vowel of כל. As it would be quite natural for the word meaning "all" to have a special stress. Baer's explanation of the regular absence of Metheg with this word is quite plausible.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1908, Bd. 1, p. 107, v.

The fact that Metheg is not employed with the vowels in question in all cases would seem to indicate that they did not always bear a special stress. This stress was ordinarily preserved by tradition only in cases where the syllable in question was the only other syllable of special prominence in the word besides the tone syllable. No Metheg was employed when the accent of a word was a conjunctive accent, as in that case the secondary tone was not so prominent.

Whenever there is an open syllable two places from the tone in a word of the form prescribed above, it regularly takes the Metheg according to rule, but in this case the Metheg is also affixed to the preceding syllable, e. g., וַיַּעֲקֹר (Gen. 22, 9), וַיִּתְּפֹצֵצוּ (Hab. 3, 6), בְּצִהְרִים (Gen. 43, 16), אֲשַׁלְחֶה (Gen. 32, 27), &c. The Metheg in the open syllable in these examples may be due to the fact that it has become a fixture with the vowel before a Hataeph, and so was retained in spite of the fact that the secondary tone falls on another syllable, or it may be that we have here a combination of two conflicting traditions, one school of Massorites preferring to place the secondary accent on the emphatic closed syllable<sup>1</sup>, the other preferring the regular method of accenting the first open syllable two or more places back from the tone. When the Hataeph stands under a consonant which is not identical with the one that follows, and the vowel that precedes the Hataeph is Holem, no Metheg is employed in the syllable before Holem, e. g., הִשְׁאֵבֶתָּ (Gen. 24, 11), וַיִּגְאֲלוּ (Neh. 7, 64), עַד-בְּאֵר (Gen. 19, 22). In this case there appears to have been no doubt as to the place for the secondary tone, the long vowel seeming to all the most emphatic element outside of the syllable with primary tone.

The forms with copulative ו which Baer includes here, e. g., זָלָזְרָה (Gen. 13, 15), וּמְבַרְכֶּה (Gen. 27, 29), וּבְשֹׁכֶה (Deut. 6, 7), &c., are perhaps properly classed under this head, ו taking the secondary accent for the same reason as the preposition על; in this case the *u* is short, and the forms are to be read *ûl-zar-'a-ká*, *ûm-ba-ra-khé-kha*, *ûv-šokh-be-khá*, &c. It is also

<sup>1</sup> That the Metheg in the closed syllable is the more original of the two is indicated by the fact that Metheg before a Hataeph is rarely used in the best manuscripts, while the other occurs in a number of cases. Cf. Ginsburg, *op. cit.* pp. 474, 675, 731.

possible, however, that the *u* is long, and that the Metheg marks the secondary tone in an open syllable, viz., *û-le-zar-a-khá*, *û-me-bâ-ra-khé-kha* (cf. below p. 92), *û-re-šokh-be-khá*, &c.; if this is so these forms belong under (I).

### III.

Metheg is employed in the first of two closed syllables connected by Maqqeph with a word accented on the first syllable, provided this accent is disjunctive, e. g., קָרַמַת-עֶזְרָא (Gen. 4, 16), יָלַד-בֶּן (Gen. 4, 26), וַיִּפְצַץ-בּוֹ (Gen. 33, 11), &c. The Metheg seems to indicate that the secondary tone, which would naturally fall on the syllable which is accented when the word is autotone, i. e., on the last syllable, has been retracted to the preceding syllable in order to prevent the secondary and primary accents from standing in adjoining syllables. Cases like הִפְרִילָהּ (Gen. 31, 32), תִּקְחִילָהּ (Gen. 7, 2), וַיִּתֵּן-לָהּ (Gen. 28, 4), &c. belong here: the secondary tone is retracted in spite of the syllable *le* before the primary tone, as is shown by the Segol for Sere. When the accent of the word after Maqqeph was a conjunctive accent, the secondary accent on the preceding word was not so prominent and so was not specially marked, e. g., הִתְהַלֵּךְ-נָח (Gen. 6, 9), נִשְׁמַת-רוּחַ (Gen. 7, 22), &c.

Those forms of the Hithpael which Baer includes here, e. g., הִמְתְּהַפֵּקָתָ (Gen. 3, 24), וַיִּתְעַצֵּב (Gen. 6, 6), &c., really belong under the preceding heading: forms with ו copulative such as וַיִּתְכַּסֵּנוּ (Jer. 3, 25), וַיִּסְתַּח-בְּנוֹשׁ (Is. 45, 14), &c. are perhaps best considered as belonging under (I), *u* being long and constituting an open syllable, viz., *û-the-kas-sé-nu. û-se-har-kûsh*.

Under this head are also to be classed the forms וַיְהִי and וַיְהִי before Maqqeph, e. g., וַיְהִי-אֹר (Gen. 1, 3), וַיְהִי-בֹקֶר (Gen. 1, 5), וַיְהִי-יָרֵד (Gen. 5, 18).

Of a similar character, moreover, is the Metheg in the first syllable of an *o* imperfect followed by Maqqeph in which the *ō* has been shortened to *ō*. e. g., יִקְטַל-עָנִי (Job. 24, 14), יִשְׁמַר-צִדְקָתָהּ (Ps. 121, 8). In all such cases the *ō* has lost the tone and the Metheg is employed to emphasize the fact that the secondary tone is on the first and not on the second syllable. In these forms, however, the Metheg is always employed without regard to the accentuation of the following word as it has come to be regarded as the regular sign of an imperfect with *ō* in the second syllable, on account of the contrast

with the Metheg in such forms as יִגְבַּל-אֹתָו (Jos. 18, 20), which calls special attention to the fact that the imperfect has an *ō* in spite of the Maqquph.

#### IV.

Metheg is employed with a syllable containing Shewa in a variety of cases (cf. II. B. above page 79 f.) to indicate that some special stress falls on this syllable. The reason for the special accentuation of such syllables seems to be entirely a musical one, and as the musical value of the accents is lost, it is, of course, useless to speculate as to the exact value of the Metheg. All that can be said is that it denoted a special stressing of a usually unstressed syllable<sup>1</sup> in certain melodies.

#### Exceptional uses of Metheg.

The various uses of the Metheg enumerated above do not exhaust all the instances in which it is employed. There are a number of cases in which it is difficult to say what is the reason for the addition of the Metheg.

In the first place are to be noted the Methegs used in an initial closed syllable immediately before the tone syllable, e. g., עֶלֶן (Gen. 36, 23), תִּשְׁחִיתוּ (Ps. 14, 1), רָדְפוּ (Ps. 71, 11), תִּבְחֶר (Ps. 65, 5), עָרְבַת (Nu. 31, 12), יִרְדְּבִי (Jer. 12, 16), לִשְׁכֹּת (Ezek. 42, 13), &c. These Baer groups under the euphonic Metheg, but his explanation of their significance as a class is not satisfactory.

It is not impossible that in some cases the sign was used to call attention to a short vowel. This was perhaps the case in the Edomite proper names עֶלְיָה, עֶלֶן (Gen. 36, 23; 40). Here some probably pronounced a long vowel in the first syllable as is indicated by the LXX equivalents of עֶלְיָה, viz., Γωλων, Γωλωμ, Γωλαν: the Massorites on this supposition would have used the Metheg to call especial attention to the fact that they preferred the pronunciation with short vowel.

In some cases, whatever was the original meaning of the sign, some Massorites undoubtedly regarded the Metheg as indicating a secondary tone in a closed syllable, as is shown by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Baer. *op. cit.* p. 202. § 35; p. 203. § 37; p. 205. § 40, all near end of paragraph.

the fact that the following consonant is in some MSS. pointed with a Chateph, e. g., תִּבְחֹר (Ps. 65, 5, Baer-Del.), תִּלְעֹג (Prov. 30, 17, Baer-Del.).

The Metheg in forms like דִּרְכִּי is regarded by Baer as an additional sign of the absence of the Daghesch in the initial consonant of the second syllable, which view is not impossible. The spirantic value of the third consonant, due to the vowel that originally stood before it, but which has been syncopated, would naturally lead to the idea that the preceding Shewa was vocal, and hence that the syllable before the Shewa was open. To indicate this view Metheg was employed.

The forms נִיְחִי and נִיְחִי accented with Pashta are perhaps to be classed with these forms, if they indeed form one class, inasmuch as they have Metheg in what is apparently a closed syllable preceding the tone. It may be, however, that these forms, in the melody indicated by Pashta, were to be read *uà-je-hí*, *uà-je-hí*.

In the second place the words זֶרַעְכֶם, זֶרַעְךָ take Metheg with the Pathah under ז when the words have a disjunctive accent, viz., זֶרַעְכֶם, זֶרַעְךָ. It is not impossible that this Metheg was employed to call attention to the short vowel of the first syllable, and to prevent the pronunciation *zā-ra-kha*; *-khem*, to which the combinations *zar-'a-kha*, *-khem* would tend to be reduced in order to obviate the difficulty occasioned by the occurrence of both ע and spirated כ in close proximity.

Examples of individual forms with peculiar Metheg are, e. g., קִלְתִּי (Job. 40, 4), יִפְנֹשֶׁךְ (Gen. 32, 18), וּמִגְדָּלַיִם (2 Chr. 14, 6), יוֹצִיא רִיבִי (Prov. 30, 33). In קִלְתִּי the Metheg may have been placed under ל to indicate that the accent is not on the syllable marked with the prepositive accent, but on the second syllable. In יִפְנֹשֶׁךְ the Metheg with נ marks the short *ō*; the Metheg in the first syllable is perhaps due to the irregular pronunciation of נ. Several of the imperfect forms of פָּנַח have a spirated נ, viz., יִפְנֹשֶׁךְ and וּתְפַנֵּחֶנּוּ (1 Sam. 25, 20), doubtless following the analogy of the perfect where נ regularly has this pronunciation, viz., פָּנַח &c. This pronunciation may have given rise to the Metheg in the first syllable just as the spirantic value of the third consonant may have done so in the forms like דִּרְכִּי explained above. In וּמִגְדָּלַיִם it is not impossible that the Metheg, by an extension of the use of the accentual Metheg to a closed syllable, may be intended to mark the second-



any accent in the second syllable before the tone<sup>1</sup>. In יִצְיֹא the Metheg is perhaps intended for the so-called euphonic Metheg (Baer III. A. b).

### Repetition of Metheg.

In a number of cases two or more Methegs occur in the same word or series of words connected by Maqqeph.

When two or more syllables precede a Metheg denoting the secondary tone, the first open syllable two or more places before the syllable with Metheg takes an additional Metheg to denote what might be called a tertiary accent; e. g., הָאֶשְׂרִיאֵלִי (Num. 26, 31), וְמִהֲתִיכוֹנֹת (Ezek. 42, 5), וְאֶבְרָכָה (Gen. 12, 3), וְהִקְמֵתִי (Gen. 9, 11), וְאֶשְׁתַּחֲוֶה (Gen. 24, 48), שְׁנֵי־בְנֵי־עֶקֶב (Gen. 34, 25), &c.

When one of the elements discussed under the second subdivision of the accentual Metheg (cf. above p. 87 f.) occurs two places or more before a Metheg denoting the secondary tone, it may take a second Metheg just as if the first Metheg denoted the primary accent, e. g., מִמַּחֲשָׁבוֹתֶיכֶם (Is. 55, 9), מִמִּסְגָּרוֹתֵיהֶם (Ps. 18, 46), &c. This Metheg denotes a tertiary accent as in the first case.

A Metheg which for any of the reasons already stated falls on a short vowel in a closed syllable may be retained immediately before a Metheg which precedes a Hateph, e. g., וַיִּעֲקֹר (Gen. 22, 9), בְּמַחְוֶה (Gen. 15, 1), unless the Metheg stands with Holem, e. g., הִשְׁאֲבַת (Gen. 24, 11) [cf. above p. 11].

Occasionally an open syllable preceding a syllable with Metheg before a Hateph also takes a Metheg for one of the reasons just stated, e. g., שְׁנֵאָדָּה (Ex. 23, 5, Mantua). In the form מִלְאֲתָדָה (Ex. 22, 28, Mantua) both second and third open syllable before the tone are marked by Metheg, indicating doubtless a combination of two traditions with regard to the place of the secondary tone.

The Metheg that marks a long or short vowel as such without regard to tone may stand before a Metheg which marks the secondary tone, e. g., הִקְיֹם־אֶתָּהּ (Deut. 29, 12), וְלִהְיֹתָךְ (Deut. 26, 19), כָּל־עֵץ־טָאֲבָל (Ezek. 47, 12), &c. When, however, a syllable containing such a Metheg is preceded by a syllable which should take the Metheg denoting the secondary tone,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriß*, p. 103, η. aa.

the accentual Metheg is omitted, e. g., אֶשְׂרִייוֹם (Nu. 9. 3). וְלֹא־יָהִיָּה (Gen. 9, 15), &c. The non-accentual Metheg is here apparently treated as if it had accentual value, these cases following the analogy of instances like בִּימְלָאָה (Gen. 6, 13), where the Metheg, whatever it may have stood for originally, certainly marks the secondary tone.

Words ending in a final guttural and consisting of two closed syllables, which are joined by Maqqeph to a word with a disjunctive accent on the first syllable, may take an accentual Metheg with the vowel of the first syllable (cf. above p. 89). and a Metheg under the guttural (cf. above p. 82), e. g., נִקְחָלָנוּ (Gen. 34, 16), נִשְׁבַּע־לִי (Gen. 24, 7), הִנָּדְלוּ (Hos. 4, 17).

In בִּי־לֹא־בָן<sup>1</sup> (2 Sam. 23, 5) the Metheg may in both cases mark the long vowel before Maqqeph; the one with בִּי, however, may be accentual. For the two Methegs in יִפְגֹּשֶׁךָ (Gen. 32, 18) cf. above p. 91.

Occasionally three Methegs are found in the same word, e. g., וַיִּמְצָעֵמֶדָּהּ (Is. 22, 19. Mantua), בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּהּ (2 Ki. 5, 8)<sup>2</sup>. Here the Metheg nearest the end of the word indicates the secondary tone according to rule, and the preceding complex of syllables takes two Methegs just as if the secondary tone were primary (cf. above p. 92).

### Confusion in the Use and Interpretation of Metheg.

The variety of uses to which the Metheg was put would naturally lead to a certain amount of inconsistency in its application to the text of the Old Testament, and also to a certain amount of confusion as to the meaning of the sign after its application, especially as this was not the work of one man working at one time, but of a large number working at different times and under various influences. Inconsistencies and misunderstandings, therefore, are to be expected, and in spite of the fact that the rules for its application were in all

<sup>1</sup> This pointing is given by Olshausen. *Lehrbuch*, p. 89. No Metheg is employed in either case in the Mantua edition. Van der Hooght. or Baer-Delitzsch.

<sup>2</sup> If this form is to be read הִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּהּ (cf. Burney. *Notes on Hebr. text of the Book of Kings*, Oxford, 1903. pp. 208, 280; also Stade and Schwally *The Books of Kings* in SBOT ed. by Prof. Paul Haupt. Leipzig. 1904. p. 201), then the Metheg of the first syllable is like the first Metheg in forms like וַיִּקְרָא above.

probability thoroughly worked over and systematized at a later period, some of these still remain.

From the fact that the Metheg was employed to call attention to both long and short vowels, it happens that it was used not only with a long Qames, but sometimes also with a Qames Hatuph (cf. above p. 83 f.). The Jewish grammarians, however, considered that every Qames marked with Metheg indicated an *â*, hence they read פָּעֵלָה, פָּעֵלָה, אָרְהֵלִי, אָרְהֵלִי, קָדְשִׁים, קָדְשִׁים, &c., *pâ-'o-lô*, *pâ-'ol-khâ*, *'â-râ-lî*, *qâ-dâ-'îm*, &c., respectively<sup>1</sup>.

From the fact that it may stand in both open and closed syllables, it was sometimes doubtful as to which was the character of the syllable in which it stood when the vowel marked with Metheg was followed by a simple Shewa. Therefore it happens that a long vowel with Metheg before Shewa e. g., יִדְעִי, יִדְעִי, יִדְעִי, &c., is regularly considered by the Jewish grammarians as standing in a closed syllable<sup>2</sup>, viz., *hâi-thah*, &c., though it is more likely that the syllable is open and the Shewa vocal, viz., *hâ-î-thah*, &c.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand certain cases in which we have a closed syllable with short vowel and Metheg followed by silent Shewa are considered by the Massorites as open syllables, the Shewa being therefore vocal, e. g., יְהִיָּה (Gen. 18. 18)<sup>4</sup> and יְהִיָּה (Lev. 7, 33)<sup>4</sup>, and certain of the forms mentioned on page 13 f., e. g., תְּבַרֵּךְ (Ps. 65, 5), תְּלַעֵנִי (Prov. 30, 17), which are evidently to be read according to certain Massorites *îi-he-îeh*, *ti-he-îeh*, *ti-va-har*, *ti-la-'ag*. The fact that, in a combination of forms like יְדִידָה, יְדִידָה with a preceding word by Maqqeph, no Metheg is used in the final open syllable of the first word, e. g., לֹא־יְהִיָּה (Gen. 9, 15), seems to indicate that the Metheg in the second word was considered an accentual Metheg. That the Massorites were not always certain as to whether the Metheg stood in an open or closed syllable when the vowel was short is shown by the form אֲשֶׁרִי, which was marked with Metheg in the first syllable; viz., אֲשֶׁרִי. Whatever may have been the original meaning of the Metheg here, it was considered as marking an open syllable by the Massorites, and a special Metheg was often placed after the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 28<sup>te</sup> Aufl., Leipzig, 1909, p. 52, v.

<sup>2</sup> Gesenius-Kautzsch, *op. cit.* p. 68, v.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. König, *Lehrgebäude* 1, pp. 111—118.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Baer, *op. cit.*, p. 65, ft. nt. 2.

Shewa to show without a doubt that the intended reading was 'a-še-rê and not 'aš-rê, as would be possible if the pointing were simply אֲשֶׁרִי.

Cases in which we have two accentual Methegs in adjacent syllables, the second usually standing before a H̄ateph vowel, are perhaps, as we have seen, due to a combination of two traditions as to the proper place for the Metheg (cf. pp. 92, 88).

### Use of H̄atephs after Metheg.

There seems to have been a tendency that was not completely carried out, to mark vocal Shewa after Metheg by a H̄ateph. This tendency seems to have originated from the close association of Metheg with a following H̄ateph in words where the H̄ateph stands under a guttural, where of course it is quite regular, as, e. g., in גַּעְשָׁה (Gen. 1, 26), בְּצֹרֶת (Gen. 14, 10), אֶהְיֶה (Gen. 9, 21), צִחְקָה (Gen. 18, 13), צִעְקִים (Gen. 4, 10), הָאֶמֶת (Gen. 42, 16), &c. From such cases it was extended to forms in which the consonant following the Metheg was not a guttural, H̄ateph Pathah being employed except in the vicinity of an *u* or *o* vowel or of a labial consonant, when H̄ateph Qames is used; e. g., גַּלְגָּה (Ex. 3, 18), וְלֶהְבְּרִיל (Gen. 1, 18), וְיֹהֵב (Gen. 2, 12), לִקְחָה (Gen. 2, 24), וְיִמְדֶּר (Job. 17, 9), שְׁמָעָה (Ps. 39, 13), וְנָגְלוּ (Gen. 29, 3), קָלְלָתָהּ (Gen. 27, 13). This use of H̄ateph we find extended by some authorities to cases in which the Shewa is certainly not vocal, e. g., יִצְחָק (Gen. 21, 6), הַתְּמָלֶךְ (Jer. 22, 15), אֶבְיָר (Job. 29, 25), &c.

In the case of Shewa following non-guttural consonants, the H̄ateph is the rule according to some grammarians with a consonant which has lost the doubling preceded by Pathah, e. g., וְתִאֲלָצֶהוּ (Jud. 16, 16), הֶלְלוּ (Ps. 113, 1), &c., and also with a consonant after any vowel, when the same consonant is repeated immediately, e. g., סִבְרִים (Ps. 68, 7), קָלְלָתָהּ (Gen. 27, 13), &c. Here the use of the H̄ateph has been carried to greater lengths than elsewhere, though even in this case there are exceptions<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> These rules, though said to be rules of Ben Asher, are not supported by the evidence of the best manuscripts. Still they represent the ideas of certain of the grammarians, and as such are worthy of note: cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch *op. cit.* p. 55 foll. Ginsburg. *Introd.* p. 466; T. C. Foote, *Some Unwarranted Innovations in the text of the Hebrew Bible*, JHU. Circs. No. 163, June, 1903, p. 71f.

Baer's rule that Metheg always stands with a vowel which precedes a Hataeph unless the consonant between them is doubled, results from the fact that in all cases except those in which the Hataeph follows a guttural, the Hataeph is due to the Metheg and not vice versa.

### Relation between Metheg and Daghes.

In a number of cases the Metheg seems to stand in some relation with Daghes, particularly with the Daghes which represents an accentual doubling, such as the Daghes following the article. As both signs have a similar signification, both denoting an emphasis of some sort, a Daghes does not usually follow Metheg, as in that case they would both emphasize the same vowel. The two signs are often mutually exclusive. This fact appears most clearly in the case of ה interrogative. Here when the ה is pointed with Pathah it regularly takes Metheg, e. g., הַמִּכְסָּה (Gen. 18, 17), &c. [cf. above p. 85 f.], but in a certain number of cases, chiefly with Shewa after the initial consonant of the word to which ה is prefixed, Daghes stands in this consonant instead, e. g., הַפְּעֻקָּה (Gen. 18, 21), הַיֵּטֶב (Lev. 10, 19), הַשְּׂמֹנֶה (Nu. 13, 20), הַרְאִיתָם (1 Sam. 10, 24), &c. A similar relation between the Metheg and the Daghes was perhaps felt also in the case of the article and ו conversive. Compare for example הַמִּכְסָּה (Lev. 3, 3), וְשִׁלְחָה (Gen. 21, 14), with הַמְּקָרָה (Ecc. 10, 18), וְנִשְׁלַחָה (Gen. 26, 29), &c.

We find Metheg instead of Daghes also in some instances in which the Daghes represents a real doubling. Compare, for examples, מְשִׁתִּים (Jon. 4, 11), הֶלֶל (Ps. 113, 1).

In a number of cases, however, in spite of this antithesis we find both Metheg and Daghes together, e. g., cases like הַפְּעֻקָּה (Gen. 10, 18), וְיִשְׁמְעוּ (Gen. 3, 8), in which both Metheg and Daghes emphasize the same thing, viz., that the vowel of the article or ו conversive has a secondary stress, and cases like וְשִׁלְחָה (Gen. 32, 27), מְמַהֲרֵת (Gen. 19, 34), וְקָם־יֶזֶן (Gen. 4, 24), וְיִתְּנֵלִי (Gen. 23, 9), &c., in which the Daghes indicated simply a doubled consonant and had no accentual meaning, and hence Metheg was affixed to the preceding vowel to indicate that it bore the secondary tone.

While it seems probably that this antithesis between Metheg and Daghes was recognized, and made use of to a

certain extent, it was certainly never generally applied to the text of the Old Testament, doubtless because it served no special purpose. It is not impossible, however, that on this antithesis is based the use of the sign Raphe (cf. below p. 23).

### Relation between Metheg and the Musical Accents.

One of the most important points of difference, according to Baer, between the so-called light and heavy Metheg is that the light Metheg may be changed into certain conjunctive accents, e. g., מֶטֶגֶן (Gen. 2, 19) instead of מֶטֶגֶן, while the heavy Metheg is never supplanted in this way.

It is to be noted, however, that even when according to what appear to be the Massoretic rules, such change is possible, it is not by any means always made<sup>1</sup>. Moreover the Metheg in a closed syllable immediately before the tone which may become a conjunctive accent as in בְּלִיָּהוּ (Is. 26, 14). וְאֶת־בְּרָחִי (1 Chr. 28, 11), is certainly different from the ordinary accentual Metheg in an open syllable two or more places from the tone. So the fact that two Methes may be replaced by a conjunctive accent does not necessarily show that they are of the same character.

The fact that the so-called heavy Metheg is not ordinarily changed to a conjunctive accent may be due to the difference in the character of the forms in which it is found. In most cases it occurs in a closed syllable, while the so-called light Metheg ordinarily occurs in an open syllable.

That the so-called heavy Metheg may occasionally become a conjunctive accent is shown by such forms as, לִירְעָה (Gen. 24, 7) for לִירְעָה, וְשִׁמְעִי (Ezra 4, 1) for וְשִׁמְעִי, אֶת־גְּדִלָּהּ (Deut. 3, 24) for אֶת־גְּדִלָּהּ, &c., where the Metheg is replaced by the so-called Methiga<sup>2</sup>.

The difference between forms with Metheg and those with a conjunctive accent is probably one of a more or less musical recitation of the word; Metheg indicating simply a stress or emphasis of some kind, the conjunctive accent, a stress plus some musical modulation. It is not impossible that the reason

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. Wickes, *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the . . . Prose Books of the O. T.*, Oxford, 1887, pp. 67, 73, 80, 81, 91, 97, 109, 110, 111; *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the . . . Poetical Books of the O. T.*, Oxford, 1881, pp. 57, 70, 86, 88.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wickes, *Accent. of Prose Books*, pp. 81, 82.

the Metheg is replaced by the conjunctive accent, instead of standing together with it, is in the first instance a mechanical one, to avoid the heaping up of diacritical points, as almost all these conjunctive accents are placed below the consonant in the same position as Metheg. Compare for example **הָאֵדָם** with Metheg, with **הָאֵדָם**, **הָאֵדָם**, **הָאֵדָם**, **הָאֵדָם**, **הָאֵדָם**, with Munab, Merha, Mehuppakh, Mayela, and Azla respectively.

### Other Signs derived from Metheg.

Numerous as are the uses of the Metheg which have been enumerated, the category of its activities has not yet been exhausted. There are several other diacritical marks which are identical with Metheg in form and which seem to be simply extensions of the uses of Metheg proper. These diacritical marks are Silluq, Paseq<sup>1</sup>, and Raphe (?).

The fundamental use of Metheg, as we have seen, was to call special attention to something, and the things to which it ordinarily called the attention were three in number, viz., a consonant, a vowel (long or short), and an accent.

The Silluq, which calls attention to the strong emphasis that rests on the accented syllable of the final word in a verse, is probably simply an extension of the accentual Metheg.

The Paseq<sup>2</sup>, in one of its uses, is practically identical with the Metheg that emphasizes a final guttural to prevent its being slurred with the initial guttural of the following word, as, e. g., **פֶּתַח הָאֵלֶּה** (Nu. 12, 5), **יֹכֵחַ אִישׁ** (Hos. 4, 4), **שְׁלַח חֲשֹׁד** (Ps. 105, 28), **אַרְבַּע־עֶשְׂרֵה** (Gen. 31, 41), **צֶרֶךְ רוּחַ** (Hos. 4, 19) &c. The Paseq in question is called *paseq euphonicum*, and is used occasionally without any regularity between two words, one of which ends and the other begins with the same consonant, e. g., **הָאֵל | לִנִּי** (Ps. 68, 21), **לִדְבָר | רַע** (Ps. 141, 4), **נָן | נָעִיל** (Cant. 4, 12), &c. The chief differences between Metheg and Paseq in this case seem to be first that Metheg is used in the case of a guttural including **ך**, while Paseq is used with other consonants including **ך**; secondly that in the case of Metheg the two consonants are not necessarily identical, while in the case

<sup>1</sup> For the identity of Silluq and Paseq with Metheg in form cf. Wickes *Accent. of Poet. Books*, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> For the best discussion of the uses of Paseq cf. Wickes *Accent. of Poet. Books*, pp. 95—98; *Accent. of Prose Books*, pp. 120—129.

of Paseq they are regularly so, though there is one instance in which this is not the case, the consonants however being both sibilants, viz., נָחֵשׁ | שָׂרָף (Deut. 8, 15). These differences, it is plain, are merely formal, perhaps accidental, and not differences in principle. It is not improbable that the Paseq originated from the Metheg used with consonants, which for some reason, perhaps by accident, was placed after the word instead of under the final consonant.

The chief use of the so-called ordinary Paseq, however, seems to be to call special attention to the word after which it was placed, e. g., יְהוָה | וְיִלְדֶּךָ (Ex. 15, 18), הָיוּנָתָן | וְיָמוֹת (1 Sam. 14, 45), עַל־הַדָּם | תֹּאכְלוּ (Ezek. 33, 25), לֹא יִשְׁמַע | אֲדָנִי (Ps. 66, 18). This is evidently an extension of the same general principle which lies at the basis of the use of Metheg.

From its position between two words or perhaps more especially because it was employed to prevent two identical consonants from being slurred together, Paseq came naturally to be used as a sign of separation. This is the principle at the basis of the *paseq distinctivum*, e. g., וַיֹּאמֶר | לֹא (Gen. 18, 15), which is marked with Paseq to denote that the two words are to be separated and not closely connected as in the identically sounding combination הָנוֹר | וְהַרְפָּה; וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ (Jos. 15, 25), where the two words are to be treated as distinct names, &c. It also lies at the basis of *paseq homonymicum*, which is employed occasionally between two identical or similar words, e. g., אֲבָרְהָם | אֲבָרְהָם (Gen. 22, 11), אֶמֶן | אֶמֶן (Nu. 5, 22), הַמּוֹל | הַמּוֹל (Gen. 17, 13), הַשֹּׁמֵעַ | הַשֹּׁמֵעַ (Ezek. 3, 27). Here also belongs what is called *paseq euphemisticum*, which separates the divine name from a word with which it seemed improper to associate it, e. g., אֱלֹהִים | אֲדָם (Deut. 4, 32), אֱלֹהִים | רָעָה (1 Sam. 18, 10), אֱלֹהִים | שָׁטָן (1 Ki. 11, 14), אֱלֹהִים | רָשָׁע (Ps. 10, 13).

Finally the Paseq implying separation was made a part of the system of musical accents. It was employed in some cases as a disjunctive accent to mark the dichotomy in clauses governed by certain of the minor disjunctive accents, though the principles that govern its application are the same as in the case of the ordinary Paseq: we have namely *paseq distinctivum*, *emphaticum*, *homonymicum*, *euphonicum*, *euphemisticum*.

Besides being employed as an independent disjunctive accent, Paseq is employed to transform a conjunctive into a disjunctive accent. In the prose books, when joined to Munah, it forms



Legarmeh or Munah Legarmeh. In the poetical books, from Shalshleth, Azla, and Mehnppah it forms Great Shalshleth, Azla Legarmeh, and Mehnppah Legarmeh. In the case of the prose accent Shalshleth, the Paseq is added to an already disjunctive accent for the sake of conformity with the pansal Shalshleth of the poetical books<sup>1</sup>.

The upright line to the left of the two perpendicular dots in Zaqeph Gadol ( ) is possibly nothing but Paseq, which true to its emphatic nature indicates a fuller, stronger melody than Zaqeph Qaton with the two perpendicular dots alone<sup>2</sup>.

The Raphe, which is a straight mark similar to Metheg, only horizontal instead of perpendicular, is possibly also simply Metheg in its origin. It has been shown that the antithesis of Metheg and Daghesh was probably recognized by the Massorites, but that only an exceptional use was made of this principle (cf. above p. 19). It is not impossible that the inventors of the system of pointing, in casting about for a sign to mark the absence of Daghesh, selected the Metheg for this use on account of its recognized antithesis to Daghesh. To place the Metheg either before or after the consonant in which the absence of Daghesh was to be noted would have led to great ambiguity, as Metheg in this position already had a well defined positive signification, so it was placed above the consonant in question, and here, probably for reasons of convenience, it was written in a horizontal position.

### Conclusion.

The results of the preceding discussion may be briefly summed up as follows. In general the traditional classification of the uses of Metheg as set forth by Baer, has been rejected and new principles of division set up. An attempt has been made to reduce all of the uses of Metheg to the same fundamental principle; to show what the relation between Metheg and certain diacritical marks is; and finally to prove that certain of these marks are simply extensions of Metheg.

Three chief uses of the Metheg are to be distinguished, viz.,

<sup>1</sup> So Wickes, *Accent. of Prose Books*, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Wickes thinks this is a doubled accent mark like Gershaim ("). Merkhah Kephula (⸘), or Pazer Gadol (⸘), the sign " standing for "; cf. *Accent. of Prose Books*, p. 18.

that which calls special attention to a consonant, that which calls special attention to a vowel long or short, and that which marks a secondary or tertiary accent, the accentual Metheg.

The historical development of these uses is perhaps to be conceived of as follows. At first the sign was a *nota bene* attached to a consonant or a vowel. From the fact that the Metheg was often affixed to a vowel which bore the secondary accent, the sign acquired an accentual meaning, and was employed to mark the secondary tone, regularly in an open syllable, as it was in such syllables that the accentual use originated, and also to some extent in closed syllables. The most important and most common use of the Metheg, viz., the accentual use, would therefore not be the most original use of the sign. An extension of its accentual use was to mark an accent falling on a Shewa as the result of the musical recitation of the text. A further extension of the accentual Metheg is the use of the sign as Silluq to mark the tone syllable of the final word in a verse. The Paseq seems to be derived from the Metheg, being most commonly employed to call special attention not to a single sound or accent, but to a whole word. It originated perhaps from the Metheg affixed to consonants. Its uses as a sign of separation, and as an element of the system of musical accents are secondary. Finally from an accidental opposition between Metheg and Daghes, the Metheg comes to be used in a changed position as Raphe to mark the absence of Daghes.

As the result of the varying uses of Metheg a certain amount of confusion arises in the application of the sign, and its uses have for the most part never been carried out to their logical conclusion. This is particularly true of its minor uses, such as for example its use to specially mark out a vowel, but it is also the case even in its most important and most common use, as the sign of the secondary accent. Here it is practically confined to open syllables for the reason stated above, though in a number of cases it is for special reasons extended to closed syllables.

The same thing is true of the Paseq, the cases in which it is omitted, when it might be applied according to rule, are much more numerous than the cases in which it occurs.

From the fact that Metheg was very frequently used before a Hataf in words containing a guttural has arisen a tendency

to use a Hateph in place of a simple Shewa after all Methegs, but here again the tendency after some development became abortive.

Metheg has come, probably through accident, to be regarded to some extent as the antithesis of Daghes, hence the development of Raphe from Metheg.

The fact that a conjunctive accent is at times substituted for Metheg, does not necessarily show anything with regard to the value of the Metheg, it is simply the substitution of a sign denoting melody for a *nota bene* or accentual sign. The fact that Metheg is not retained in addition to the musical accent is perhaps due to the fact that in the great majority of cases the proper position of both was to the left of the vowel of the syllable to which they appertained, and so the less important sign was omitted.

Metheg has never been regarded as a sign which has everywhere the same meaning, but there has always been a tendency among grammarians to exaggerate the importance of the accentual Metheg which marks the secondary tone and hence an open syllable, at the expense of the less prominent varieties, and to ascribe to this Metheg cases which really belong elsewhere. Enough has been said, however, to show that in no case can the meaning of Metheg be considered as fixed *a priori*, it does not necessarily mark a long vowel, or an open syllable, nor is the Shewa that follows it necessarily vocal, its significance will depend on the character of the form in which it occurs.

Nevertheless in spite of this fact, Metheg taken in connection with the other pointing, and our knowledge of the forms derived from other sources, furnishes very useful evidence with regard to the traditional pronunciation of Hebrew, and is therefore quite worthy of the attention of those who make a study of Hebrew grammar.

Metheg is not the only sign, the conception of which is in need of revision; the last word has by no means been said as to the significance of a number of the marks used by the Massorites. A thoroughgoing investigation of the principles, fundamental and derived, of these marks would, I think, reduce to much smaller proportions the residuum of unexplained forms in the text of the Hebrew Bible.

*A Conjectural Interpretation of Cuneiform Texts* vol. V,  
81—7—27, 49 and 50.—By ELLEN SETON OGDEN,  
Albany, New York.

The following text appeared in 1898, but no interpretation has yet been given beyond the more or less generally accepted opinions that the fragment is part of one of the so-called "practice-tablets", and that the older characters thereon are somewhat imperfectly executed Babylonian pictographs.<sup>1</sup> Against this hypothesis it may be urged, first, that the archaic signs do not have at all the peculiar *genre* of Babylonian writing nor do they resemble the Babylonian signs of any known period or locality with sufficient closeness to warrant calling them Babylonian; and secondly, that the marked diversity of characters in each case and under each heading still remains unexplained.

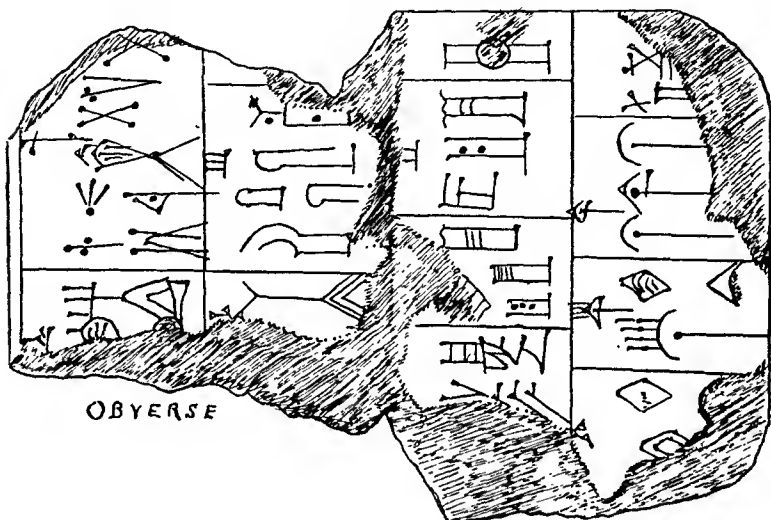
The present paper wishes to suggest that the fragment may be part of an Elamitic-Babylonian syllabary in which the Elamitic equivalents are given under a Babylonian or Neo-Babylonian denominative usually to be found at the left of each case. It will be noted that while the Babylonian signs are fairly homogeneous, the others seem to represent two distinct types of writing. One is partly linear and partly cuneiform but still pictographic; the other is partly cuneiform and apparently the style of a later period. It is with the archaic signs only that this paper is to deal, but the suggestion may be made that the later ones are likewise Elamitic, since the Elamites developed a cuneiform system of their own probably parallel to that of the Mesopotamian Valley.

According to de Morgan, the proto-Elamitic script appears for the first time in Susa during the period of archaic culture which ended about 4000 B. C. (dating Sargon at 3800 B. C.).

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<sup>1</sup> Weber, "*Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrier*", p. 293.  
VOL. XXXII. Part II.


Of course this must be considerably reduced if the conclusions of more recent writers be accepted in regard to Sargon. Père Scheil places the inscriptions of Karibu of Šušinak in the middle or end of the fourth millenium B. C.<sup>1</sup> It would be too hazardous to assign a date to the archaic forms of the present tablet without more data, but their general appearance would indicate that they are later than the proto-Elamitic of Karibu, and it is of oourse possible that the mixture of linear and cuneiform characters may be accounted for by a revival of archaic writing such as took place in Babylonia.





In working over the interpretation on these unfamiliar signs many suggestions were gleaned from a study of Cretan writing in Mr. Arthur J. Evans's *Scripta Minoa*. Mr. Evans himself has called attention more than once to the close resemblance between certain Cretan and Babylonian pictographs and this was found to be even more strikingly true of the Cretan and Elamitic. Of course it is impossible to claim identity when the resemblance can be accounted for by coincidence or the nature of the object represented, yet there are here definite characteristics in common which at least raise the question of

<sup>1</sup> De Morgan, *Délegation en Perse*, vol. vi, p. 60, 61. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan*, vol. I, pp. 50 ff.

connection between the Minoan civilization of the Mediterranean basin, and the culture not only of the Mesopotamian Valley but also of the great "Hinterland" of Elam. The direction of the transmission of the culture and the possible part played in it by the Hittite civilization must be left to future investigation. All that the present paper wishes to call attention to in passing are certain resemblances of writing. To facilitate this the Cretan forms are included in the text.

*Case. A.* The case sign is , NU, the original meaning of which seems to have been "to be hostile, to destroy" and as will be shown later its earliest form was the picture of a weapon or implement for cutting. For full assignment of meanings here and under succeeding signs see Meissner's *Ideogramme* and Brunnow's *Classified List*. With regard to the Elamitic characters it must also be remembered that the signs are reversible, pointing towards either right or left.

1. For identifications of forms see as follows. Elamitic, *Liste*<sup>1</sup>, Nos. 408, 416, 417, 501. Babylonian, *Rec.*<sup>2</sup> Nos. 257, 517 bis. The Babylonian ŠU = abatu. to destroy, (Br. 8650) aḥāzu, to seize, (Br. 8651) saḥāpu, (Br. 8737) to overthrow, destroy. The origin of the pictograph is not clear.

2. See for Elamitic *Liste* No. 412; for Babylonian *Rec.* No. 154. An analysis of the Semitic meanings of this sign leads to the conclusion that it is a pictograph representing two crossed arrows, hence the double meanings nakāru, nakru, to be hostile, enemy (Br. 1143—4), and naṣāru, to protect (Br. 1146). Compare also šanu (M. 654), šunnu (Br. 1148), to change, alter. In support of this origin may be quoted the crossed arrows of the Egyptian  NEIT, to indicate hostility(?)<sup>3</sup>, and possibly the Cretan sign  although Evans<sup>4</sup> at present ascribes to it a different origin and meaning.

3. This sign is obviously late and has no exact counterpart. The nearest to it is perhaps the Neo-Babylonian form

<sup>1</sup> For Elamitic characters when cited under this heading see De Morgan's *Délégation en Perse*, Paris, 1901—1905, Vol. VI.


<sup>2</sup> For Babylonian characters when cited under this heading see Thureau-Dangin's *Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Écriture cunéiforme*, Paris, 1898.


<sup>3</sup> Evans, *Scripta Minoa*. p. 114.


<sup>4</sup> Evans, *op. cit.* List, 112a.


quoted, which is the usual sign for *šalmu*, statue, image. The customary reading for this in Sumerian is *ALAM*, but it is worth noting that *šalmu* is given as one of the Semitic meanings for *NU*, (Br. 1963) and that this association with *NU* may account for its presence under this case sign. Possible the form here found is a late Elamitic equivalent of the Neo-Babylonian.

4. This sign is clearly a compound, of which the first part apparently serves as a determinative.

a) This determinative suggests grain or a growing plant and finds a parallel in the Elamitic sign *Liste* 75 or in one of the groups 557—61 and 116—7, all of which are plant signs. For the Babylonian compare *Rec.* 140, where *ŠE* = plant or grain or wood; the Cretan  (List 92.1, d)<sup>1</sup>,

unmistakably a plant sign, and the Egyptian  a clump of papyrus<sup>2</sup>. The sign may be therefore tentatively read here as an Elamitic determinative for plant or wood comparable to *išu* in Babylonian.

b) The second part of the compound (see for Elamitic forms *Liste* 71—2, and for Babylonian, *Rec.* 19) has been already identified with  *NU* = *balu*, to destroy (Br. 1961).

It is clear from the archaic form that this character and not  = *KUR*, *PAP* (see above) was the original of the present case sign though both have the meanings "hostility, destruction" in common and seem to have been to a certain degree interchangeable. For its use with a plant determinative compare *NU-U* (*išu*) some kind of instrument for cutting (Br. 1993) and *NU- (išu) SAR* (*amelu*) gardner (Br. 1992).

5. Again a compound, but as yet unidentified.


*Case B.* The case sign is  *NA* = *abnu*, a stone, (Br. 1582).




1. Père Scheil has already identified the Elamitic sign (*Liste* 373—7) with the Babylonian *GAL-ZU* (*Rec.* 98 + 188). *ZU* = *hurašu*, gold (Br. 134) or *šarpu*, silver, (Br. 138), hence *GAL-ZU* would mean "a large nugget of gold or silver".

2. Two Elamitic signs (*Liste* 19, 20, 22) may compared and also the group *Liste* 722—734 which suggests weights

<sup>1</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*


<sup>2</sup> Erman, *Ägyptische Grammatik*, M. Nos. 41, 42, and Evans, *op. cit.* page 114.


with the amount or value marked thereon. The Cretan  (List 53, 54) also suggests a weight though not so regarded by Evans.<sup>1</sup> The Babylonian form is clearly that for NA = abnu, stone, (*Rec.* 13).

*Case C.* This is very difficult. The case sign may be read either  MA or a variant  of BA. If the former its archaic form was  which Prince describes as "a representation of land, earth",<sup>2</sup> and which is not unlike the character here found. If the latter, the primitive meaning would seem to have been "to cut, divide, apportion" and the pictograph some kind of an implement.




1. For possible Elamitic, see *Liste* 543—6 and for the Babylonian, *Rec.* 10, in which case it is the same as the case sign MA mentioned above.

2—4. Compare *Liste* 712 for the Elamitic; no similar forms in Babylonian.

*Case D.* The broken case sign permits only a conjectural reading, but , DU, meaning dahâdu, be plentiful (*Br.* 4474) is the best restoration.

1. With the Elamitic form (*Liste* 484) compare the Cretan  (*List* 98)<sup>3</sup> representing two palm branches. Evans has noted the resemblance to the archaic form of DU, be plentiful (see *Rec.* 64 and above)<sup>4</sup> and the palm as a symbol of prosperity and plenty was probably not confined to Babylonian.

*Case E.* The Elamitic form is *Liste* 339, not identified.

*Case F.* The case sign is broken, but is probably . The sign is here used with its double signification of kalbu, on the one hand and of amelu (*Br.* 11256), bultu (*Br.* 11258) and baltu (*Br.* 11257) on the other, the two latter being used instead of the more ordinary UŠ, , URU  although the underlying idea of the case is clearly that of the organs of generation.

1. For the Elamitic and Babylonian see *Liste*, 201—3, and

<sup>1</sup> Evans, *op. cit.* p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon p. 228.

<sup>3</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Evans, *op. cit.* p. 98.




*Rec.* 26. The latter equals UŠ = ridû, (Br. 5401), GIŠ = riĥû, (Br. 5042) and NITAĤ = zikaru (Br. 5048).

2. The Elamitic form (*Liste* 195) corresponds to the Babylonian sign (*Rec.* 403) GA = alâdu, to bear (Br. 5415).

3. The Babylonian is listed in *Rec.* as No. 438. LIK = Kalbu, dog.

*Case G.* The case sign is obliterated, but the contents of the case are clearly related to those of the preceding one in much the same way that Babylonian MAĤ and NITA are related to UŠ.


1. Compare for Elamitic *Liste* 197 and for the Babylonian *Rec.* 27. The latter equals NITA, zikaru, male (Br. 957) and URU, ardu, slave (Br. 956).

2. Compare for Elamitic *Liste* 196 and for the Babylonian *Rec.* 20, , GAN, an irrigated field. Père Scheil has already identified this Elamitic sign with the Babylonian GAN<sup>1</sup>, but its presence here in this group is difficult to understand except by an association of ideas peculiarly Semitic. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of its three sign names is GA-GUNU, viz. the gunu of the GA which here appears as No. 2 of Case F and which means alâdu, to bear. Considering the late date of the tablet as indicated by the character of the case signs such a gunu-hypothesis is wholly tenable.


3. Seemingly a variant of No. 2.

*Case H.* Case sign lost and the signs late.

*Case I.* No case sign, though strangely enough in the usual place for it the tablet is unbroken. No identifications.

*Case J.* Case sign is , inu, eye.


1, 2, 3. All variants of the same sign for which see for the Elamitic *Liste* 612, and for the Babylonian *Rec.* 238. It represents the side view of the eye ball with the "eye-string".

*Case K.* Case sign is  = SIG. Its primitive meaning seems to have been "fresh, bright, pale, yellow or green". Later it has also a numerical value.


1. No. Elamitic equivalent. The Babylonian form is *Rec.* 101, SIG, arĥu, pale, yellow. Barton also gives to it the numerical value 216,000.<sup>2</sup>

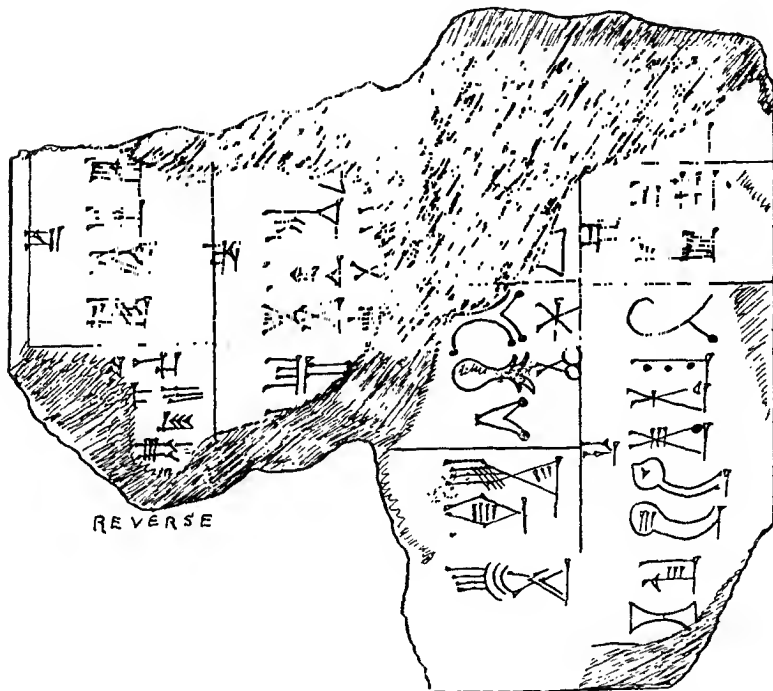
<sup>1</sup> *Délegation en Perse, Liste*, Nos. 372, 384.

<sup>2</sup> *Origin of Babylonian Writing*, No. 308.

2. This is the Elamitic sign *Liste* 653 with numerals inserted. Barton has suggested that the original form was , viz.  $3600 \times 60 = 216,000$ <sup>1</sup> and this corresponds to *Rec.* 491 which also equals 216,000 or  $3600 \times 60$ .

3. Likewise a numeral.<sup>2</sup>

*Case L.* Case sign is  = ŠAR, totality, completeness, also the numerical value 3600 (*Br.* 8234).



1. The Elamitic form is given in *Liste* 653, with which compare also *Liste* 26, 27, 28, from which it will be seen that Père Scheil has already identified this sign with *Rec.* 206 (cf. also 476, 489) ŠAR = gitmalu, kiššatu, etc., and the numeral 3600 (*Br.* 8234).

2. For the Elamitic see *Liste* 700, (cf. also 637), and *Delegation en Perse*, vol X, Pl. 4, D.

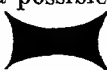
<sup>1</sup> See *The Haverford Library Collection*, Pt. II, pp. 16, 17.


<sup>2</sup> See *The Haverford Library Collection*, *loc. cit.* and Hilprecht, B. E. XX, p. 26.


The Babylonian form is *Rec.* 490, to which Thureau-Dangin gives the numerical value 36,000.



On the reverso cases M-Q show late characters.

*Case R.* The case sign is broken away, but the general meaning of the signs contained in the case is "brightness, light".

1. The Elamitic form is given in *Liste* 832. A similar Babylonian sign (*Rec.* 549) remains unidentified, but a possible meaning for all three signs is suggested by than Cretan  (*List* 56)<sup>1</sup> which Evans interprets as an ingot of gold or bronze.


2. Compare for the Elamitic *Liste* 361—3, tentatively identified by Père Scheil with , išatu, fire, the archaic form of which is given in *Rec.* 82, suppl. 79, and which represents a burning torch.

3. Here the Elamitic is very close (see *Liste* 29) and has been identified with , AZAG (*Rec.* 252) silver.

4. The Elamitic form (*Liste* 97—8) has been already identified with , AN (*Rec.* 5). Compare the Cretan star or sun symbol  (*List* 107d).

5. No similar sign and no clue as to interpretation. The sign itself suggests a pair of polished metal mirrors.

*Case S. and T.* have only late characters.

*Case X.* Case sign is , as follows, GIN, to go: TUM, to cause to go; GUB, to stand, to set up; Du and RA with somewhat undetermined force. The signs in this case clearly convey the idea of motion but with two exceptions remain unidentified.

1, 2, 5, 6, all unidentified.

3. Compare the Elamitic forms *Liste* 533—5. Also the Babylonian TUM (*Rec.* 310) meaning to approach violently.

4. No similar form known in Elamitic but Babylonian TUM (*Rec.* 311) means kablu, loins(?) (Br. 4958) and bears the same relation to the previous Babylonian that the Elamitic does to the previous Elamitic sign.



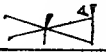




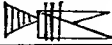



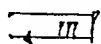

Conclusions may be drawn as follows. First, that the cases are arranged after a definite plan according to which the general underlying meaning is given by the case sign. The

<sup>1</sup> Evans' *Scripta Minoa*.

remaining signs in each case are therefore more or less closely related to each other and either interpret or are interpreted by the case sign, after the manner of syllabaries. Secondly, there remains the subtle and yet irrefutable fact that the genre of the characters is *not* Babylonian. The broad general resemblance is very close, yet careful study will show that in the smaller though equally important details these signs correspond more consistently to the Elamitic as far as it goes than to the Babylonian. From these facts it is reasonable to conclude that the tablet is a fragment of an Elamitic-Babylonian syllabary.

	Tablet	Elamitic	Babylonian		Babylonian Ideographic value
Case A 1					ŠU
2					KUR, PAP.
3					NU <sup>see</sup> salmu (ALAM)
4					
5					NU
6					
7					
Case B 1					GAL-ZU
2					NA
Case C 1					MA (see J. A. O. S. XXIV, p. 389)
2					
3					
4					
5					
Case D					DU
Case E					

	Tablet	Elamitic	Babylonian		Babylonian Ideographic value
Case F I					UŠ GIS NITAH
2					GA
3					LIK
Case G I					NITA URU
2					GAN
3		..	..	..	
Case J I					IGI
2		"	"	"	
3		"	"	"	
Case K I					SIG
2		*			* plus six tens inserted
3					
Case L I					ŠAR
2					
Reverse Case R I					
2					NÊ, NI
3					AZAG
4					AN
5					

	Tablet	Elamitic	Babylonian		Babylonian Ideographic value
Case X 1					
2					
3					TUM
4					TUM
5					
6					
7					
8					

*The Name of the Red Sea.*—By SARAH F. HOYT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

THE name *Red Sea* is a translation of Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, which is used in the Greek Bible for the Hebrew *yam sūph*, that is, *Bulrushy Sea*. The Greeks used the name *Erythrean Sea*, not only of the Gulf between Arabia and Egypt, but also of the Arabian Sea between Arabia and India, including the Persian Gulf. At the time of the Exodus (c. 1200 B. C.) the Red Sea extended farther north, the Bitter Lakes and the Crocodile Lake north of them were then connected with the Gulf of Suez. When the Suez Canal was dug in 1867, beds of rock-salt and strata with recent shells and corals were laid open. The bed of the Red Sea is becoming shallower by the gradual rise of the land. We know that at the time of King Jehoshaphat of Judah (c. 850 B. C.) the Gulf of 'Akabah stretched up to Ezion-geber, some twenty miles north of 'Akabah. Similarly the Persian Gulf at the time of Sennacherib (c. 700 B. C.) extended so far north that the four rivers Euphrates, Tigris, Kerkha, and Karūn, emptied separately into the Gulf.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Haupt thinks that the ancestors of the Jews (OLZ 12, 163)<sup>2</sup> crossed the Red Sea at the small peninsula,

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(1) See Professor Haupt's paper *The Rivers of Paradise* in JAOS 16, ciii, and his note in the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 154, ll. 33—51; also the conclusion of his article *Wo lag das Paradies?* in *Über Land und Meer*, 1894/5, No. 15; and his paper on *Archæology and Mineralogy* in JHUC, No. 163, p. 52<sup>a</sup>, below; cf. Driver, *Genesis* (London, 1904) p. 60; Skinner, *Genesis* (Edinburgh, 1910) p. 65; also Ungnad and Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Göttingen, 1911) pp. 114, 162, 164.

(2) Note the following **Abbreviations**: AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*. — BA = Delitzsch and Haupt, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*. — JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. — JHUC = *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (Baltimore). — KAT<sup>2</sup> = Eb. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, third edition,



seventy-five miles south of the northern end of the modern Suez Canal, between the larger and the smaller basins of the Bitter Lakes.<sup>1</sup> The water northeast of this peninsula, it may be supposed, was driven by a strong east-wind into the larger basin of the Bitter Lakes, while the water in the shallow lower basin receded at low tide. Although the Bitter Lakes and the Red Sea are now connected only by the modern Suez Canal, the tide extends to the southern end of the Bitter Lakes. In the St. Lawrence the tide is noticeable as far as Three Rivers, about midway between Quebec and Montreal. The present northern end of the Gulf of Suez is practically dry at low tide. Major-General Tulloch observed that under a strong east-wind the waters of Lake Menzâlah, at the northern end of the Suez Canal, receded for a distance of several miles. According to Exod. 14, 21, JHVH caused the Red Sea to go back by a strong east-wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. But when the Egyptians tried to follow the Hebrews, the wind shifted, and the water, which had been driven away by the strong east-wind, came back, so that Pharaoh's chariots were cast into the sea, and they sank as lead in the mighty waters (Exod. 15, 10).

Professor Haupt (OLZ 12, 246) has pointed out an interesting parallel to this catastrophe in Herod. 8, 129. Herodotus relates that after the battle of Salamis (480 B. C.) Xerxes' general, Artabazus, besieged the Corinthian colony Potidea, on the narrow isthmus of the Macedonian peninsula Pallene. After the siege had lasted for three months, the water was very low for a long time, so that a part of the Toronaic Gulf, on the eastern shore of the peninsula, was dried up. The Persian besiegers, therefore, attempted to advance to the peninsula Pallene through the Toronaic Gulf, in order to attack Potidea from the south. After they had completed two fifths of the march, the tide overwhelmed them, so that those who

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edited by Zimmern and Winckler (Berlin, 1903). — OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*. — PAPS = *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia). — ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

(1) See Professor Haupt's papers on *Archæology and Mineralogy* in JHUC, No. 163, p. 52; *Moses' Song of Triumph* in AJSL 20, 149; *The Burning Bush and the Origin of Judaism* in PAPS 48, 368; *Midian and Sinai* in ZDMG 63, 529.

could not swim were drowned, while the others were slain by the Potideans. This flood was regarded by the Greeks as a judgment of the gods, just as the Hebrews attributed the annihilation of their Egyptian pursuers to a miracle of JHVH. The unexpected high-tide which saved the Potideans and the Hebrews seemed miraculous, just as Captain George E. Goddard, of the Lone Hill station, called the sudden floating of the North German Lloyd S. S. "Princess Irene" a *miracle of good luck*. The great ship had been held in the grip of the sand of the inner bar of Fire Island for more than three days, and for many hours 2,000 lives, and property worth nearly \$ 2,000,000 had been in jeopardy; but on Palm-Sunday afternoon the ship was suddenly floated by an unusually high tide, stirred by a southeasterly storm at sea.

According to Strabo (779) the name *Red Sea* was derived from the color of the water, which was supposed to be due to the light of the sun, or to the reflex of the mountains surrounding the sea. Some said that there was a red spring whence red water emptied into the sea. Others derived the name from a Persian, Erythras, who was said to have been a son of Perseus.<sup>1</sup> The famous German geographer Karl Ritter (1779—1859) thought that the name *Red Sea* was connected with the name of the Himyarites in southwestern Arabia. This view has recently been endorsed by Professor Martin Hartmann, of Berlin, in the second volume (p. 375) of his work on the Islamic Orient. But Himyar (حِمْيَر) does not mean *red*. Arabic *ahmar* (أحمر) does not denote a *red-skin*, but, rather, a *paleface*.<sup>2</sup> Arab. *hamrâ'u* denotes *white non-Arabs* in Syria and Mesopotamia; *ahmar* is opposed to *aswad*, black; *ahmar wa-aswad* means *Arabs and negroes*.

In his paper on *Archæology and Mineralogy* (JHUC, No. 163, p. 52<sup>b</sup>) Professor Haupt derived the Hebrew name *yam sūph*, Bulrushy Sea, from the bulrushes in the Crocodile Lake (*Timsāh*) which formed the northern end of the Red Sea at the time of the Exodus. Before the construction of the modern

(1) Strabo says: 'Ερυθρὰν γὰρ λέγειν τινὰς τὴν θάλατταν ἀπὸ τῆς χροῖας τῆς ἐμφαινομένης κατ' ἀνάγκασιν, εἴτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κατὰ κορυφὴν ὄντος, εἴτε ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρώων ἐρυθραυομένων ἐκ τῆς ἀποκαύσεως· ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ εἰκάζειν· Κτησίαν δὲ τὸν Κνίδιον πηγὴν ἰστορεῖν ἐκδιδοῦσαν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐρευνῆς καὶ μυλῶδες ὕδωρ.

(2) See Professor Haupt's paper on the passage of the Hebrews the Red Sea in OLZ 12, 246.

Suez Canal, Lake *Timsâh* was a shallow sheet of brackish water, full of bulrushes. Rameses II (c. 1300 B. C.) dug a canal from Bubastis on the Nile to Lake *Timsâh*. This made the water brackish, while the Bitter Lakes south of it remained bitter owing to the large amount of bitter salt (magnesium sulphate) contained therein. Bulrushes, of course, do not grow in salt water, but marshes are full of them. Strabo (804) states that the canal from the Nile, which established a waterway between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, made the Bitter Lakes sweet. Strabo confounds here the Bitter Lakes with the Crocodile Lake north of them.<sup>1</sup>

In his paper on *Archæology and Mineralogy*, Professor Haupt connected the name *Red Sea* with the red color of the salt lagoons between the modern Suez Canal and the Bedouin Hill, northwest of Suez. These salt lagoons were originally a part of the Red Sea. The red color of their stagnant water is imparted by swarms of minute cladoceros, entomostracous crustaceans, apparently a variety of the common waterflea (*Daphnia pulex*) which is attracting some attention in Baltimore at present, inasmuch as the water pipes in certain sections of the city are full of them.

But Professor Haupt has since come to the conclusion that the first explanation given by Strabo is correct. The name *Red Sea* is indeed derived from the color of the water. The water of the Red Sea is, as a rule, of a deep bluish-green color; but an article on *red water*, printed in the Berlin weekly *Das Echo*, March 24, 1910, p. 1093, states that the water of the Red Sea near the coast, especially in sheltered coves, has a red color, due to microscopic algæ. The same phenomenon may be observed in the open sea, if the weather be perfectly calm. The sea appears then to be covered with a coat of reddish (or yellowish) color, so that the ship seems to ride through a mass of blood. This red color may be observed also near the western coast of British India, and some years ago the same phenomenon was noticed near Rhode Island in Narraganset Bay. If the water is covered with these algæ, a great many fishes die. The algæ are often decomposed, and the water becomes offensive. It has been suggested that the first Egyptian plague, as described in Exod. 7, 17—21, may have

(1) See Professor Haupt's paper on Midian and Sinai in ZDMG 63, p. 529, ll. 14. 28; cf. OLZ 12, 251.

been due to these algæ. A similar opinion was expressed by Prof. A. H. Mc Neile, of Cambridge, England, in his commentary on Exodus (London, 1908) p. 44. In the third part of his German translation of the Old Testament (Göttingen, 1787) J. D. Michaelis remarked on Exod. 7, 17, It is not impossible that God effected all this by a natural cause.

According to E. Wolf,<sup>1</sup> the red color of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean is due to *Trichodesmium erythræum* (Cyanophyceæ).

*Postscript.*—Since the above article was in type, Professor Haupt has called my attention to Alois Musil, *Im nördlichen Hejâz* (Vienna, 1911) reprinted from the *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, May 17, 1911. The distinguished explorer states there (p. 11 of the reprint) that the marshy plain, known as *al-'Arabah*, between Elath and Ezion-geber has two wide borders of luxuriant bulrushes, extending several miles north of Ezion-geber. These bulrushes are due to the presence of innumerable fresh-water springs. The marshy plain between Elath and Ezion-geber was formerly the northern end of the Gulf of 'Akabah, and the Hebrew name *Bulrushy Sea* may be due, not only to the bulrushes in the Crocodile Lake, north of Suez, but also to the bulrushes at the northeastern end of the Red Sea, north of Elath. Innumerable fresh-water springs, which are covered by the sea at high tide, are found also along the northeastern coast of the Red Sea, south of Elath.

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(1) *Die Wasserblüte als wichtiger Faktor im Kreislaufe des organischen Lebens* in the *Berichte der Senckenbergischen Gesellschaft* in Frankfurt a/M, 1908, pp. 57—75; cf. the review in the *Botanische Centralblatt*, 1910, p. 170. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. B. E. Livingston, Professor of Plant Physiology in the Johns Hopkins University.

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*The Holy One in Psalm 16, 10.*—By SARAH F. HOYT,  
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

ACCORDING to the traditional view, the coming of Christ is predicted by the Old Testament prophets. But the alleged Messianic prophecies, as well as the so-called eschatological passages, have, as a rule, a definite historical background. Professor Haupt says in the notes to his new metrical translation of the Book of Micah,<sup>1</sup> *There are no Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament, nor are there any Messianic psalms referring to Christ.* We find Messianic prophecies both in Egypt and Babylonia,<sup>2</sup> and Eduard Meyer thinks that the ancient Egyptian prophecies are the prototypes of the Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament. He has discussed this question on pp. 451—455 of his work *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, also in § 297 of the new edition of the first volume of his *Geschichte des Altertums* (Stuttgart, 1909).

One of the most important of the so-called Messianic Psalms is Psalm 16, which is referred to Christ in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. We read there that Peter said on the day of Pentecost: My brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David; you know he died and was buried. Therefore, when he said, Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption, he cannot have spoken of himself, but only of the resurrection of Christ (Acts 2, 29—31). Like the modern higher critics, the Apostle deviates here from the traditional interpretation, but the quotation, *Thou wilt not suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption*, is not based on the Hebrew text, but on the Septuagintal mistranslation of this passage, οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὁσίόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.

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(1) See Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910) p. 50, l. 11 (= AJSL 27, 50).

(2) See KAT<sup>3</sup>, p. 380.

The Hebrew word *šāḥat* does not mean *corruption*, but *pit*, i. e. the abyss of Sheol. It is not connected with the verb *šāḥēt*, to corrupt, destroy; but with the stem *šāḥ*, to sink. Even if the final *t* were a stem-consonant, *šāḥat* would have to be connected with the Assyrian *šaxātu*, to be depressed, humiliated, humbled. Nor is the rendering *Thy Holy One* justified. In the first place, the Hebrew text has the plural *ḥasîḏēka*, Thy Holy Ones; moreover, *ḥasîḏ* does not mean *holy*, but *pious*. In the first Book of the Maccabees, the antagonists of the apostate Hellenizers, the pious Jews who faithfully adhered to the religion of their fathers, are called Ἀσιδαιοί, Heb. חסידים. The plural חסידים does not mean *Thy Holy One*, referring to Christ, but *Thy pious ones*, *Thy faithful ones*, and denotes the orthodox Jews in the times of the Maccabees.

The *holy ones*, on the other hand, which we find in the third verse of the present psalm, are the Greek gods of Antiochus Epiphanes. Hebrew קדושים is repeatedly used of foreign deities. In Moses' Song of Triumph (Exod. 15, 11) we must read with Professor Haupt:

Who is like unto Thee, JHVH, 'mong the gods?

Who is like unto Thee in might, of the deities?

following the Septuagintal δεδοξασμένος ἐν ἁγίοις (AJSL 20, 161).<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen says in his notes on Psalms 29 and 58 in the Polychrome Bible, Judaism has turned the heathen gods into angels, commissioned by JHVH to govern the foreign nations. The divinities worshiped by the heathen were placed by JHVH at the head of the nations.

At the end of his paper on Moses' Song of Triumph, Professor Haupt has restored the first two couplets of Psalm 16 as follows:

Preserve me, O God!	To Thee I flee;
Of JHVH I say:	My boon thou art!

Inferior to Thee are	the gods in the land,
And all superb ones	in whom they delight.

We must read כל עליו לקדשים, literally, *Naught beside Thee, forsooth, are the holy ones*; the prefixed ל is the emphatic particle.

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(1) For the abbreviations see note 2 to the paper on the name of the Red Sea, above, p. 115.

Professor Haupt states there that Psalm 16 was written about B. C. 167, at the beginning of the Syrian persecution. The first half of verse 3 is a gloss, and should be read as follows:

רבו עֲצֻבוֹתָם אֲתֵר אֲחֵרִים יִמְהָרוּ

Numerous are their idols, they run after other gods.

Verses 5 and 6 have been restored in Professor Haupt's address on *Purim* (p. 18).<sup>1</sup> In verse 5 we must not substitute תמיד for the Masoretic תומיך, but we must, with Professor Haupt, prefix תמיד to תומיך, or rather תומיך, thus reading: תומיך נורלי אתה תמיד. Similarly, we must not read in the so-called Song of Derision upon Sennacherib, 2 Kings 19, 26, which is, according to Professor Haupt, a Maccabean Song of Derision upon Antiochus Epiphanes, לפני קומך instead of the Masoretic לפני קמה; but we must insert לפני קומך after לפני קמה, or rather, לפני קומה. The Masoretic pointing תומיך is a conflate reading, combining the vocalizations of both תומיך and תמיד.

The line תומיך נורלי אתה תמיד means *Thou art for ever supporting my lot*.

In an article published in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements for 1894*, we are told that it is still customary at the allotment of land in Palestine to exclaim الله يقوم بجري, *May Allah stand by my lot*, i. e. *May He stand up for it*, uphold it, maintain it, defend it.

Time will not permit me to discuss all the textual details; but, before I present, in conclusion, a metrical reconstruction of the text according to the interpretation given in the Old Testament Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University during the present session, I should like to say a few words on the obscure term *Michtam*. Of course, *Michtam* cannot mean a *golden psalm*, or *inscription*, or *humble and perfect*.<sup>2</sup> Nor can we assume, with Cheyne, that מכתם is a corruption of תחנון or תחנון, *supplication*; it is difficult to believe that this corruption should have occurred in the titles of half a dozen psalms (Ps. 16 and Psalms 56 to 60). It would be just as convincing to explain *michtam* as a slight modification of *Jerahmeel*!

In Assyrian, the stem *katâmu* means *to cover* and *to close* (synonym, *edêlu*, to bar, bolt). *Katâmu*, to cover, corresponds

(1) Paul Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) = BA 6, part 2.

(2) See Baethgen, *Die Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1904) p. xxxvii.

to Arabic *kâtama*, to hide, conceal, while *katâmu*, to close, may correspond to Arabic *kâtaba*, to bind up a skin-bottle, the edges of a rent being tied around with strings or small leather straps. In the story of the stratagem of the Gibeonites (Josh. 9, 4) skin-bottles, mended in this way, are called נִאֲרוֹת מִצֻּרִים. A number of allied stems would seem to show that the primary meaning of the stem כָּתַם was *to bind*; the *t* may be an infix, so that כָּתַם is connected with the Assyrian *kamû*, to bind, to enclose. This may mean *to put on bonds* or *fetters*, or *to restrain*. According to Professor Haupt, *Michtam* may, perhaps, have the special meaning *restricted by the meter, conformed to poetical measure*, just as metrical compositions are called in German *gebundene Rede*, that is *oratio numeris adstricta* or *vincta* in distinction from *oratio soluta* = prose.

The meter of this psalm is the same which we have in Moses' Song of Triumph in Exodus 15, viz. 2 + 2 beats in each line; and like this famous *Song of the Sea*, the present poem, as Professor Haupt pointed out in note 135 to his lecture on *Purim*, consists of three sections, each of which comprises three couplets with 2 + 2 beats in each line.

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

מִכְתָּם לְדוֹד	
כִּי־חִקִּיתִי בָךְ:	שִׁמְרֵנִי אֵל 1 A
אֶתָּה טוֹבֵתִי:	אֶמְרָתִי לַיהוָה 2
אֲשֶׁר בָּאֲרֶץ {}	בִּלְעֵלִיד לְקְדוּשִׁים 3
חִפְצֹרְבָם {}הַמָּה:	וְאֵדִירֵם כָּלֶם
נִסְכֵּיהֶם וּמָדָם	כָּל אִפְסִיד 4
אֶת־שְׁמוֹתֶם עַל־שַׁפְתִּי:	וּכְל אֲשָׂא
חֲלָקִי וְכוּסִי	יְהוָה מִנְתִּי 5 B
תוֹמֶךְ נוֹרִלִי	אֶתָּה תִּמְדִּי
בְּנִעָמִים {}זְבִּימִינֶךָ	חֲבָלִים נִפְלִי־לִי 6
שִׁפְרָה עָלַי:	אֶף נִחְלָתִי
אֲשֶׁר יַעֲצֵנִי	אֲבָרְךָ אֶת־יְהוָה 7
יִסְרוּנִי כִלְיוֹתֶי:	אֶף בִּלְיֹת



וַיִּגַּל כִּבְדִּי                      9 C שְׂמַח לִפִּי  
יִשְׁכֵּן לִבִּי                      אֶף בְּשָׂרִי

נִפְשִׁי לִשְׂאֵל                      10 כִּי־לֹא תִעָזֵב  
לִרְאוֹת הַשָּׁחַת:              לֵאמֹתָן חֲסִידֶיךָ

אֶרְחָ חַיִּים                      11 תּוֹדִיעֵנִי יְהוָה  
אֶת־פְּנֶיךָ { } גִּצְחַת:      שְׁבַע שִׁמְחוֹת

11 גַּעְמוֹת בִּימִינֶךָ (γ)

2 אֲדָנִי (α)

אֶתְּרִי אֶתְּרִים יִמְקֶרֶוּ              4 רָבוּ עֲצָבוֹתָם (β)

לִנְגְדִי תִמְדֶּךָ                      8 שְׁנִיתִי יְהוָה (δ)

9 לִבִּי (ε)

כָּל אֲמוֹס:                      כִּי־קִיּוּמִי־הוּא

This may be translated as follows:

*Michtam of David.*

- A 1 Preserve me, O God,                      to Thee I fly.  
2 To יהוה\* I say:                      My boon Thou art!
- 3 Inferior to Thee are                      the gods in the land, [ ]  
And all that is grand                      wherein [they] delight.<sup>β</sup>
- 4 I will never pour out                      their libations and offerings,  
Nor will I pronounce                      their names with my lips.
- B 5 יהוה is my share,                      my portion, my cup.  
Thou art forever                      upholding my lot.
- 6 Rich possession is mine                      {atThyright,} the most pleasant,<sup>γ</sup>  
And this, my inheritance,                      greatly delights me.
- 7 יהוה I praise,                      who has given me counsel;  
Even at night                      my thoughts exhort me.<sup>δ</sup>
- C 9\* My heart was glad,                      my spirit rejoiced;  
Even my flesh                      will remain in security.<sup>1</sup>

(1) Their heart was always glad, and their spirit rejoiced, at the beginning of the Syrian persecution. When the situation was most desperate, when the martyrs were subjected to unspeakable tortures, they cheerfully submitted to them. Their spirit could not be broken. But now they hope that their flesh, too, will remain in security, so that they will be able to defend themselves against their relentless persecutors.

- 10 Thou wilt not surrender my life to Hades,  
 Nor suffer Thy faithful to see the Pit.
- 11 Thou showest me, JHVH, the pathway of life,  
 Great fulness of joy before Thee for ay.
- 

- (a) 2 the Lord (γ) 11 { } the most pleasant  
 (β) 4 They have many idols, they run after other gods  
 (δ) 8 I have set JHVH before me forever,  
 With Him at my right I shall not be moved.  
 (ε) 9 therefore

*The Etymology of Religion.*—By SARAH F. HOYT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

THE Oxford Dictionary says, The connection of the word *religion* with *religare*, to bind, has usually been favored by modern writers.

This etymology, given by the Roman grammarian (end of 4<sup>th</sup> cent. A. D.) Servius (*Relligio, id est metus ab eo quod mentem religet, dicta religio*)<sup>1</sup> was supported by the Christian philosopher Lactantius (about 313 A. D.) who quotes the expression of the celebrated Roman philosophical poet Lucretius (c. 96 to 55 B. C.):<sup>2</sup> *religionum animum nodis exsolvere*, in proof that he considered *ligare*, to bind, to be the root of *religio*.<sup>3</sup> Several commentators upon Lucretius, e. g. Merrill, Munro,<sup>4</sup> Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities (edited by Harry Thurston Peck, 1898) and also Joseph Mayor in his commentary (2, 186) on Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, agree that this notion of *binding* was in the mind of Lucretius. St. Augustine, the most celebrated father of the Latin church, A. D. 354—430, makes this derivation.<sup>5</sup> The Century Dictionary, though referring to the uncertain origin of *religio*, cites the English *ligament* as perhaps allied. So Harper's *Latin Lexicon* refers to Corssen's *Aussprache* (1, 444 sq.) as taking *religio* in the same sense as *obligatio*. Other Latin nouns like *licitor* and *lex* have the root *lig*.

Especially the rare English words *religate*, *religation* suggest *religion* as having the root *religare*, to bind; for Christopher

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(1) See *ad Vergil. Aen.* 8, 349.

(2) See *De Rerum Natura*, 1, 931; 4, 7.

(3) In *Institutiones Divinae*, 4, 28, Lactantius writes, *Credo nomen religionis a vinculo pietatis esse deductum, quod hominem sibi Deus reli-gaverit et pietate constrinxerit . . . melius ergo (quam Cicero) id nomen Lucretius interpretatus est, qui ait religionum se nodos exsolvere.*

(4) See Merrill on T. Lucreti Cari *De Rerum Natura*, 1, 109. 932 (pp. 289. 383), and H. A. J. Munro on Lucretius (Cambridge, 1873).

(5) See *Retractiones*, 1, 13.

Cartwright (1602—1658) wrote:<sup>1</sup> *They are not religated* (or united) *within the same communion*; and S. T. Coleridge (1772—1834):<sup>2</sup> *It is not even religion; it does not religate, does not bind anew*; so W. E. Gladstone (1809—1898) said,<sup>3</sup> *Religion . . . with a debased worship appended to it, but with no religating, no binding, power.*

But in *De Natura Deorum*, 2, 28, 72, Cicero derives *religio* from *relegere*, as meaning *to go through or over again in reading, speech or thought*. Cicero says, *Qui omnia quae ad cultum deorum pertinerent diligenter pertractarent, et tamquam relegerent, sunt dicti religiosi ex relegendo, ut elegantes ex eligendo.*

In the *Noctes Atticae* (4, 9, 1) of the Roman grammarian Aulus Gellius (2<sup>d</sup> cent. A. D.) is preserved an old verse which supports this derivation, *Religentem esse oportet, religiosum nefas.*

Identical with *relegere* is the Greek ἀλέγειν, *to heed, to have a care for*; and in support of this derivation of the word *religion*, Geo. Curtius quotes the *Iliad* (16, 388): *θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοιτες.*

Professor Skeat, of the University of Cambridge, says in his *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 500, *Religion* seems to be connected with the English *reck*, *to heed, to have a care for*. From Teutonic base *rak*, Aryan *rag*, the derivation may be traced through Middle High-German, Middle English of Chaucer's time, and Anglo-Saxon. In Mark 12, 14 we find *Bu ne recst*, *Thou carest not*.

Our term *religion* is used also in the sense *scrupulosity, conscientious scruple*.

Ben Jonson (c. 1573—1637) says,<sup>4</sup> *Out of a religion to my charge . . . I have made a self-decree ne'er to express my person.*

In the Authorized Version, *religion* is used of outward forms rather than of the inner spirit. In the Century Dictionary the two passages, James 1, 26 and Acts 13, 43, are quoted. *Religion* was so used by Jerèmy Taylor (c. 1613—1637) as meaning the *rites and ceremonies* of religion: *What she was pleased to believe apt to minister to her devotions, and the religions*

(1) See *Certamen Religiosum* by Christopher Cartwright, published in 1649 by Thomas Baylie.

(2) Cottle, *Early Recollections*, 2, 84.

(3) *Gleanings of Past Years*, 3, 130.

(4) See *New Inn*, 1, 1.

of her pious and discerning soul.<sup>1</sup> Latimer (c. 1485—1555) in his *Sermons*,<sup>2</sup> writes, *For religion standeth in righteousness, justice, and well-doing.* In Shakespeare's *As you Like it* (Act 4, Scene 1) Orlando says that he will *religiously* keep a promise.

*Religious* means originally *observant, conscientious, strict.* A *religious Jew* is a Jew who observes the rules of the Sabbath, the dietary laws, who does not *neglect* them. *Relegere* is opposed to *neglegere*, which stands for *neglegere*, not observe, not heed, not attend to, be remiss in attention or duty toward a thing. An *irreligious Jew* *neglects* the Law. *Religion* is akin to *diligence*, and opposed to *negligence*. The Greek ἀλέγειν is generally used with a negative, οὐκ ἀλέγειν, equivalent to Latin *neglegere*.

Strict observance of law and conscience, heed of duty, involves taking pains, painstaking scrupulosity. This explains the connection of *religion* with ἄλγος, pain, and δυσηλεγής, painful. But, as Walde says in his well-known Latin dictionary,<sup>3</sup> an idea of *choice* and *interest* may be connected with *religion*. Lat. *diligo* (that is, *dis + lego*) may be associated with *reckoning, electing*. There may be a *picking out*, as in the German phrase, *Soldaten ausheben*, recruiting soldiers (so Walde).

If all points are carefully considered, Cicero's view would seem to be preferable, so that *religion* is not derived from *religare*, but from *relegere*. It is true that a clause from Cicero's *Oratio de Domo*, 105 is cited, *Nisi etiam muliebribus religionibus te implicuisses*, in proof that Cicero himself could not help connecting the word *religio* with the idea of *obligation*. So, in the *Second Philippic*,<sup>4</sup> occurs *religione obstringere*, and in *De Domo*, 106. 124 we find *domum religione obligare*.

But inconsistency occurs in the writings of all great men,—the present, of course, always excepted. The commentator most sure of himself is usually the most mistaken—an ex-

(1) See the Works of Jeremy Taylor, 1, 756 (London, 1835).

(2) See *Sermon* 21 of Hugh Latimer; edition of Rev. George E. Corrie (Cambridge, 1844) 1, 392.

(3) See Alois Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1906) pp. 176. 330.

(4) See *Oratio Philippica*, 2, 33. 83: *Obstrinxisti religione populum Romanum.*

perience which has been brought home to me very forcibly in the Old Testament Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University.

I present this modest contribution to a most intricate problem before this galaxy of distinguished comparative philologists, in the hope of getting some illuminative suggestions on a subject in which I have always taken a profound interest.

*Notes on a Collation of some Unpublished Inscriptions of Ashurnazirpal.*—By W. E. M. AITKEN, Ph. D.

While engaged in studying two copies of the "Standard Inscription" of Ashurbanipal, recently acquired by the Semitic Museum at Harvard University, and in collating them with the copy published by Layard on p. 1 of his *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments*, London 1851, the writer's attention was drawn to the large number of errors they contained. Subsequently a copy of the same inscription in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston was studied and similar errors therein recorded. To these errors the following pages are devoted.

The first of these (A) was inscribed on a well-dressed slab of dark grey alabaster, now broken into a dozen pieces. The inscription consists of thirty-two lines of rather irregularly written characters covering a space 45 cmm. high and about 82 long. The second (B) is on a slab of light grey alabaster, and consists of twenty-six lines of beautifully inscribed signs, covering a space of 40 cmm. in height and 100 in length. The signs and lines are somewhat crowded at the centre, three lines at top or bottom occupying the same space as four at the centre. The slab has been broken into some twenty pieces, but fortunately with but slight damage to the writing. The third (C) is an inscription of twenty-one lines, covering a space 40 cmm. high and 140 long. It is written across the face of a beautiful bas-relief 210 cmm. high and 130 wide, which one time adorned the wall on the left-hand side of some doorway, a point made clear by the fact that the writing goes on around the edge of the slab.

In A there are to be found about 20 errors, consisting for the most part in the addition or omission of a wedge. (It is not always easy to decide whether a case in point is a mere variant or an error; it is possible that I have omitted some

things as variants that might properly have been called errors. At the same time I have added under the general head of error some illustrations that are rather examples of other things.) *Uš*, l. 2, is written as a)<sup>1</sup>; *tukulti*, l. 3, as b); *ma*, l. 5, as c); *niš*, l. 5, as eš, d); (a variant noted by Budge and King, *ni-eš* following *šak*, probably explains this); *ha*, l. 10, as e); *lu*, l. 10, as f); *tik*, l. 11, as g); *ni*, l. 14, as h); *ik*, l. 19, as i); *la*, l. 20, as j); *iš*, l. 27, as k). *Ekal iš dap-ra-ni* is written again after *iš urkarinni pl* with *ra*, l. 27, written as l). *Im*, l. 30, is written as m). Two erasures are found: *si*, l. 30, is written as n), with one horizontal erased; *a-na*, l. 28, as o). The scribe's intention was to write *a-na*; he omitted *a*, wrote *na*, and then erased all but the perpendicular. This stone cutter at least understood what he was writing, for, if the correction were due to a reviser, he would doubtless have corrected some of the other errors. There are a number of omissions: *it*, l. 28 (19a); *iš*, l. 24 (15c) and l. 27 (18a. 1<sup>o</sup>); *išten (en) u-*, l. 23 (14c); *al-ta-kan ur-du-ti u-pu-šu*, l. 19 (11d. 12a); *amêlu šak-nu-te-ia* closes l. 18, the next line begins with the next sentence. The inference here too is that the stone-cutter could read.

Of the three inscriptions B is the most beautifully written, and is engraved on the finest stone. There are only half the errors, but these are of the same character. *Adar*, l. 1, is written as p); *uš*, l. 2, as q); *kul*, l. 4, as r); *šar*, l. 6, as s); *ad*, l. 7, as t); *mar*, l. 13, as u); *si*, l. 18, as v); *ra*, l. 22, as w); *lib*, l. 23, as x); *šar*, l. 24, as s)<sup>2</sup>; *si*, l. 24, as y), with the last vertical erased, cf. n). The suffix of *gimri*, l. 19, referring to *mātu* is *šu*. While this is not unheard of in Assyrian, it is significant here as proof that the stone-cutter understood what he wrote. *Ina*, l. 24 (20a), is written on the margin at the beginning of the line. Otherwise the lines begin perfectly regularly.

C, though so conspicuously situated, and though written over so beautiful a bas-relief, contains the largest number of errors.

<sup>1</sup> In the plate at the end of the article I have given the form as it actually occurs, and also the ordinary form at this period. Within brackets I have included a reference to Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* (Brit. Mus., 1902), p. 212ff. The number is the line number of Layard, *op. cit.*, which they have retained; the letter is their subdivision of the line.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably not an error.



*Ru*, l. 2, is written as *z*), with the centre horizontal, which has been very deeply cut, almost erased; *ru*, l. 9, is written the same way, but with no erasure. *Hu*, l. 4, is written as *a*); *šar*, l. 5, as *s*)<sup>1</sup>; *ha*, l. 6, as *e*); *su*, l. 8, as *b*); *alu*, l. 10, as *c*); *ia*, l. 12, as *d*); *ur*, l. 12, as *e*); *ilâni*, l. 13, as *f*); *šum*, l. 13, as *g*); *šid*, l. 13, as *h*); *tukuntî*, l. 14, as *i*); *du*, l. 14, as *j*); *šar*, l. 14, as *k*); *ki*, l. 14, as *l*); *aš*, l. 15, as *m*); *lu-bar*, l. 17, as *n*); *-pi ina*, l. 18, as *o*); *li*, l. 18, as *p*); *ri*, l. 18, as *q*); *mul*, l. 19, as *r*); *a*, l. 19, as *s*); *da*, l. 19, as *t*); *ra*, l. 19, as *u*); *te*, l. 19, as *v*); *ma*, l. 19, as *w*); *iš*, l. 20, as *x*); *kaspi*, l. 20, as *y*). In l. 19 *tamâti* is crowded into *z*'), cf. *i*'). In l. 11 *has* is omitted.

Those ancient men whose business it was to write the cuneiform (they were not mere stone-cutters), to write the king's inscriptions, joined the wedges together carelessly, made signs inaccurately, added and omitted<sup>2</sup> signs, even to the extent of half a line. After I had finished my work I noticed that Budge and King has made a similar statement: "From the numerous mistakes and inaccuracies which are manifest in many of the copies, it is clear that the work was often done in haste and was entrusted to unskilled workmen and artisans, who were not infrequently unable to read the signs they were engraving"<sup>3</sup>. The evidence of hasty and unskillful work is abundant; the errors in C constitute over three per cent of the inscription. But I would point out that they are due, in this inscription at least, to men who show some signs of being able to read what they wrote.

Lyon in *Keilschrifttexte Sargons, Königs von Assyrien*, so long ago as 1883 pointed out a considerable number of errors, especially in the Stierinschrift. Scheil, *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, Tome IV, has pointed out a number in the Code

<sup>1</sup> This is probably not an error.

<sup>2</sup> Layard, *op. cit.*, gives a fine example of this, which Budge and King of course correct. In l. 5 one reads *bi-lat-su takšud (ud) hur-ša-ni kâli-šu-nu i-pi-lu-ma bi-lat-su-nu im-hu-ru*, etc. The scribe had not finished writing *bi-lat-su (-nu)* when his eye caught the *su* of *kat-su*, l. 4, and he started over again, writing five words twice. *Takšud (ud)* he wrote incorrectly first as *a*); the second time it is correct. In l. 13 the scribe's eye fell from *kibrâte* to the quite similar *uš* of *uš-ḥam-ma-tu*, and so he omitted *kibrâte* <sup>v</sup> *šarru ša ki-bit pi-šu*, and produced an untranslatable sentence. This is all correctly written in A, B and C.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. LXXII f.

of Hammurabi; Ungnad in *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Leipzig, 1909, has added many more, and I suspect that all in the code have not yet been found. Others too have noticed errors here and there, yet the large number of errors in these inscriptions—and it is rarely that one may speak so surely concerning textual errors—comes to one almost as a revelation. Errors have occasionally been pointed out in writing on clay, as for example by Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*; but it is, as one would expect, in writing on stone that they are found in greatest abundance.

(Since writing the above (Jan, 1910) I have been interested to note errors in the clay tablet published in V R 47. In l. 40 ob. we read *ri-ša-a-tum* for *ri-da-a-tum*, and *ip-pi-e-ši* for *ip-pi-e-ri*. Cf. IV R., 60\* B. ob., l. 11 (cf. Jastrow in J. B. L. XXV<sup>2</sup>, p. 160, n. 90). In l. 24 we read *šar ra ki ma*. Jastrow (*op. cit.*, p. 148, n. 43), reads it *šar-ra ki-ma*, and translates "from a king, I became—". This is certainly ungrammatical. Is not *ki* an error for *ku*?—whether of the scribe or the modern copist I know not. For *sar-ra-ku-ma* cf. IR 17, 32, and Lyon, *Assyrian Manual*<sup>2</sup>, § 22, bottom.)

a) (1b)		for		b') (9b)		for	
b) (2b)		„		c') (10c, 2 <sup>o</sup> )		„	
c) (3b)		„		d') (11d)		„	
d) (3b)		„		e') (12a)		„	
e) (7a)		„		f') (12b)		„	
f) (7a)		„		g') (12b)		„	
g) (7c)		„		h') (12b)		„	
h) (8e)		„		i') (13a)		„	
i) (12b)		„		j') (13b)		„	
j) (13b)		„		k') (13b)		„	
k) (18a)		„		l') (13d)		„	
l) (19b)		„		m') (14c)		„	
m) (20b)		„		n') (17a)		„	
n) (20b, 2 <sup>o</sup> )		„		o') (17d)		„	
o) (19a)		„	or	p') (17d)		„	
p) (1a)	NIN	„	NIN	q') (18a)		„	
q) (1b)		„		r') (19a)		„	
r) (4a)		„		s') (19b, 1 <sup>o</sup> )		„	
s) (6a)		„		t') (19b)		„	
t) (6b)		„		u') (19b)		„	
u) (11b)		„		v') (19b)		„	
v) (16b)		„		w') (19c)		„	
w) (19b)		„		x') (20c, 1 <sup>o</sup> )		„	
x) (19b)		„		y') (21b)		„	
y) (20b, 2 <sup>o</sup> )		„		z') (14a)		for	
z) (3a)		„				for	
a') (5a)		„		a'') (4d)		for	

*Comparative Syntax of the Combinations formed by the Noun and its Modifiers in Semitic.* — By FRANK R. BLAKE, Ph. D., Johns Hopkins University.

Introduction.

THE syntax of the several Semitic languages has been more or less exhaustively treated in the various Semitic grammars, but little attention has hitherto been paid to the study of Comparative Semitic Syntax. Numerous points, it is true, have been treated incidentally in the different Semitic grammars and other works of a grammatical character, but there is nothing whatever in the nature of a systematic Comparative Semitic Syntax on a par with Delbrück's treatment of Comparative Indo-European Syntax in Brugmann's great work,<sup>1</sup> and very few monographs which discuss problems of this character.

Syntax, as seems to have been first expressly stated by the distinguished linguist the late Georg von der Gabelentz, may be treated from two different points of view, a formal and a logical.<sup>2</sup> We may start from the grammatical forms and explain their uses, as for example in a discussion of the Latin or Greek cases, or we may start from the grammatical categories expressed in language generally, and describe the differ-

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<sup>1</sup> *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (3 parts in 5 volumes + Indices: 3<sup>rd</sup> part = Delbrück's *Vergleichende Syntax der indog. Spr.*), Strassburg, 1886—1900: 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of first two parts, Strassb. 1897—1911. Brockelmann has promised a Comparative Semitic Syntax as Part II of his Comparative Semitic Grammar (Part I published in 1908, cf. p. 138) but it had not yet appeared when this article went to press. Since then the first fascicle, pp. 1—112, Berlin, 1911, comprising a portion of the discussion of the simple sentence, has been published.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Die Sprachwissenschaft* . . . von Georg von der Gabelentz, 2<sup>te</sup>, verm. u. verb. Aufl. herausg. von Dr. Albrecht Graf von der Schulenburg; Leipzig 1901, pp. 85, 86; H. Sweet, *The Practical Study of Languages*, N.Y., 1900, pp. 125, 126.

ent ways in which they are expressed, as when we discuss the various methods of expressing the genitive in Semitic. The two English constructions 'man's disobedience' and 'the disobedience of man' would be treated under the same head in logical syntax, while in formal syntax one would go under the inflections of nouns and the other under prepositions.

In the present article the syntax of the nominal modifiers is treated in general from the logical point of view. Each of the ideas which can possibly be made to modify the meaning of a noun is taken in turn, and its expression in the various Semitic languages is discussed from a comparative point of view. The object of the article is to point out how the noun and the words that express these ideas are combined, what their relative position in the combination is, and how they are affected by being joined together.<sup>1</sup>

The principal ideas which can modify the meaning of a noun in any language, with their most familiar means of expression in parentheses, are the following, viz.,

- a) simple determination (definite article).
- b) case determination (case ending or preposition).
- c) simple indetermination (indefinite article).
- d) simple qualification (descriptive adjective).
- e) demonstrative qualification (demonstrative adjective).
- f) interrogative qualification (interrogative pronoun or adjective).
- g) indefinite qualification (indefinite pronominal adjectives).
- h) numeral qualification (cardinal and ordinal numerals).
- i) nominal qualification (noun in case form or after preposition).
- j) personal pronominal qualification (possessive adjective).
- k) nominal apposition (noun in apposition).
- l) adverbial qualification (circumstantial expressions and adverbs such as 'also', 'only', 'indeed').
- m) sentence qualification (clause, relative or other, modifying the noun).

To these may be added

- n) nominal coordination (two or more nouns connected by 'and'),

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<sup>1</sup> For the comparative syntax of the noun and its combinations in the Indo-European languages, cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* 3<sup>ter</sup> Th., Strassburg, 1900, pp. 88—103; 181—221.

though it does not, strictly speaking, belong here, as the words do not modify one another but are simply joined together.

Two or more of these modifying ideas may be combined, e. g., simple determination with simple qualification, or demonstrative qualification with simple qualification, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In the Semitic languages, these modifying ideas are not always expressed by an independent word, e. g., the idea of the possessive adjective is regularly indicated by a suffix, e. g., Hebrew בִּלְבִי 'my dog'; nor is the element that expresses the modifying idea always grammatically dependent on the noun, e. g., 'all men' is expressed in general by the indefinite pronoun 'all' followed by the genitive of the noun, e. g., Hebrew כָּל-הָאָנָשִׁים 'all men'. Nevertheless in all cases the material will be arranged with reference to the modifying idea.

The following languages and dialects have been included in the present investigation (the abbreviation used for the language is given in parentheses), viz.,

- a) Assyrian (Ass.)
- b) Arabic, Classical (Arab. or Cl. Arab.)
  - „ , Modern (Mod. Arab.; Eg., Pal., Tu., {Tl., etc.).
  - Lihyanic (Lih.)
  - Safaitic (Saf.)
- c) Mineo-Sabean (Min.)
  - Mehri (Meh.)
- d) Ethiopic (Eth.)
  - Amharic (Amh.)
  - Tigrîña (Ta.)
  - Tigre (Te.)
- e) Hebrew, Biblical (Heb. or Bib. Heb.)
  - „ , Post-Biblical (Mish.)
  - Moabite (Mo.)
  - Phenician (Ph.)
- f) Aramaic of Zinjirli (Ar. Zinj.)
  - Biblical Aramaic (Bib. Aram.)
  - Christian Palestinian (Chr. Pal.)
  - Jewish Palestinian (Jew. Pal.)
  - Samaritan (Sam.)

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the most important of these combinations of two or more modifiers have been discussed in connection with the combinations of the noun with single modifier. Material for their complete discussion is not at present available.

Malulan (Mal.)  
 Syriac, Classical (Syr.)  
 Aramaic of Babylonian Talmud (Bab. Tal.)  
 Mandaic (Man.)  
 Modern Syriac (Mod. Syr.)

All words except those written in Hebrew characters will be furnished with a transliteration, the transliteration being in *Italics* except in the case of Classical Syriac, where Hebrew is employed. Lihyanic, Safaitic, Phenician, Zinjirli, Samaritan, Christian Palestinian, and Mandaic words are written in Hebrew characters, Mineo-Sabean words in Arabic characters. Assyrian, Mehri, and Malulan appear only in transliteration.

Analogies in Egyptian and Coptic, Indo-European, and other languages, will be given in the foot-notes.

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### Simple Determination.

The determinate or definite state of a noun is expressed in most of the Semitic languages by a demonstrative particle used as a definite article.

In Arabic, Hebrew, Moabite, Phenician, and Tigre (also in the Aramaic dialect of Tur-Abdin, cf. below), the definite article is indicated by preformative particles;<sup>1</sup> in Classical Ara-

<sup>1</sup> The article stands before the noun in Coptic and late Egyptian (cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.*, p. 110f; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.*, p. 73f.), and in most Indo-European languages; a postpositive article, however, occurs in Old Bulgarian and Lithuanian with the attributive adjective (cf. A. Leskien, *Grammatik der Altbulgarischen Sprache*, Heidelberg, 1909, p. 142; F. Kurschat, *Grammatik der Litauischen Sprache*, Halle, 1876, pp. 406—408; Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. p. 89).

bic and its modern dialects, by *al*; <sup>1</sup> in Tigre by *la* or *la*; <sup>2</sup> in the Arabic dialect of the Safaitic and Lihyanic inscriptions, and in the other languages, by a particle whose original form was probably *hâ*: <sup>3</sup> e.g.,

Arab. الملك *al-maliku* 'the king.'

Te. ሰላሳ *la-sab* 'the people.'

Lih. הבת 'the house.'

Heb. המלך 'the king.'

Ph. השער 'the gate.'

Mo. הבמה 'the high-place.'

In Phœnician and poetical Hebrew, however, the use of the article is much restricted, and it is not necessary to indicate a definite noun. <sup>4</sup>

In Aramaic in general, in Mineo-Sabean, and Amharic the definite state of a noun is indicated by affirmative particles. In Aramaic this particle is *â*, <sup>5</sup> e. g.,

Bib. Aram. מלכא 'the king.'

מלכין 'the kings.'

In some cases in Western Aramaic, and in practically all cases in Eastern Aramaic, instead of the form in *ajja* formed by combining the plural ending *ai* with *â*, a plural ending in *ê* <sup>6</sup> is employed, e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> Connected ultimately with the root of the plural of the demonstratives, *hâ-ʿulâʾi*, *hâ-ʿulâʾi*, etc., cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 316, 317 (§ 107 c, f). In some Southern dialects of Arabic *im*, *am* is used as article instead of *al*, but without assimilation of final *m*; e. g., *am-birru* 'piety', *am-ṣiyyamu* 'fasting'; this article *am* contains the same demonstrative element as Assyrian *ammû* 'that': cf. Brock. *op. cit.* p. 317 (§ 107e), p. 469 (§ 246 Ba); Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I. p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> Regarded by Littmann (*Te. Pron.* p. 299) as ultimately identical with the demonstrative root *al* (cf. preceding n.). It may, however, have been developed from the preposition *la* used with a definite dependent noun as in Ethiopic *ገላድ-ሁ ለ-ነጃህ*: *ḡald-û la-nəḡûš* (cf. p. 145). Here the determination of *nəḡûš* is due to the combination of suffix and preposition, but in Tigre *la* itself was regarded as the cause of the determination, and so used as article in other cases. Closely connected with this phenomenon is the almost complete loss of *la* as preposition. Cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 470 (§ 246 Bca).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 316 (§ 107 a).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 424 (§ 126 h); Schröd. *Phön. Spr.* p. 161.

<sup>5</sup> This *-â* is probably identical with the preformative article *hâ*; cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 316.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the same plural ending that we have in Assyrian *bêlê* 'lords.' cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 454, 455.

Syr. מלכין מלכין 'kings.'

In the Eastern Aramaic dialects, and apparently also in Malulan, the definite state has lost its definite force, and has become the most common form of the noun, the meaning being either definite or indefinite, e. g.,

Syr. מלכא מלכא 'king, a king, the king.'

„ מלכין מלכין 'kings, the kings.'

In Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic, and Mandaic the absolute or indefinite form of a noun is comparatively frequent in certain constructions,<sup>1</sup> but in Modern Syriac, with isolated exceptions, it has been completely lost.

In the Modern Aramaic dialect of Tur-Abdin a new preformative definite article has been developed from the demonstratives *hay*, *hâi*, *hânôn*, viz. m. *û*, f. *î*, pl. *ân*, e. g.,

*û hmôro* 'the ass.'

*î žaneke* 'the woman.'

In Mineo-Sabean the definite state is indicated by a final *n*<sup>2</sup> element, the so-called nunnation, e. g.,

بيت-ن *bît-n* 'the house.'

In Amharic the definite state of a noun may be indicated by *-û* for the masculine, *-îtû* for the feminine, but very often the sign of determination is omitted as in poetical Hebrew and in Phœnician, e. g.,

ልጅ: *lějû* 'the son.'

ሳት: *sētîtû* 'the lady.'

The ending *û* is apparently derived from the pronominal suffix of the third person singular (cf. below p. 144); *îtû* contains in addition the two feminine elements *î* and *t*.

In Assyrian the final *-m* which is frequently added to nouns had originally in all probability a definite meaning, but this meaning had been lost as early at least as the time of Hammurabi (circa 1950 B.C.),<sup>3</sup> just as the definite meaning of Aramaic

<sup>1</sup> cf. Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* pp. 144—154; Nöld. *Man. Gr.* pp. 300—305; Marg. *Man. Bab. Tal.* pp. 62, 63.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps to be read *ân*, a combination of *-â* (= Aram. *-â*) + a demonstrative element *n*: cf. Homm. *Süd-arab. Chr.* p. 36; Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 316, 317 (§ 107 a, d).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Del. *Ass. Gr.* p. 189. This *-m* or nimmation is ultimately identical with the emphatic particle *-ma*; cf. *op. cit.* pp. 189, 219—221, and also below under Adverbial Qualification. It is probably distinct from the *-m* or *-n* which denotes indetermination (cf. p. 156); Brockelmann, however, seems to regard them as identical, cf. *Comp. Gr.* p. 474 (bot.).

-ā was lost later in Eastern Aramaic (cf. above). Assyrian is therefore without article and a word either with the -m or without it may be either definite or indefinite, e. g.,

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} ilu \\ ilu-m \end{array} \right\} \text{ 'god, a god, the god.' }$$

Ethiopic, Tigrīña, and Mehri are entirely without article, and a noun in its absolute form may be either definite or indefinite, e. g.,

Eth. ንጉሥ: *nəgûš* 'king, a king, the king.'

Ta. ሰብ: *sab* 'man, a man, the man.'

Meh. ገላጎጎ 'man, a man, the man.'

The Eastern Aramaic dialects, then, and Assyrian, Ethiopic, Tigrīña, and Mehri have no direct means of making a noun definite under all conditions, but they are able nevertheless by employing various constructions, to express the determination in certain cases. Sometimes a language which has a regular definite article possesses these definite constructions as well.

In Assyrian, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Tigrīña, and in Tigre in spite of the fact that it has developed an article, the pronominal suffix of the third person is employed in certain cases in the sense of a definite article. In Syriac this use seems to be confined to nouns after ;; in Ethiopic it is most common in repetitions; in Tigrīña, in time expressions. e. g.,

Ass. *nēšu ša ḫīri-šu* 'the lion of the desert.'<sup>1</sup>

Syr. ܫܝܡܥܢ ܒܢ ܝܗܘܢܢܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ 'St. Simon of the pillar.'<sup>1</sup>

Eth. ሐለማክ : ሐለመ : ወክመዝ : ሐለመ : *ḥalamka ḥēlma wa-kamazē ḥēlm-ū* 'thou hast dreamed a dream, and thus (was) the dream.'

Ta. ፪በጽሕ : ጊዜኡ : እንተ : *ibaçēḥ gîzê-'û ĕnta...* 'the time will come when...'

Te. ሰበኑ : መሰሉ : ሰለሰ : *sabat masal-ū sa'alay-ō* 'about the parable they asked him.'

From this use doubtless originates the articular -ū, -îlū, of Amharic.

The suffix in Assyrian expressions like *ina umi-šu-ma* 'on that day,' is to be classed here, tho the suffix has here a force more strongly demonstrative than that of an article.

<sup>1</sup> Brockelmann thinks the suffix here is simply possessive, cf. *Comp. Gr.* p. 472 (top).

In the case of a definite noun which is dependent on another word (noun, preposition, or verb) the definite state of this noun is often emphasized by a suffix attached to the governing word; the dependent noun, either alone or preceded by a preposition, standing as a sort of apposition to the suffix. The dependent noun usually stands after the suffix, but when it is governed by a verb it may stand before the verbal form. When the determination of the dependent noun is not indicated by a demonstrative adjective, or in some other way, the suffix may be regarded as taking the place of the article.

In Assyrian a noun depending on another noun is preceded by *ša*; a governing preposition is repeated; a noun depending on a verb stands without preposition: e. g.,

*X aplū-šu ša Y* 'X son of Y.'

*ana šāšuma ana Izdubar* 'to Izdubar.'

*I šuši šarrāni...adi tāmdī elīnīte lū ardi-šunūti*, 'sixty kings ... unto the upper sea verily I pursued (them).'

In Ethiopic the dependent noun is preceded by the preposition **ለ**, e. g.,

**ቀዳሚ፡ ለጥበብ፡** *qadāmī-hā la-ṭēbab* 'the beginning of wisdom (its beginning to wisdom).'

**ላዕሌሁ፡ ለባዕለ፡ ሴት፡** *lālē-hū la-bā'la bēt* 'against the lord of the house.'

**ሰማዮ፡ ለብርሃን፡ ዕለት፡** *samaj-ō la-bērhān 'ēlat* 'he called the light day.'

In Tigrīna the dependent noun is regularly preceded by the preposition **ን**, tho after another noun the genitive sign **ናይ** may be employed, e. g.,

**ልደኡ፡ ንዕለት፡** *lēdē-'ū nē-iasūs* 'the birth of Jesus.'

**መጀመርያ፡ ናይ፡ ፍጥረት፡** *majamariā-'ā nāṯ fētrat* 'the beginning of the creation.'

**ከማኡ፡ ነት፡ ሰብ፡** *kamā-'ū n-at sab* 'like this man.'

**ወለደ፡ ንይስሐቅ፡** *walad-ō nē-ieshaq* 'he begot Isaac.'

In Amharic a noun depending on another noun is preceded by the sign of the genitive **የ**, and usually stands before the governing noun, tho it may stand after; a noun depending on a verb takes nothing besides the regular accusative suffix **ን**; the dependent noun is most commonly a proper noun: e. g.,

**የጠባሽ፡ ዘውዳቸው፡** *ya-ṭabībān zaūd-āčaw* 'the crown of the wise.'

ܘܠܡܪܝܡ : ܚܝܝܬܐ : *hēlm-ayō-m ia-nēgûš-û* 'and the dream of the king.'

ܕܝܝܫܘܥ : ܕܥܪܐ : *'îjâsû-n çarâ-y* 'he called to Joshua.'

In Syriac the preposition ܕ is used after a verb; after a noun and a preposition , being employed: e. g.,

ܕܡܠܟܐ : ܕܡܠܟܐ : *ܕܡܠܟܐ* 'the son of the king.'

ܕܥܠܝܐ : ܕܥܠܝܐ : *ܕܥܠܝܐ* 'over the stone.'

ܕܒܢܝܬ : ܕܒܢܝܬ : *ܕܒܢܝܬ* 'he built the house.'

After a preposition. instead of , the same preposition may be repeated, and after a verb, instead of both suffix and ܕ either may be used alone with the same meaning, e. g.,

ܕܥܠܝܐ : ܕܥܠܝܐ : *ܕܥܠܝܐ* 'over the stone.'

ܕܒܢܝܬ : ܕܒܢܝܬ : *ܕܒܢܝܬ* } 'he built the house.'

Mandaic and the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud have the same constructions as Syriac, tho apparently the construction of suffix + noun without ܕ does not occur in the latter. In Modern Syriac the construct of a noun preceding a definite *nomen rectum* often has a special ending, viz., ܕܥܠܝܐ or ܕܥܠܝܐ; this is perhaps a contraction for , ܕܥܠܝܐ, suffix of third person singular + sign of genitive (cf. prepositional forms below): e. g.,

ܕܥܠܝܐ : ܕܥܠܝܐ : *ܕܥܠܝܐ* 'Savior of the world.'

Occasionally, however, the construction occurs as in Classical Syriac,<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

ܕܥܠܝܐ : ܕܥܠܝܐ : *ܕܥܠܝܐ* *min id-ê de-sâtânâ* 'from the hand of Satan.'

ܕܥܠܝܐ : ܕܥܠܝܐ : *ܕܥܠܝܐ* 'the son of God.'

The construction after a preposition (ܕ seems to be the only preposition that is thus used, tho the spoken forms *ullit*, *minnit*, *bârît* for ܕ, ܕ, ܕ are to be explained as contracted from preposition + suffix + , viz., ܕܥܠܝܐ : ܕܥܠܝܐ : ܕܥܠܝܐ) or verb, is suffix (or in the case of the verb the equivalent ܕ + suffix) followed immediately by the dependent noun without anything before it, e. g.,

ܕܥܠܝܐ : ܕܥܠܝܐ : *ܕܥܠܝܐ lâh nûnâ* 'to the fish.'

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke mentions only the first example, and here he thinks it is possible that ܕܥܠܝܐ was miswritten for ܕܥܠܝܐ *idê*, the plural; but Maclean states that this construction is not uncommon. Cf. Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 148 f.; Macl. *Vern. Syr.* p. 56 (top).

למס לה פולט-ח 'pult-uh 'uit sūsê 'have you brought out the horse.'

חמל לה חו בחרה 'hemî lēh hō bahrâ 'hold fast that light.'

In those languages which have developed a special definite article, similar emphatic constructions occur. When the governing word is a noun, this construction is found only in those languages which have developed a special genitive sign. It is found in the Western Aramaic dialects and in Post-Biblical Hebrew (here probably borrowed from Aramaic), but does not seem to occur in the Modern Arabic dialects. In Hebrew the article is omitted with a dependent common noun, being in this respect at least independent of Aramaic. e. g.,

Bib. Aram. אלהה דידניאל 'the god of Daniel.'

שמה די אלהא 'the name of God.'

Jew. Pal. אבהון די בני עמון 'the father of the Ammonites.'

Sam. בניון דבעבדיך 'the sons of thy servants.'

Mish. אורן של חכמים 'the fire of the wise.'

דעתו לשמים 'the knowledge of God.'

In Biblical Hebrew this construction occurs in one late passage, viz.,

מטתו שלשלמה 'the couch of Solomon.' (Ct. 3,7).

When the governing word is a preposition or a verb, examples may occur in any language, but they are comparatively infrequent; when depending on a verb, the noun stands with the sign of the accusative; after a preposition, it stands either alone or with the preposition repeated; in Arabic the noun is in the case form corresponding to the case of the suffix; in Christian Palestinian after a verb the suffix stands after ית and the noun after ל: e. g.,

Arab. رايتہ زيداً ra'aitu-hu zaidā 'I saw Zaid.'

مررت به زيد marartu bi-hi zaidi 'I passed by Zaid.'

Heb. ויראהו את-הילד 'and she saw the boy' (Ex. 2, 6).

אי לו האחד 'woe to him the one alone' (Ecc. 4, 10).

לָהֶם לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'to the children of Israel' (Jos. 1, 2).

Sam. וית יפרתה קעימתה יסב יתה 'and the sparrow alive he took' (him).

אנש באחיו לא תפלע בה 'a man shall not rule over his brother.'

Ch. Pal. דיפרוק יתה לאסראל 'that he might free Israel.'

סנא יתה לנהורא 'he hates the light.'

In Biblical Aramaic and Jewish Palestinian, and in Post-



Biblical Hebrew (here probably a borrowing from Aramaic) this construction after prepositions has come to be used to express the idea of 'same,' e. g.,

Bib. Aram. בַּהּ וְכֵן 'at that same time' (Dan. 3, 7).

בַּהּ בְּלַיְלָא 'on that very night' (Dan. 5, 30).

Jew. Pal. בַּהּ בַּשָּׁעָה 'in the same hour.'

Mish. בּוּ כִּיּוֹם 'on the same day.'

Under the same head as these emphatic constructions with pleonastic suffix, are to be classed the constructions in Post-Biblical Hebrew, Samaritan, and Christian and Jewish Palestinian, in which אַת or ית + suffix is placed before noun with article in the sense of 'that,' 'same,'<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

Mish. אוֹתוֹ הַיּוֹם 'the same day.'

אוֹתָהּ הָאָרֶץ 'the same land.'

Sam. בִּיתָה אֶרְעָא 'in the same land.'

בִּיתָה יוֹמָא 'on the same day.'

Ch. Pal. בִּיתָה קִירוֹסָא 'at that same time.'

Jew. Pal. רִיתָה שַׁבָּתָא 'of that Sabbath.'

In some languages the demonstratives are at times used with a weakened force akin to that of a definite article. This is to be noted in Ethiopic and Tigrīna, and also in Jewish Palestinian, in spite of its possessing a living definite form of the noun, e. g.,

Eth. ወ-አቶ፡ ብሉሴ፡ *uē'ētū bē'ēsī* 'the (that) man.'

Ta. ሉት፡ እትብሉ፡ ሉ፡እዚው፡ '*ūnat 'ēt-nabî'î 'î'ū 'ēzîu*  
'truly this is the (that) prophet.'

Jew. Pal. סֵפֶר אֹרִיתָא הָרִין 'the book of the Law' (Sabb. 14. d).

The historical development of these various expressions for the determinate state of a noun is probably somewhat as follows. The parent Semitic speech was originally without article.<sup>2</sup> This status is best represented by some of the younger

<sup>1</sup> The element ית seems to occur also in the common Mandaic more remote demonstrative האננת which Nöldeke thinks is a combination of demonstrative elements הא, הין, ית: cf. *Man. Gr.* p. 91 f; also Geig. *Spr. Misch.* p. 36; Uhlem. *Inst. Sam.* pp. 31, 162, 163; Nöld. *Chr. Pal.* p. 471; Dalm. *Jüd. Pal.* p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> For relics of this original article-less condition in all the Semitic languages, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 466—469 (§ 246 A). There is no article in Old Egyptian, but one has been developed in later Egyptian and in Coptic from the demonstrative 'that,' cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 110; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 73 f. Originally also there was no article in Indo-European, as is shown by the fact that many of the older

members of the Semitic family, viz., Ethiopic, and its modern descendant Tigrîna.<sup>1</sup> Assyrian, in many respects the most primitive of the family, had developed and lost a definite article centuries before the oldest monument of Ethiopic was written. In order to represent the determinate state of a noun, two means were employed a) pronominal elements, chiefly demonstrative, and b) the personal pronominal suffixes.

From pronominal elements in most of the languages, by a process of weakening, a real definite article was developed, viz., in Assyrian, and in the Arabic (North and South), Canaanitic, and Aramaic families of speech. In Phœnician and archaic Hebrew, represented by the language of Hebrew poetry, the article is not yet absolutely necessary to denote determination. In Arabic (North and South), Aramaic, in Hebrew prose, and Moabite, the article is fully developed. In the Eastern Aramaic dialects its definite force has so faded out that these languages have practically returned to the article-less condition of the primitive language. In one of these, again, the dialect of Tur-Abdin, a new article has been developed from the demonstrative 'that.'

Parallel with this development of the demonstratives ran the determinative use of the pronominal suffixes. In some languages the suffix of the third person was used to determine the noun to which it was attached, at first with a force more demonstrative than articular, as in Assyrian, later with a real articular force. This later use is found chiefly in the Abyssinian group, tho it also occurs occasionally in Assyrian and Syriac. In Tigre the development of a regular article has checked the growth of the construction; in Amharic a regular article is developed from it, which has, however, a somewhat restricted use. A suffix was also used to emphasize the determination of a dependent noun by being placed with the governing word. This construction is found to a certain extent in all the languages, but is most fully developed in the Abyssinian and Aramaic groups. It occurs in Amharic in

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languages, viz., Sanskrit, Avestan, and Latin, have never developed an article; in Old Bulgarian and Lithuanian the article is used only with the adjective modifying a definite noun; cf. p. 165. n. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Whether the article-less condition of Mehri is a direct inheritance from primitive Semitic, or whether the language is to be regarded as having lost the article which appears in Mineo-Sabean, is not certain.

spite of the fact that the language has an article; it is found in both East and West Aramaic, but reaches a higher development in the Eastern dialects, since here the emphatic state has lost its definite meaning. In Western Aramaic and Post-Biblical Hebrew, where the growth of these constructions has been checked by the development of a regular article, some of them have been adapted to indicate the emphatic idea, 'same,' or 'the very same.'

In some languages the weakening of the force of the demonstrative pronouns, which process resulted in the development of the regular article, is still going on. So especially in article-less languages like Ethiopic and Tigrîna, but also in those with a special definite form such as Jewish Palestinian.

### Case Determination.

Leaving aside the primitive case endings, which are an integral part of the noun, under this head are to be classed the various prepositions and postpositions which have been developed to denote case.

The nominative has developed no special case sign.

The genitive in primitive Semitic is expressed by the construct chain (cf. below), but in the later development of many of the languages special prepositions have been adapted to denote this case.<sup>1</sup> They are as follows, viz.,

Ass.	ša
Eth.	ሐ, ለግ፣ ለግ-; za-, 'ēmma, 'ēm-
Amh.	የ-, ስለ-
Ta.	ፋደ፣ ን- nâḵ, nē-
Te.	ፋደ፣ nâḵ
Arab.	-ل, من; li-, min
„ (Mod.)	ديال, حق, مال, شيت, بتاع, متاع; metâ', betâ' šêt, mâl, haq, de, diâl <sup>2</sup>
Min.	ḏ ḏ
Meh.	da, de, di
Heb.	ל-, מ-, אשר

<sup>1</sup> The same is true of Egyptian and Coptic; cf. Ernan, *Agypt. Gr.* pp. 115—119; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 79—81.

<sup>2</sup> متاع in Syria and Algeria, بتاع in Egypt and Palestine, شيت in Jerusalem, مال in the region around Baghdad, حق in Yemen, دال in North Africa, ديال in Algeria: cf. Wahrn. *Prak. Handb.* pp. 44, 46, 68; Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 316 (§ 106 g).

Ph.	ש, ש
Mish.	ש, -ש
Syr.	-, ->; ->, ->
Man.	}
Bab. Tal.	
Mod. Syr.	
Bib. Aram.	י, -י
Jew. Pal.	י
Ch. Pal.	-י
Sam.	י, -י, י
Mal.	ti, il, ti-l

These genitive determinants all stand before the noun in the genitive. They may be divided into the following classes according to their origin, viz.,

- a) those derived from relative or demonstrative pronouns, Ass. *ša*, Min. *š*, Meh. *dā*, *de*, *dī*, Eth. *za*, Amh. *īa*, Phen. *ש, ש*, Aram. *de*, *dī*, *ti*, Mod. Arab. *de*;<sup>1</sup>
- b) those derived from nouns meaning 'possession,' Ta. and Te. *nāi*, Mod. Arab. *metā*, *betā*, *šet*, *māl*, *haq*;
- c<sup>2</sup>) prepositions meaning 'to, pertaining to, belonging to,' Ta. *nč*, Arab. *li*, Heb. *le*, Aram. *le*, Mal. *il*;
- d<sup>2</sup>) prepositions meaning 'from, part of, of,' Eth. *čmna*, *čm*, Arab. *min*;
- e) combinations of class (a) with following preposition in Mod. Arab. *diāl* (a combination of a demonstrative element with *li*)<sup>3</sup> Heb. *ašer le*, *šel*, Sam. *י, י*, Mal. *ti-l*.

Determinants belonging to classes (a) and (b) are in some of the languages varied for gender and number to agree with

<sup>1</sup> Closely connected with this class of determinants is the Arabic demonstrative *ذو* *šū* (with its full series of case, gender and number forms) which stands before a genitive in the sense of 'owner, possessor,' cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I. p. 265 f.; II. p. 203. With these genitive determinants are to be compared the Egyptian and Coptic genitive sign *n* (cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.*, §§ 217—219, 547; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.*, §§ 164—166), the Modern Persian *īzafet* (cf. Salemann and Shukovski, *Persische Gr.*, Berlin, 1899, p. 30 ff, § 16), and the ligatures in the Philippine languages (cf. my *Contribs. to Comp. Phil. Gram.*, JAOS, vol. XXVII, 1906, pp. 325 f., 338—340; also my article *The Tagalog Ligature and Analogies in other languages*, JAOS, vol. XXIX, 1908, pp. 227—231).

<sup>2</sup> In Coptic the preposition *ente* originally 'together with' is also used as genitive determinant, cf. Steind. *op. cit.* p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> The element *diā* is identical with Ethiopic *ziā*, which is used with suffixes to form possessives, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 315, § 106 f.

the preceding noun. Assyrian *ša* has a plural *šūt*; Ethiopic **H** has the feminine **አዝ**: 'ēnta and plural **አላ**: 'ēlla; Min. **ጎ**, fem. **ደት** *ḏt* and pl. **ላ** *lā*; Meh. *da, de, di*, a plural *la, le*. In Assyrian and Ethiopic, however, *ša* and **H** are ordinarily employed without regard to the gender or number of the preceding noun. In Syria **متاع**, in Egypt **بتاع**, and in Jerusalem **شيت** may have the forms, fem. **متاعة** *metā'et*, **بتاعة** *betā'et*; pl. **متوع** *metū'*, **بتوع** *betū'*, **شيووت**, **شووت** *šīūt, šuūt* (cf. under Nominal Qualification below).<sup>1</sup>

The following determinants are proclitic, being written as one word with their noun, viz., Eth. *za, 'ēm*; Amh. *īa*; Ta. *nē*; Arab. *li*; Heb. *le*; Aram. *le, de*. The others stand as a separate word before their noun, tho some of these, e. g., Mod. Arab. *de*, are certainly proclitic. In Assyrian and Classical Arabic the noun has the genitive ending, in the other languages the form is the same as the nominative. e. g.,

Eth. **ዘላአላ**: *za-bē'ēsī* 'of the man.'

Heb. **למלך** 'of the king.'

Ass. *ša amēli* 'of the man.'

Arab. **للملك** *li-l-maliki* 'of the king.'

Mod. Arab. **دا البنت** *dal-bint* 'of the girl.'

For the various uses of these genitive determinants see the discussion of the noun modified by prepositional phrases below under Nominal Qualification.

The accusative is in many languages without special determining sign. The signs that have been developed are as follows, viz.,

Amh. **-ጊ, -n²**

Meh. **ta, te³**

Heb. **ל**

Ph. **ל**

Syr.

Man. **}** **-ḡ**

Bab. Tal. **}**

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Egyptian *n* is varied for gender and case, viz., f. *nt*, pl. m. *ny*, pl. f. *nt*; cf. Erman, *op. et loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Praetorius considers this a development of a particle indicating direction, identical with the Ethiopic **-ጊ, -ጊ**: cf. Amh. *Spr.* p. 197; Dill.-Bez. *Āth. Gr.* p. 333 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 70; under just what circumstances it is employed does not appear.

Mod. Syr.	}	-š
Bib. Aram.		
Mal.		
Ch.	}	Pal. -š, ת
Jew.		
Sam.		

These are regularly employed only with a definite object, an indefinite regularly stands without them. They are of three sorts, viz.,

- a) Amh. -n, which is enclitic and is written as one word with the noun; after a noun ending in a consonant it develops an *ě* before the *n*, or perhaps becomes an *n* vowel; e. g., **ልጅን**: *lějěn* 'filium.' It stands after the definite article and possessive suffixes, but precedes all other enclitics, e. g.,

**ልጅን**: *lěj-û-n* 'the son.'

**ሴትኛን**: *sêt-îtû-n* 'the lady.'

**ልጅን**: *lěj-ê-n* 'my son.'

**ሴትኛንም**: *sêt-îtû-n-əm* 'and the lady.'

- b) Aram. *le*; this is proclitic and is written as one word with its noun. It is of course simply the dative preposition; the dative has encroached here upon the domain of the accusative just as it has in Modern Spanish.<sup>1</sup>
- c) Heb. **את**, Phen. **את**, Aram. **ת**, Meh. *ta*, *te*; these particles are all derived from a noun meaning 'essence, substance,'<sup>2</sup> and stand, in most cases probably as proclitics, before the noun; the Hebrew form **את** is connected with the noun by Maqqeph. e. g.,

Heb.	<b>את השמים</b>	}	'coelum.'
	<b>את-השמים</b>		
Sam.	<b>ית שומיא</b>	}	

In Biblical Hebrew there are a few late passages in which **את** is used before a nominative, e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> Here objects denoting persons or animals are placed after the preposition *á* 'to,' while those denoting things without life are governed directly, e. g., *edificó la casa* 'he built the house,' *conozco á este hombre* 'I know this man.' Cf. W. I. Knapp. *A Grammar of the Modern Spanish Language*. Boston, 1896, p. 374.

<sup>2</sup> For the various forms of this particle and its distribution in the various languages, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 313—315 (§ 106 a-e).

וְכָל־אִנְשֵׁי־חַיִּל 'and all of them were brave men (Jud. 20, 44, 46)'

and in Post-Biblical Hebrew, Christian and Jewish Palestinian, and Samaritan **א, י** + suffix has become a regular demonstrative pronoun which may stand before a noun in any case (cf. pp. 148, 175).

The vocative has a special case determinant in a number of languages.

In Assyrian the noun without case ending is ordinarily employed as vocative, but an affirmative particle *â* appears sometimes to be employed as a case determinant<sup>1</sup>, e. g.,

*igar* 'oh wall'.

*Bêl-â-ma* 'oh Bel'.

In Ethiopic a few words take the ending *ô*, e. g., **አገዚኦ** : *egzî-'ô* 'oh God,' **ብሊት** : *bē'ēsît-ô* 'oh woman,' **እም** : 'ēmm-ô 'oh mother.' The words for 'mother' and 'father' have the special vocative forms **እመ** : 'ēmmû, **አባ** : 'abâ. The most usual vocative determinant is a prefixed interjection **ኦ** 'ô, e. g., **ኦብሊት** : 'ô-bē'ēsî 'oh man.' The prefixed 'ô- and suffixed -ô are perhaps identical. Sometimes they occur together with the same word e. g., **ኦብሊት** : 'ô-bē'ēsît-ô 'oh woman.'

In Amharic an interjection **ሆይ** : is placed after the word, e. g., **ልጅሆይ** : *lēj hōj* 'oh son.'

In Tigrîna a suffix **ኳ, ኳ, kē, kuē** is added to the noun, e. g., **ሰበይትኳ** : *sabait-kuē* 'oh woman,' **ገንኑኳ** : *gânên-kē* 'oh demon.' This element may be ultimately connected with the **ከ** *ka* of the second person.<sup>2</sup>

In Tigre the interjection **የሃ** : *iahâ* may be placed after the noun, or the interjection **ዎ** *uô* may stand before it,<sup>3</sup> e. g.,

**መምህር : የሃ** : *mamēlhēr iahâ* 'oh master.'

**ዎ : መምህር** : *uô-mambâ* 'oh Lord.'

In Arabic the words **أب** 'father' and **أم** 'mother' have special vocative forms, e. g., **أبت, امت** 'abati or 'abata; 'ummati or *ummata*; and several classes of words may make a special vocative form by a shortening at the end.<sup>4</sup> e. g., **توبة** *Taūba* from **توبة** *Taūbatu* (man's name). Usually the vocative is preceded by an interjectional particle. The most common

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Del. *Ass. Gr.* § 101.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 225

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Littm. *Te. Pron.* pp. 297, 226.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* II. pp. 87-89.

of these particles are يا, ايا, 'a, iā, 'aiā; 'aiiuhā, iā 'aiiuhā. After all the vocative particles except يا, ايا the noun stands without article. In Classical Arabic, aside from special vocative forms, the noun is in the nominative without nunnation unless it is indefinite and not addressed directly by the speaker, or unless it is modified by a following genitive, accusative, or prepositional phrase; in these cases it stands in the accusative, with nunnation, except when modified by a definite genitive. When no interjection is used these same rules apply. After يا, ايا the noun stands in the nominative with article. e. g.,

يا ابي	iā 'abati	'oh father.'
يا رجل	iā rajulu	'oh man.'
يا رجلا	iā rajula	'oh some man or other.'
يا سيد الوحوش	iā saiida 'l-uuhūši	'oh lord of the wild beasts.'
يا طالعا جبلا	iā ṭālī'an jabala	'oh thou that art ascending a hill.'
يا خيرا من زيد	iā ḥaira min zaid	'oh thou that art better than Zaid.'
ايا الملك	'aiiuhā 'l-maliku	} 'oh king.'
يا ايا الملك	iā 'aiiuhā 'l-maliku	

In Modern Egyptian Arabic, and probably also in all the modern dialects iā is the ordinary vocative particle, e. g.,

يا راجل	iā rāgil	'oh man.'
يا سيدى	iā sîdî	'(oh) sir.'
يا ابنى	iā 'abūia	'oh my father.'

The particle iā is used also before a vocative in Syriac, Mandaic, Modern Syriac, and Malulan. To what extent its use is due to Arabic influence is uncertain.

In Syriac the particles او, انا, او, انا, او, انا, are also used before the noun as vocative determinants, e. g.,

او עלמא בישא	oh evil world.'
اون זכרא	'oh men.'

In Hebrew and in Western Aramaic the definite state of the noun is used as a vocative, e. g.,

Heb.	המלך	'oh king.'
Bib. Aram.	מלכא	'oh king.'
Jew. Pal.	ארעא	'oh land.'
Sam.	שומיא	'oh heavens.'



In Samaritan in later texts a special interjectional determinant **אָה** is employed with the definite state, e. g.,

**אָה מלכה** 'oh king.'

With the exception of the article in Hebrew (tho this is not strictly speaking a vocative determinant) and Tigrîna *kê, kuê*, all the vocative determinants are of an interjectional character.

The other case relations are all represented by prepositions properly so-called,<sup>1</sup> and their combination with the noun depending on them offers little worthy of special remark.

In the case of certain compound prepositions in Amharic, the noun stands between the two parts of the preposition,<sup>2</sup> e. g.,

**ከከተማው** : **ፊት** : *ka-katamâ-û fit* 'before the city.'

**በደንጊያ** : **ላይ** : *ba-dangîiâ lâi* 'on a stone.'

**ወደ** : **ባሕሩ** : **ውሥጥ** : *uâda bâhr-û uëşt* 'into the sea.'

Cases in which the preposition has become a postposition occur in Ethiopic and Amharic.<sup>3</sup>

### Indetermination.

The indefinite state of a noun is indicated, a) by the absolute state of a noun, b) by the mimmation or nunnation, c) by a special word or indefinite article. The first method is the rule in all the languages except Arabic and Mineo-Sabean. Mimmation, the addition of a final *m*, and nunnation, the addition of a final *n*,<sup>4</sup> are used in Mineo-Sabean and Arabic respectively to indicate that a noun is indefinite, e. g.,

Arab. **ملك** *maliku<sup>n</sup>, -i<sup>n</sup>, -a<sup>n</sup>*, 'king, a king.'

Min. **بيت** : **بيت-م** *bîṭ-m* 'house, a house.'

The nunnation is used in triptote proper names in Arabic, but without indefinite force, e. g., **زيد** *zaidun* 'Zaid.'

<sup>1</sup> For the most important of these prepositions cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 494—499.

<sup>2</sup> In this construction the noun is regarded as a genitive depending on the second part of the preposition, which functions as a noun, the genitive sign **የ** being omitted according to rule, after the element of the preposition which stands first: cf. under Nominal Qualification below, and Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 404—413.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dill.-Bez. *Āth. Gr.* p. 469; Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 413—415.

<sup>4</sup> The *-m* and *-n* are originally identical and are derived from the indefinite-interrogative particle *mâ* (cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 472, 473). This *mâ* is perhaps ultimately identical with emphatic *mâ* (cf. *op. cit.* p. 326).

In Modern Arabic the nunnation has been lost, the bare stem indicating the indefinite state, e. g.,

رجل *raǧul* 'man, a man.'

In some of the languages the numeral 'one' may be used in the sense of an indefinite article.<sup>1</sup> This is common in certain dialects of the Aramaic and Abyssinian groups, e. g.,

Bib. Aram. תִּרְהַבְתָּ תִּרְהַבְתָּ 'a letter' (Ez. 4, 8).

Syr. ܢܚܪܐ ܢܚܪܐ ܚܕܐ ܨܒܐ 'a man, a certain man.'

Mod. Syr. ܚܕܐ ܨܒܐ *hâ 'nāsâ* 'a man, a certain man.'

Eth. አሐዱ : ብእሲ : 'ahadû bē'ēsî 'a man, a certain man.'

Ta. ܐܪܝܐ : ܐܪܝܐ : *hādê sab* 'a man, a certain man.'

Amh. አንድት : ባርያ : *andît bâriâ* 'a certain maid.'

It is found also in Modern Arabic. So in Egypt, Tripoli, Tlemsen, and Morocco. The numeral precedes,<sup>2</sup> usually in the masculine form for both genders. In Tripoli, Tlemsen, and Morocco the definite article is used with the noun. Generally speaking واحد *uâhid*, *uâhad* is used, but in Tlemsen *had* (<*ahad*) is also employed. e. g.,

Eg. واحد ملك *uâhid melik* 'a king.'

Tl. واحد الرجل } *uâhad er-râjel*  
                          } *uâhderrâjel* } 'a man.'

واحد المرأة } *uâhad el-mrâ*  
                          } *uâhdelmrâ* } 'a woman.'

With this use of the definite in connection with the indefinite article is to be compared the use of Amharic አንድ : with article when 'one' out of a number is meant,<sup>3</sup> e. g.,

አንድ : ሰው : 'and-û say 'a man (one of a number mentioned).'

In Biblical Hebrew this use of the numeral is rare; it may stand before its noun: e. g.,

רֶחֶם סֹף 'a broom-plant' (1 Ki. 19, 4).

אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ 'a holy one' (Dan. 8, 13).

<sup>1</sup> So in Coptic (cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 75 f), and in general in those Indo-European languages which have developed an indefinite article, e. g., Eng. *a*, *an*, Fr. *un*, *une*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> As a cardinal numeral it follows its noun (cf. p. 201).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 302. The same rule holds good of the other cardinals and the indefinite ብዙ : *bēzû* 'much, many,' cf. *op. cit.* pp. 301—303. In Hebrew, Syriac, and Mandaic this same definite character of the numeral 'one' is evidenced by the fact that it may stand after the accusative determinants (cf. p. 153) ܐܬܐ, ܐ : cf. Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 392, espec. n.

It is more common in the later language; the numeral regularly follows its noun: e. g.,

פִּילֹזֹפּוֹס אֶחָד 'a philosopher.'

גִּלְגֻּלַת אֶחָת 'a skull.'

In the Arabic dialect of Tangier in Morocco, the word *šî* (<*šai* 'thing') is used as well as *uâhad* for the indefinite article; it stands before the noun, which is without article, e. g.,

شئ دار *šî dâr* 'a house.'

شئ حاجة *šî hâja* 'a matter.'

In Mesopotamian Arabic the indefinite article is expressed by the adjective *farid*, *fard* derived from a stem فَرَد 'to be separated' (cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 473; Weissbach, ZDMG, 58, p. 938).

The Ethiopic demonstrative **ኸኸ** : is sometimes used with the force of an indefinite article,<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

**ኸኸ** : **ከ-ኸ-ኸ** : *zêkû kuakuêh* 'a rock, a certain rock' (Enoch. 88, 47 [Laurence]; 89, 29 [Martin]).

Some of these indefinite articles, e. g., Mesopotamian *fard* and Tangier *šî*, may be employed with the plural in the sense of 'some' (cf. p. 188).

### Simple Qualification.

#### Position.

The regular position of the descriptive adjective in primitive Semitic was probably after its substantive,<sup>2</sup> as is shown by the fact that this is the normal position in nearly all of the Semitic languages; e. g.,

Ass. *šarru dannu* 'mighty king.'

Arab. **ملك عظيم** *maliku" aẓîmu* 'mighty king.'

Min. **اولد-م هنا** 'uld-m hn'-m 'healthy children.'

Meh. *ğajên reheim* 'handsome youth.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> In Egyptian the adjective likewise stands after its substantive; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 119. In Coptic it has the same position but is usually connected with its noun in a sort of genitive relation, the noun standing in the construct, or the two being connected by the genitive sign *ên*; cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 82, 83. In Indo-European the original position of the descriptive adjective, as of the demonstratives, cardinals, and attributive genitives, seems to have been before the noun: cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 89, 91, 93, 94, 102. In the later development of many of the languages, however, postposition is frequent.

Heb.	מֶלֶךְ טוֹב	'good king.'
Ph.	אלנם ה-קדשם	'(the) holy gods.'
Bib. Aram.	מֶלֶךְ רַב	'great king.'
Sam.	לעם רב	'great people.'
Mal.	<i>hamrâ kaijës</i>	'good wine.'
Syr.	מֶלֶכָּא מַכְלָא	'good king.'
Bab. Tal.	נברא רבה	'great man.'
Man.	נברא כשימא	'righteous man.'
Mod. Syr.	בַּיְתָא גֻרָא	'large house.'

Postposition of the adjective is practically without exception in Classical Arabic, Mineo-Sabean, Mehri, Hebrew, Phœnician, and the Western Aramaic dialects, except Malulan.

In Assyrian, Modern Egyptian Arabic, Christian Palestinian, Malulan, and the Eastern Aramaic dialects, adjectives are sometimes placed before their noun. In Assyrian the adjective in this position has a stronger stress; in Egyptian Arabic the street-hawkers usually place first, as the most important thing, the adjective describing their wares, the interjection *îâ* standing between the two, or before the combination; in Aramaic, preposition is especially common in adjectives of praise and blame, which form a sort of title: e. g.,

Ass.	<i>šaḡûti Ištar</i>	'exalted Ishtar.'
Eg. Arab.	يا عيشى <i>tabûnî îâ</i>	' <i>êš</i> 'oh oven-baked bread.'
	يا رومى <i>îâ rūmî ḥalâue</i>	'oh Greek pastry.'
Syr.	ܕܡܪܝܩܬܐ ܢܦܝܫܐ	'of the polished soul.'
	ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܡ	'the holy Mary.'
	ܡܪܝܬܐ ܝܘܠܝܢܐ	'the godless Julian.'
Man.	דאכיא רישומא	'the pure sign.'
	ראבתיא עוראיתא	'oh great Torah.'
Mod. Syr.	ܥܦܐܝܬܐ <i>ḡepâîṭ 'ilânâ</i>	'a good tree.'
	ܡܫܬܐܢܐ <i>miskantâ ḥannâ</i>	'poor Hannah.'
Mal.	<i>yâ qattêsta marṭmaryâ</i>	'oh saint Mary.'

In Ethiopic and Tigre the position of the adjective has become almost entirely free, tho in Ethiopic in ordinary discourse the original postposition is more common, e. g.,

Eth.	መገደ : ሠናይ : <i>mêdr šanâi</i>	} 'good land.'
	ሠናይ : መገደ : <i>šanâi mêdr</i>	
Te.	እናስ : ሸዶስ : <i>'ênâs šaiâb</i>	} 'old man.'
	ሸዶስ : እናስ : <i>šaiâb 'ênâs</i>	

In Tigrîna, while the position of the adjective is free as in

Ethiopic and Tigre, preposition is considerably more common than postposition, e. g.,

ጎቢዩ : ገደል : *âbîjâ gadal* 'a great abyss.'

ሰብ : ኃጥእ : *sab hâtê* 'a sinful man.'

In Amharic preposition has become the rule, the postposition is not infrequent when the noun has other modifiers besides the adjective, e. g.,

ታላቅ : መናጥጥ : *tâlâq manâṭ* 'a great trembling.'

የወይን : ጉንድ : እውነተኛ : *ia-ṡain guënd 'ēynatañâ* 'a true vine (stalk of wine).'

አንድ : ሰው : ሌላ : *'and saṡ lēlâ* 'an (one) other man.'

### Concord in Case.

An adjective regularly agrees with its noun in case, gender, number, and determination.<sup>1</sup>

The concord of case is of course confined to those languages which have developed special case forms. Leaving aside those languages which are preserved only in purely consonantal texts, such as Mineo-Sabean, Moabite, etc., in which the existence or non-existence of case endings cannot be determined, these languages are Assyrian, Arabic, Ethiopic: e. g.,

Assyr. *šarru dannu*, *šarri dannî*, *šarra dannâ*.

Arab. ملك عظيم *maliku* 'aẓîmu', -i<sup>n</sup>-i<sup>n</sup>, -a<sup>n</sup>-a<sup>n</sup>.

Eth. ምድር : ሠናዶ : *mêdr šanâj*, ምድር : ሠናዶ : *mêdra šanâja*

In Assyrian there are many instances of lack of concord in case,<sup>2</sup> e. g.,

*maliki išaru* 'a just king (acc).'

*šadâ marçu* 'the inaccessible mountain.'

In Arabic an adjective modifying a vocative expressed by the nominative may stand in either nominative or accusative, e. g.,

زيد العاقل يا زيدا *zaid al-âqilu* { 'l-âqilu } 'oh Zaid, the intelligent.'

### Concord in Gender.

The concord of gender is practically without exception save in South Semitic. In many cases, however, a feminine noun has masculine forms, and in some cases a masculine noun has

<sup>1</sup> The adjectives in Egyptian have concord of gender and number (cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 119). In Coptic the adjectives are usually invariable (cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 82, 84).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Del. Ass. Gr.* §§165, 92. Some of these at any rate are probably due to the fact that the final vowels were not pronounced; cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 114 (§ 43 r, ð), p. 466 (§ 245 k).

feminine forms, so that while there is concord in gender itself, there is not concord in the gender forms. In Modern Egyptian and Tunisian Arabic and in Modern Syriac, the masculine is the only form of the plural, and is used as a common form for both genders. e. g.,

Assyr. *nāru marratu* 'bitter river (Persian Gulf).'

Arab. يد عظيمة *īadu* 'azīmatu' 'mighty hand.'

Syr. ארך ארץ ארך ארץ *al-ārḥān* 'long road.'

Heb. עיר גדולה *‘great city.’*

בצים עזובות *‘forsaken eggs.’*

Mod. Syr. حسا حسا *‘ajinâtā šehînê* 'hot springs'.

Eg. Arab. شجرات عاليين *šagarât ‘alijîn* 'high trees.'

In Arabic, the broken plurals are regularly treated as feminine, but sometimes when the noun denotes male persons it may take a strong masculine plural, e. g.,

آباء ماضون *ābā’u māḍūna* 'ancestors of old.'

In Mehri an adjective agreeing with a masculine plural denoting things may stand in the feminine singular (cf. below), e. g.,

تاهات (sg. *taht* m.) *ḡalmet* 'dark rooms.'

In Ethiopic the concord of gender, except in the case of nouns denoting persons has practically been given up, e. g.,

መጽሐፍ ጥሩ፡ or ሠሩ፡ *məḍr šanāḷ* or *šanāḷt* 'good land'.

In Tigrīña the rule for the concord of gender is about the same as in Ethiopic. In Amharic there is no distinction of gender in the plural, and in the singular, unless the noun takes the definite article, the masculine is regularly employed with nouns of both genders; in the case of those few adjectives which have a special feminine form, this feminine may be used, but it has an archaic and biblical flavor; when a feminine noun is determined it takes the special feminine article *-itū*. e. g.,

Ta. ሙት ጽብቅ፡ or ጽብቅት፡ *‘āmat ṣebūq* or *ṣebēqt* 'good year.'

Amh. ቀፍ ሴት፡ *kəfū sēt* 'a bad woman.'

ቅዱስት ሀገር፡ *qəḍest ‘agar* 'the holy city.'

ተናሸች ልጄ፡ *tānāš-itū ləj-ê* 'my little daughter.'

### *Concord in Number.*

In general noun and adjective agree in number, but there are numerous exceptions<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 161, § 126 c.

<sup>2</sup> For a more complete statement of the rules of concord in Arabic cf. Reck. *Syn. Verh.* p. 89.

Nouns with a collective meaning often take a plural adjective in Assyrian, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Hebrew, e. g.,

Ass. *iççur šamê muttaprišûti* 'winged birds (of heaven)'.

Arab. قوم ظالمون *qayumu' zâlimûna* 'violent people.'

Eth. ሕዝብ ስድስት : ስድስት *bēzûhân sab* 'many people.'

Heb. הָעָם הַהֹלְכִים בַּחֹשֶׁךְ 'the people that walk in darkness' (Is. 9. 1).

In Hebrew the amplificative plural regularly takes a singular attribute, e. g.,

אֱלֹהִים יָחִיד *'a just God.'*

In Arabic the broken plurals, being originally collectives of the feminine gender, regularly take the adjective in the feminine singular, in Modern Arabic sometimes the strong feminine plural:<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

مدن كبيرة *mudunu' kabîratu'* 'great cities.'

جبال عالىات *jebâl 'âlîjât* 'high mountains.'

Sometimes, however, an adjective agreeing with a broken plural takes itself a broken plural form, or, when the noun denotes persons, stands in the strong plural, e. g.,

رجال كبار *rijâlu' kibâru'* 'great men.'

آباء ماضون *âbâ'u mādûna* 'ancestors of old.'

In Modern Egyptian Arabic when a broken plural or a strong feminine plural denotes persons, an adjective agreeing with them is put in the masculine plural in *în*, e. g.,

شجرات عاليين *šagarât âlîjîn* 'high trees.'

النسوان المعزومين *en-niswân el-ma'zûmîn* 'the invited ladies'.

In Mehri the plural of nouns indicating objects may take its adjective in the plural with concord of gender, but, except in case of masculine plurals in *-n*, and feminine plurals in *-t* and *-ten*, the adjective may also stand in the feminine singular, e. g.,

تاهات (sg. *taht*) زلمت (f. sg.) 'dark rooms.'

هاجوريل (sg. *jôl*) هاوروت (f. sg.) 'black clouds.'

In Ethiopic the concord of number has to a large extent been given up, except in the case of nouns denoting persons; even here instances occur of a singular adjective agreeing with a plural noun: e. g.,

ሕገገገ : ሰዓገገ : ስገገ *hâtê'ân bēzûh* 'many sinners.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Perc. *Gr. Arab. Vul.* p. 142.

Plurals of nouns which do not denote persons (including broken plurals) may be treated either as singular or plural, as masculine or feminine, though a singular adjective agreeing with a plural noun has usually masculine form; e. g.,

ቃላት : ዐቢያት : *qâlât 'abîîât* 'loud voices.'  
 ተኣምራት : ዐቢያት : *ta'âmrat 'abîîân* 'great signs.'  
 ማያት : ሰው : *mâîât bēzûh* 'many waters.'  
 አሕዛብ : ሰው : *'ahzâb bēzûhân* 'many people.'  
 አውግር : የጥንት : *'augēr nauâhât* 'long walls.'  
 አልባስ : ሠሩዶች : *'albâs šanâit* 'good clothes.'  
 ሰው : አሕዛብ : *bēzûh 'ahzâb* 'many people.'

Broken plurals of adjectives, as in Arabic, are most usually, though not always, found in connection with broken plurals of nouns, e. g.,

ተኣምር : ዐበይት : *ta'âmēr 'abaît* 'great signs.'

but also,

በርሃናት : ዐበይት : *bērhânât 'abaît* 'great lights'.

In Amharic an adjective modifying a plural noun may stand either in the singular or plural, though the plural is more common, e. g.,

ታላቅ : ሰዎች : *tâlâq saṃôč* 'great men.'  
 ኃይላን : ሰዎች : *hâîâlân saṃôč* 'strong men.'  
 ሽማግሌት : ሴቶች : *šemâglît sêtôč* 'old women.'  
 በርቶች : አሕዛብ : *bērtôč 'ahzâb* 'strong nations.'  
 ጠንካሮች : ጎምዶች : *ṭankârôč 'âmēdôč* 'firm pillars.'

In Tigrîna such an adjective stands regularly in the plural, though the singular is also sometimes found, e. g.,

ሰው : አምሳል : *bezûhât 'amsâl* 'many parables.'  
 ቀጠንቲ : ክዳውንቲ : *qaṭantî (pl.) kēdâuntî* 'fine clothing.'  
 ጳዕዳ : ክዳውንቲ : *çâ'dâ (sg.) kēdâuntî* 'white clothing.'

An adjective modifying a noun which is at the same time modified by a cardinal (above 'one') regularly stands in the plural, even when the noun is singular, in Ethiopic and Modern Egyptian Arabic. In Classical Arabic, with any numeral between 11 and 99, the adjective may agree either grammatically with the noun or logically with the cardinal. e. g.,

Eth. ስብዑት : ሠዊት : ቀጠናን : ወዕቡራን : *sab'atû šawît qaṭînân*  
*ua-'ēbûrân* 'seven ears thin and blasted.'

Eg. Arab. أربعة عشر كتاب طيبين *arbaḥtāšer kitâb ṭayyibîn*  
 'fourteen good books.'



Cl. Arab. ناصريا } عشرون ديناراً *išrûna dînâra* { *nâçiriyya*<sup>n</sup> }  
 ناصرية } } *nâçiriyyata*<sup>n</sup> }  
 'twenty dinars of el-Melek, en-Naçir.'

A dual, if we except certain isolated forms in Ethiopic and Aramaic, is found only in Arabic, Classical and Modern, Mineo-Sabean<sup>2</sup>, Mehri<sup>3</sup>, and Hebrew. In Classical Arabic an adjective modifying a dual stands also in the dual form; in Hebrew and in Modern Arabic the adjective, having no dual, is put in the plural: e. g.,

Cl. Arab. رجلان صالحان *rajulâni ṣâlihâni* 'two good men.'

Eg. Arab. البابين البرانيين *el-bâbên el-barrâniyyîn* 'the two outer doors.'

البيتين الكبير *el-bêtên el-kubâr* 'the two large houses.'

Heb. עינים רמות *'haughty eyes.'*

#### Determination.

In those languages that have developed a definite or indefinite form of the noun, the modifying adjective has in general the same form as the noun; so regularly in Arabic, Hebrew, and Western Aramaic except Malulan<sup>4</sup>: e. g.,

Arab. ملك عظيم *maliku*<sup>n</sup> '*aẓîmu*<sup>n</sup> 'mighty king.'

الملك العظيم *al-maliku al-'aẓîmu* 'the mighty king.'

Heb. המלך הטוב, מלך טוב 'good king', 'the good king.'

Bib. Aram. מלךא רבא, מלך רב 'great king', 'the great king.'

Sam. לעמה רבה, לעם רב 'great people', 'the great people.'

In Eastern Aramaic and Malulan, tho the ending *â* has lost its definite force, noun and adjective with few exceptions agree in state; in Modern Syriac and Malulan the absolute state is

<sup>1</sup> The feminine ناصرية agrees according to rule with broken plural دانائير *danânîru* implied in عشرون (cf. p. 162).

<sup>2</sup> Hommel does not definitely state whether the adjective in Mineo-Sabean has a dual form or not; cf. *Süd.-arab. Chr.* pp. 42 f, 47: the dual of the noun occurs sometimes in connection with 'two' (cf. following footnote and p. 202 f.).

<sup>3</sup> The Mehri dual is found only in connection with the numeral 'two' (cf. p. 203).

<sup>4</sup> In Greek the article is used with both noun and adjective when the adjective follows the noun, e. g., ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ σοφός 'the wise man', tho the construction with one article before the combination of adjective + noun, viz., ὁ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ is the rule (cf. W. W. Goodwin, *A Greek Grammar*, Boston, 1893, p. 208, § 959).



Mish. כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוּלָה 'the great synagogue.'

הֶרֶק הַיָּחַד 'the raw herbs.'

In Arabic, both Classical and Modern, an adjective modifying a definite vocative without article takes the article itself, e. g.,

Cl. يا فاسق الردى *îâ fâsiqu 'r-riddiyyu* 'oh thou unrighteous man, the apostate.'

Eg. يا بنت البيضاء *îâ bint el-bêda* 'oh white maiden.'

In Egyptian Arabic, however, the article may be omitted, and the vocative particle *îâ* used before the adjective in its stead, e. g.,

يا بنت يا بيضا *îâ bint îâ bêda* 'oh white maiden.'

In Egyptian Arabic a definite noun at the beginning of a sentence modified by an adjective, stands without article,<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

جبل الاحمر *gebel el-ahmar* 'the red mountain,'

but,

نروح الجبل الاحمر *neruh el-gebel el-ahmar* 'we went to the red mountain.'

In the dialect of Tunis the article may be used only once before the combination of noun and adjective,<sup>2</sup> tho this construction is rare, e. g.,

الراجل المشحاح *er-râžel myšhâh* 'the avaricious man.'

In Tigre, this last construction is the regular one; e. g.,

እእናን : እደብ : *lâ-'ênâs šaiâb* } 'the old man.'

እደብ : እእናን : *lâ-šaiâb 'ênâs* }

In Amharic the defining suffix is regularly used only with the adjective,<sup>3</sup> e. g.,

ታላቋ : ወንዝ : *tâlâq-û wanz* 'the great river.'

ታላቋ : ከተማ : *tâlâq-ûtû katamâ* 'the great city.'

When noun and adjective are both indeterminate the accusative -ን may be omitted; it is, however, usually employed, in case the combination is singular, standing ordinarily with the noun, in case it is plural, standing ordinarily with the adjective: if one or the other is specially determined, the adjective by the ar-

<sup>1</sup> The example given by Caussin de Perceval (*Gr. Arab. Vul.* p. 84). مركب الكبير 'the large vehicle' probably comes under this head. According to the same authority an adjective without article may stand before a noun with suffix cf. *op. cit.* p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> This is the usual construction in Indo-European, cf. p. 165, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the use of the article in Old Bulgarian and Lithuanian (cf. p. 165, n. 1); in these languages, however, the use of the article is confined to the adjective.

ticle, the noun by virtue of being a proper noun, or by a suffix, this element takes the 7: if both are specially determined, both take 7. These rules apply generally speaking to the combination of the noun with pronominal and numeral adjectives as well. e. g.,

ⲁⲥⲧⲉ : ⲙⲙⲫⲱⲥⲧⲉⲛ : *běrtû maqšaft-ën* 'a severe plague.'

ⲁⲩⲛ : ⲫⲉⲛ : *'adîs qênê-n* 'a new song.'

ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓ : ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓ : *'engēdōc-ën* 'amālēkt 'strange gods.'

ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓ : ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓ : *hēiāy* 'amlāk-ën 'the living God.'

ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓ : ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓ : *sētōc lējōc-ēs-ën* 'thy female children.'

ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓ : ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓ : *'adîs-û-n daj* 'the new wine.'

ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓ : ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓ : *tâlâq-û-n bêt* 'the great house.'

ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓ : ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓ : *rajm-û-n lēbs-ûâ-n* 'her long dress.'

ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓ : ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓ : *'adîs-û-n sēm-ê-n* 'my new name.'

In Hebrew and less frequently in Syriac, an adjective modifying a proper name is sometimes without article. This is a relic of the primitive period of Semitic when there was no article.<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

Heb. צִידוֹן רְבָה 'Great Sidon.'

תְּהוֹם רְבָה 'The Great Deep.'

בֵּית חֲרוֹן עֲלִיּוֹן 'Upper Bethhoron.'

אֵל עֲלִיּוֹן 'The Highest God.'

Syr. תִּשְׁרִי קָדָם 'First Tishri.'

כְּנוֹן אֶחָד 'Second Canon.'

### *Double Qualification.*

When the noun is modified by two adjectives,<sup>2</sup> the adjectives are joined by the conjunction 'and' in Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, and Ethiopic. In Amharic the conjunction seems to be used when the two adjectives stand in juxtaposition, otherwise not. In Hebrew, if the noun is feminine, only the first adjective agrees with it, the other being masculine; in Ethiopic and Amharic, the two adjectives are often separated by the noun they modify or some other word; in Amharic, when the noun is determinate, the sign of determination may stand with both adjectives or only with the first. e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 469 (§ 246 d β); Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 429 (§ 126 γ); Nöldeke, *Beitr. zur Semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 48, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit, like Arabic, employs no conjunction in this case; in Greek and Latin, cases both with and without conjunction occur; cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 215, 216.

- Heb. הַיְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל הַטוֹב 'the great, good God.'  
רוּחַ חַזק גָּדוֹל 'a great strong wind.'
- Bib. Aram. ܩܝܪܝܢܐ ܥܝܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ 'the rebellious evil city.'
- Syr. ܐܕܡܐ ܥܕܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܚܝܬܐ 'a good, upright man.'
- Eth. ዐሲ፡ ሥቃዩ፡ ወእኩዩ፡ 'abūa šeqāia ūa'ekūia (acc.) 'great evil plague.'
- ብሔሩ ፡ ጥሩ፡ ውሉ፡ ወፍጹም፡ *bē'ēsī ḡādēq ūē'ētū ūa-fēṣūm* 'he is a righteous and perfect man.'
- Amh. ብርቱቱም ፡ እንስት ፡ አንበሳ፡ *bērtūḡ-ītū-m 'ēnēst 'anbasā* 'and the strong female lion.'
- ከፋይቱ ፡ ቀላጭቱም ፡ ሴት፡ *kūrā-ītū qalāḡāi-ītū-m sēt* 'the proud and delicate woman.'

In Arabic and Tigrīna no conjunction is used; in Tigrīna the noun often stands between the two adjectives as in Ethiopic and Amharic: e. g.,

Arab. الكوكب النير الاحمر *al-kaḡkabu an-naiḡiru al-ahmaru* 'the bright red star.'

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم *bi-smi 'allāhi 'r-rahmāni 'r-rahīmi* 'in the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.'

Ta. ኦፋሕ ፡ ባርያ ፡ ሀካይ ፡ *kēfū' bārīā hakāi* 'wicked, slothful servant.'

ብዙ፡ ጉብ፡ ጽብቅ ፡ *bēzūh ḡēbrī ṣēbūq* 'much good work.'

In Assyrian, at least in elevated style, the noun is repeated with each adjective, e. g.,

*šarru rabū, šarru dannu* 'great, mighty king.'

### Construct Chain.

Sometimes a noun and its adjective are joined together in a construct chain.

In Arabic and Hebrew the adjective may govern the noun, e. g.,

Arab. جميل فعلان *jamīlu fīlika* 'thy handsome behavior.'

Heb. אבנים חלקות 'smooth stones' (1 Sam. 17,40).

In all the principal languages except Aramaic, viz., Assyrian, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Hebrew, the noun may govern the adjective<sup>1</sup>; in Hebrew the adjective always stands in the masculine: e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> With this is to be compared the Coptic construction of noun in construct + adjective. The more usual construction with *n* is perhaps a development of this, inasmuch as *n* is also the sign of the genitive. Cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 82, 83.

Ass. *ašar rūqi* 'distant place.'

*arrat limutti<sup>m</sup>* 'the evil curse.'

Arab. بيت المقدس *baiṭu 'l-muqaddasi* 'the holy house, temple.'

Eth. መገ : ጥዕም : *maja tē'um* 'sweet water.'

Heb. אִשָּׁת רָעָה 'an evil woman.'

To be compared with this last case is the Amharic construction according to which certain adjectives are connected with the noun they modify by the genitive sign,<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

የኡሩክን : ንብድሜልክ : *ja-kūšī-n 'ēbēdmēlēk* (acc.) 'the Cushite Ebedmelek.'

ዳርዮስም : የሚደው : *dārīōs-ēm ja-mēdī-ū* 'and Darius the Mede.'

የፊተኛው : ሰው : *ja-fītañā-ū sa'u* 'the first man.'

የመንፈሳዊት : ጨለማ : *ia-manfasā'ūt ṣalāmā* 'the spiritual darkness.'

## Demonstrative<sup>2</sup> Qualification.

### Position.

In Assyrian, Hebrew, Moabite, Phenician, Lihyanic, and Mehri, the demonstrative adjective stands regularly after the noun, e. g.,

Ass. *šarru annū* 'this king.'

Heb. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה 'this man.'

Mo. הבמה זאת 'this high place.'

Ph. אבן זו 'this stone.'

Lih. הבת דה 'this house.'

Meh. ḡaij dōm 'this man.'

In Post-Biblical Hebrew, however, the demonstratively used את + suffix precedes the noun, e. g.,

אותו היום 'that day.'

In the various Aramaic dialects its position varies. In the inscription of Zinjirli and in Samaritan it is postpositive, e. g.,

Zinj. ביתא זנה 'this house.'

Sam. ארעא הדה 'this land.'

<sup>1</sup> For the adjectives that take this construction cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 317-320, § 249.

<sup>2</sup> For the forms of the demonstratives, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 316-323, and the various Semitic grammars under the head of demonstratives. The personal pronoun of the third person is used for the more remote demonstrative adjective in Ethiopic, Hebrew, and Phenician; in Mineo-Sabean the singular of this pronoun is apparently used for the nearer demonstrative: cf. Dill.-Bez, *Āth. Gr.* p. 299; Praet. *Āth. Gr.* p. 23; Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 112, 115, 463; Schröd. *Phön. Spr.* p. 144; Homm. *Süd.-arab. Chr.* p. 11.

In Biblical Aramaic it regularly follows, though in some passages, it also precedes, e. g.,

ךְרִיתָא 'that city.'

רְנָה בְנִינָה 'this building' (Ez. 5, 4.).

In Syriac, Christian and Jewish Palestinian, and the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud, it may be indifferently either prepositive or postpositive, e. g.,

Syr.  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܗܝܬ}$  'this king.'

Jew. Pal.  $\text{הרין עובדא}$  'this occurrence.'

$\text{עלמא הרין}$  'this world.'

Bab. Tal.  $\text{הרין ביתא}$  'this house.'

$\text{עמא הרין}$  'this people.'

In Mandaic the rule is about the same as in Syriac, though preposition is more common; in Malulan usually, in Modern Syriac, always in the spoken language, and usually in the written, the demonstrative precedes its noun; postposition in the modern dialects is due to the influence of the Classical Syriac: e. g.,

Man.  $\text{האהו מאלכא}$  'that king.'

$\text{אלמא האהו}$  'that world.'

Mal.  $\text{hōd šunîṭā}$  'this woman.'

$\text{ḥun-ah hannā}$  'thy brother this.'

Mod. Syr.  $\text{ܠܗܝܬܐ ܠܗܝܬܐ}$  'on that side.'

In all the South Semitic languages, except Lihyanic and Mehri, the demonstrative is regularly prepositive, e. g.,

Arab.  $\text{هذا الرجل}$   $\text{hâḍā 'r-rajulu}$  'this man.'

Min.  $\text{ܕܢ ܣܦܪܢ}$   $\text{ḏn sṣr-n}$  'this inscription.'

Eth.  $\text{ዘኸፍ ፡ ብሕረ}$   $\text{zēntū bē'ēsī}$  'this man.'

Amh.  $\text{የች ፡ ሴት}$   $\text{iāč sēt}$  'that woman.'

Ta.  $\text{እትኩብ}$   $\text{'ēt-kōkhōb}$  'that star.'

Te.  $\text{እላ ፡ በሃል}$   $\text{'ēllā bahāl}$  'this commandment.'

In Amharic preposition is apparently without exception. In Tigre it is without exception as far as the most common demonstrative  $\text{እላ}$  is concerned, but the less frequent  $\text{ላሃ}$  'that' stands after the noun, e. g.,

$\text{እእኛ ፡ በኃይ}$   $\text{la-'ēnās lahāi}$  'that man.'

$\text{እእኛ ፡ ላሃ}$   $\text{la-ṣalōt lahâ}$  'that prayer.'

In Arabic and Ethiopic the demonstrative may follow the noun in the sense of an apposition or a locative adverb. In

<sup>1</sup> This is true at least of the texts examined by Littmann, cf. *Te. Pron.* pp. 297-299.

Arabic a demonstrative modifying a proper noun has always this position. Postposition of a demonstrative sometimes also occurs in Mineo-Sabean, perhaps with a similar meaning. e. g.,

Arab. هذا الرجل *ar-raǧulu hâḏâ* 'the man here'.

زيد هذا *zaidu hâḏâ* 'this Zaid.'

Eth. ሀገረ ፡ አያሱሴዎን ፡ ዛፒ ፡ *hagara 'äiäbüsäyôn zâtî* 'the city of the Jebusites here.'

Min. مڤد-ن ن *mlyd-n ḏn* 'this (?)'

In Modern Arabic, preposition of the demonstrative is regular except in the case of the monosyllabic forms without *ha*, which regularly follow the noun; the demonstrative هذا *hâḏâ* may follow a noun already modified by preceding هل *hal*: e. g.,

ذلك البيت *el-bêt dâk* 'that house.'

هذه المدينة *el-medîne dî* 'this city.'

هنا كتاب *hal kitâb hâḏâ* 'this book here.'

In the dialect of the Egyptian Fellahin and in some provincial cities the monosyllabic demonstratives regularly precede the noun with article, except *dôl*, which always follows, e. g.,

الولد *da'l-ṭalâd* 'this boy.'

دي المرأة *di'l-mar'a* 'this woman.'

الناس دول *en-nâs dôl* 'these people.'

In the standard dialect this construction is preserved in the expression,

دي الوقت *di'l-ṭaqt* 'this time, now.'

In the dialect of Tlemsen all the demonstratives, including the short forms, seem regularly to precede the noun, e. g.,

الراجل *der-râjel* 'this man.'

ذاك الراجل *dâker-râjel* 'that man.'

هذا الراجل *hâder-râjel* 'this man.'

In Tigrîna the longer demonstratives may stand after a noun already modified by a preceding short demonstrative, e. g.,

እዝገርዘው ፡ 'ëz-nagar-ëzîu } 'this speech.'

እዝገር ፡ እዘው ፡ 'ëz-nagar 'ëzîu }

It is difficult to say what was the position of the demonstrative in primitive Semitic. It seems most likely that both positions were allowable originally, and that after the separation of North and South Semitic, the former for the most part adopt-

<sup>1</sup> In Egyptian the older demonstratives follow, the later ones precede, as the demonstratives do in Coptic; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* pp. 86-92; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 45 f. For the position of the demonstratives in Indo-European cf. p. 158, n. 2.



ed postposition, while preposition, in the main, prevailed in the latter. If this is true, the older Aramaic dialects represent most closely the status of the primitive language. When the demonstrative follows in Arabic and Ethiopic, it has a special meaning. In some of the modern dialects the law of the more ancient languages of the same group is reversed. The modern Aramaic dialects prefer preposition, while in Modern Arabic postposition of certain demonstratives is the regular rule. Modern Arabic and Tigrîna have developed an emphatic demonstrative construction in which a noun may be modified by two demonstratives, one before and one after.<sup>1</sup>

### Concord.

A demonstrative adjective regularly agrees with its noun in case, number, and gender.

Concord of case is confined to those languages which have case forms of the demonstratives, viz., Assyrian, Arabic, and Ethiopic, e. g.,

Ass. *šarru annû* 'this king.'

*šarri annî* 'of this king.'

Arab. هذان الرجلان *hâḏāni 'r-rajulāni* 'these two men.'

هذين الرجلين *hâḏāini 'r-rajulaini* (gen. and acc.)

Eth. ዘንፉ : ጉጠ : *zəntû gēbr* 'this thing.'

ዘንፉ : ጉጠ : *zanta gēbra* (acc.)

The concords of gender and number are practically without exception in all the languages except Arabic, Ethiopic, and Tigrîna, e. g.,

Ass. *šarrāni annûti* 'these kings.'

*šarrāti annāti* 'these queens.'

Heb. הַאִשָּׁה הַזֹּאת 'this woman.'

הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה 'these men.'

Bib. Aram. קָרְיתָא דָּךְ 'that city.'

גְּבָרִיָּא אֵלֶּךְ 'those men.'

Syr. מַלְכָּא הַלֵּין מַחְלָא מַחְבָּ 'these kings.'

Min. اِلن ابضعن 'ln 'bdī-n 'these regions.'

Meb. *qanett dīme* 'this little girl.'

*bijūt liēk* 'those houses.'

In Arabic the plural of a demonstrative may stand with a strong masculine plural, or a strong feminine plural, a collec-

<sup>1</sup> A similar construction is common in Tagalog, the most important of the languages of the Philippine Islands, viz., *itō-ng tāwo-ng itō* 'this man.'

tive, or a broken plural that denotes persons; a strong feminine plural and a broken plural that denote things, regularly take the demonstrative in the feminine singular: e. g.,

هؤلاء القصابون *hâ'ulâ'i 'l-qaṣṣâbûna* 'these butchers.'

الرجال " " *'r-rijâlu* 'these men.'

الناس " " *'n-nâsu* 'these people.'

البنات " " *'l-banâtu* 'these girls.'

هذه المدن *hâḏihi 'l-mudunu* 'these cities.'

الغلات " " *'l-falaḡâtû* 'these deserts.'

In Modern Arabic the demonstrative is sometimes construed according to the sense; for example in Egyptian Arabic,

الناس دول *en-nâs dōl* 'these people.'

المخاضات دي *el-hâḡât dî* 'these matters.'

In Ethiopic the demonstrative follows the same rules of agreement as the descriptive adjective, e. g.,

a) with nouns denoting persons,

ዝንቲ፡ ብእሲ፡ *zēntû bē'ēsî* 'this man.'

ዛቲ፡ ብእሲት፡ *zâtî bē'ēsît* 'this woman.'

b) with nouns denoting things,

ዝንቲ፡ ፍርህት፡ *zēntû fērhat* 'this fear.'

ውእቲ፡ ቃላት፡ *uē'ētû qâlât* 'these voices.'

በውእቲ፡ መዋዕል፡ *ba-uē'ētû mayâ'el* 'in those days.'

እመንቲ፡ ማያት፡ *'ēmāntû māḡât* 'those waters.'

እላ፡ ራእያት፡ *'ellâ rā'ēḡât* 'these visions.'

Tigrîna seems to follow in general the same rules of concord as Ethiopic.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Determination.*

In parent Semitic, in all probability, a noun modified by a demonstrative adjective was determinate by that very fact, and needed no definite article. Assyrian, Ethiopic, and Tigrîna, which have not developed any definite article, represent this status, e. g.,

Ass. *šarru annû* 'this king.'

*âlâni šunûti* 'those cities.'

Eth. ዝንቲ፡ ብእሲ፡ *zēntû bē'ēsî* 'this man.'

Ta. እዚው፡ ሰብ፡ *'ezîy sab* 'this man.'

In those languages which possess a definite article, the combination of noun and demonstrative usually takes this article as an additional indication of definiteness.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schreib. *Man. Tig.* p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> In Egyptian and Coptic the demonstrative excludes the article (cf.

In Phœnician the combination may stand without article as above, or the article may be used with the noun, e. g.,

‏אבן 'this stone.'

‏שער 'this gate.'

In Amharic the combination may stand without further determination, or either the noun or the demonstrative may take the definite article, e. g.,

ደህ : አሽከር : *ǰēh 'aškar* 'this boy.'

ደ : ወረሹ : *ǰā wārāš-ū* 'that inheritance.'

በዚህ : ፈረስ : *ba-zih-ū faras* 'on this horse.'

The accusative -ን seems to be used either with the demonstrative alone or with both demonstrative and noun, e. g.,

እሌክን : በላቴናች : *'ēlēkh-ēn bēlātēnōč* 'these boys.'

ደክን : ነገር : *ǰēkh-ēn nagar* 'this thing.'

ደክን : የርዳናስን : *ǰēkh-ēn ǰōrdānós-ēn* 'this Jordan.'

In Tigre the noun modified by the nearer demonstrative እሊ : stands without article, but with the more remote demonstrative በሃ : the noun takes the article,<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

እሊ : ፈረዕ : *'ellī farā* 'this people.'

በጸሎት : በሃ : *la-čalôt lahā* 'that prayer.'

In Arabic, Mineo-Sabean, Moabite, and Western Aramaic the noun stands regularly in the definite state, e. g.,

Arab.	هذا الرجل	<i>hâḏā 'r-raǰulu</i>	} 'this man.'
Mod. Arab.	هل رجل	<i>hal raǰul</i>	
	الرجل دا	<i>ar-raǰul dā</i>	

Min.      ‏‏‏‏‏‏‏‏ ‏‏‏‏‏‏‏‏ *ḏn sṭr-n* 'this inscription.'

Mo.      ‏‏‏‏‏‏‏‏ ‏‏‏‏‏‏‏‏ 'this high place.'

Bib. Aram. ‏‏‏‏‏‏‏‏ ‏‏‏‏‏‏‏‏ 'this king.'

Jew. Pal. ‏‏‏‏‏‏‏‏ ‏‏‏‏‏‏‏‏ 'this occurrence.'

In Eastern Aramaic and Malulan, altho the sign of determination has lost its definite force, the emphatic state, as the most common form, in Modern Syriac and Malulan as practically the only form, of the noun, is regularly employed in connection with a demonstrative, e. g.,

Syr. ‏‏‏‏‏‏‏‏ ‏‏‏‏‏‏‏‏ ‏‏‏‏‏‏‏‏ 'this king.'

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Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 110 f.; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 45, 46); so usually in Indo-European except in Greek, where the article stands before the noun whatever the position of the demonstrative may be, e. g., οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ or ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος 'this man' (cf. Goodwin, *Greek Gr.* p. 211, § 974).

<sup>1</sup> This is true at least of the texts examined by Littmann, cf. *Te. Pron.* pp. 297-299.

Sometimes, however, in Syriac and Babylonian Talmudic especially, when the noun is also modified by a numeral, it may stand in the absolute state, e. g.,

Syr. *ܐܪܒܥܐ ܝܚܕܝܢ ܥܡܝܢܐ* 'these four months.'

Bab. Tal. *בהלן עשרה יומין* 'in these ten days.'

*האי אינש* 'this man.'

The construction of the demonstrative without article with the definite noun, is found in a few cases in Biblical Hebrew chiefly with *הוא* and *היא*,<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

*בַּלַּיְלָהּ הוּא* 'on that night.'

*הַקְדֻשָּׁה הִיא* 'that sacred prostitute.'

*הַדּוֹר הַזֶּה* 'this generation.'

The regular construction, however, has the article with both noun and demonstrative, the demonstrative having been attracted to the construction of the descriptive adjective, e. g.,

*הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה* 'this man.'

In Post-Biblical Hebrew when a noun is modified by the nearer demonstrative *זה*, the article is omitted with both; instead of the more remote demonstrative *הוא*, the accusative sign *את* is used with the proper suffix before the noun with article: e. g.,

*יָרַק זֶה* 'this plant.'

*זֶה הַיּוֹם* 'that day.'

This construction of *זה* is perhaps a survival of the primitive demonstrative usage as we have it in Assyrian, the Abyssinian languages, and Phœnician, preserved by popular speech, just as the regular Mishnic relative *שׁ*, which is practically unknown in Classical Hebrew, is to be regarded as a survival of the *שׁ* which appears in the Hebrew of the Song of Deborah.

In Samaritan the noun stands in the emphatic state, and the demonstrative has in addition a prefixed demonstrative *ה*,<sup>2</sup> e. g.,

*הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה* 'this day.'

*הָאָרֶץ הַזֶּה* 'this land.'

*הַמִּלִּיכָה הַזֶּה* 'these words.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 428, 429 (§ 126 γ).

<sup>2</sup> This *ה* is not the Hebrew article tho it is ultimately identical with it (cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 316, § 107a). It is a demonstrative particle identical with the *ה* of Jewish Palestinian *הרן*, *הרא* and the *hā*, of Arabic *هَذَا* *hâḏā*, which was employed in this and other cases in imitation of the Hebrew article. Cf. Uhlem. *Inst. Sam.* p. 116 f.

*Demonstrative and Adjective.*

When a demonstrative modifies a combination of noun and adjective it regularly stands outside of the combination,<sup>1</sup> either before it or after it according to the rules of the various languages, e. g.,

Ass.	šarru rabû annû	} 'this great king.'
Arab.	هذا الملك العظيم <i>hâḏâ 'l-maliku 'l-'azîmu</i>	
Eth.	ዝንቱ : ንጉሥ : ዐቢይ : <i>zēntû nēgûš 'abîi</i>	
Heb.	הַזֶּה הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל	
Syr.	ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܗܝܠܐ	

In Amharic in this case only the adjective takes the determinate article, tho even this may dispense with it. The accusative -ን may stand with both demonstrative and adjective, e. g.,

ይኸ : ታላቁ : ኃይልኸ : *ḵekh tâlâq-û hâḵl-ēkh* 'this great power of thine.'

እነዚህ : ሶስቱ : ነገር : *'ēnazîh sôst-û nagar* 'these three things.'

ደብዳቤ : ዝንጉራት : ቀሚስ : *ḵâč-ēn zēnguēr-îtû-n qamîs* (acc.) 'that variegated garment.'

ይኸች : ደጋ : ባልቲት : *ḵekhčē dēḵâ bāltêt* 'this poor widow.'

*Interrogative Qualification.**Adjectival.*

A noun may be modified by the interrogative ideas expressed by 'which?' 'what?' 'whose?' 'how much?' 'how many?'

'Which?' is expressed in most of the Semitic languages by the particle א *aî* or some of its derivatives, viz.,

Ass. sg. *âu*, pl. *âûtî*

Arab. masc. *أي* 'aîiû', fem. *اية* 'aîiātu'

Eg. Arab.<sup>2</sup> انهو 'enhû " انهى 'enhî. pl. انهم 'enhum  
and ای 'aîi, 'aîi'

Tun. Arab. sg. and pl. 'ēna

TL. Arab. اشمن *âšmen*

Eth. sg. አይ : 'aî, pl. አያት : 'aîât

<sup>1</sup> In cases like Heb. עַם הַזֶּה הַגָּדוֹל (2 Ch. 1, 10) the adjective modifies not simply the noun but the combination of noun and demonstrative 'this people of thine, the great people.' Cf. *Ges. Heb. Gr.* p. 427, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> In Palestinian Arabic the forms are in general the same as in Egyptian, but with numerous variations, cf. Bauer, *Pal. Arab.* p. 73.

Ta.	sg. and pl. אֵינְךָ : 'aīn, אֵינִי : 'aīan, אֵינֶה : 'ēīan, אֵינִי : 'aīān, אֵינֶה : 'ēīān
Te.	masc. אֵי : 'aī, fem. אֵיָא : 'aīā
Heb.	masc. and fem. אֵי
Syr.	masc. אֵי אֵינְךָ, fem. אֵי אֵינֶה, pl. אֵי אֵינֶה
Bab. Tal.	הֵי אֵינְךָ
Jew. Pal.	masc. הֵי אֵינְךָ, fem. הֵי אֵינֶה, pl. הֵי אֵינֶה
Ch. Pal.	masc. הֵי אֵינְךָ, fem. הֵי אֵינֶה
Mod. Syr.	sg. and pl. אֵי 'aīnî

In Classical Arabic the feminine is little used, the masculine being the regular form before all nouns singular and plural. In Ethiopic the forms given are used only of things. The interrogative word regularly stands before its noun, and is treated as an adjective, except in Classical Arabic, and in the case of Egyptian Arabic *ay*, where it takes the modified noun in the genitive. Egyptian Arabic *enhû*, *enhî* may follow their noun. The concords of gender and number are as indicated; Ethiopic has also concord of case. In those languages which distinguish definite and indefinite states, the noun is indefinite: in Christian Palestinian apparently either the emphatic or the absolute state may be used; in Eastern Aramaic the emphatic state as the most common form of the noun is regularly employed, tho occasionally the absolute state is found in Syriac. e. g.,

Ass.	âu ilu 'which god?'
Eth.	አይ : ሰዓት : 'aī sa'ât 'which hour?'
	አይ : ሰዓት : 'aīa sa'âta (acc.)?
	አይ : ትእዛዛት : aīât tēzâzât 'which commands?'
Ta.	אֵי : זמן : baīân gîzê 'at what time?'
Te.	አይ : ሕሳት : 'aī bāhlat 'which saying?'
	አይ : ሕሳት : 'aīā bahâl 'which commandment?'
Syr.	אֵי מלך : אֵי מלך 'which king?'
	אֵי דת : אֵי דת 'which religion?'
	אֵי ספר : אֵי ספר 'which scribes?'
	אֵי תשניק : אֵי תשניק 'which torment?'
Mod. Syr.	אֵי : רוח : 'aīnî rūhâ 'which spirit?'
Chr. Pal.	הֵי פקוד : הֵי פקוד 'which commandment?'
	הֵי מטר : הֵי מטר 'in which watch?'
	הֵי עֵבֶר : הֵי עֵבֶר (emph. state) 'which deed?'
Heb.	אֵי דרך : אֵי דרך 'which way?'
Cl. Arab.	أَي شَيْء : 'aīu ša'î 'which thing?'

ای رجال *'aiju rijâlî* 'which men?'

ای عین *'aiju 'aġni* (fem.) 'which eye?'

Eg. Arab. من انہی بلد *min 'enhî beled* } 'from which village?'

من ای بلد *min 'aiġi beled* }

من انہو جنس *min 'enhû ġins* 'of what character?'

شیخ انہو *šêl 'enhû* 'which sheik?'

ورقة انہی *varaqa 'enhî* 'which leaf?'

Tl. Arab. اشنم راجل *āšmen rājel* 'which man?'

In Classical Arabic the noun may stand with the article, but the meaning is somewhat different, e. g.,

ای الرجال *'aiju 'r-rijâlî* 'which of the men?'

ای النساء *'aiju 'n-nisâ'î* 'which of the women?'

In Mandaic 'which?' as adjective occurs in only one passage, being there expressed by *ܕܐܡܢܐ*, viz.,

*ܕܐܡܢܐ ܐܬܪܐ* 'in which place?'

In Hebrew when the modified noun depends on the preposition *בן*, the preposition stands between the two elements of the interrogative, e. g.,

*אֵי מָה עִיר* 'from which city?'

In Ethiopic 'which?' referring to persons, must be expressed by the circumlocution 'who is the — that,' e. g.,

*መኑ፡ ውእተ፡ ሰብእ፡ ማመጽኡ፡* *mannû wə'ētû sab'ē za-mač'a*  
'who is the man that came, which man came?'

In Amharic 'which?' is expressed in a few passages by the adverb *የት* : *iat* 'where?' used as an adjective before the noun, e. g.,

*የየት፡ ልገር፡* *ia-iat 'agar* 'of which land?'

In some languages 'which?' referring to persons is expressed by the personal interrogative pronoun,<sup>1</sup> used as an adjective. A few instances are found in Samaritan, Syriac, and the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud; in Tigrîna the construction is quite common; and in Amharic, where the adjectival interrogative *ai* has been lost, it is the invariable rule. In Tigrîna this interrogative is also used of things. The interrogative precedes the noun. e. g.,

Sam. *מן נכרא* 'which man?'

Syr. *למן עתירא* 'to which rich man?'

Bab. Tal. *מאן נכרא רבא* 'what great man?'

<sup>1</sup> The personal interrogatives are derived from a stem *man*, except in Hebrew and certain Modern Arabic dialects where they are formed from a stem *mî* cf. Brock. *Comp.Gr.* p. 326 f. (§110 c, d).

Amh. መን : ሰው : *mân sau* 'which man?'

Ta. መን : መንፈስ : *man manfas* 'which spirit?'

ብመን : ትጋህ : *bě-man tēyâh* 'in which watch?'

The neuter interrogative pronoun is used adjectively in most of the languages to express 'what, what sort of?' and sometimes also 'which?' The forms are, viz.,

Eth. መንት : *měnt*

Amh. መን : *měñ*

Ta. መንታይ : *měntâi*

Meh. *hâsan*

Te. መ-, -መ : *mî*

Heb. מה

Syr. ܡܢ ܝܬܝܐ, ܡܢ ܝܬܝܐ

Bab. Tal. ܡܢ

Jew. Pal. מה

Man. ܡܢ

Mod. Syr. ܡܢ ܡܢܝܬܝܐ *mîdî*

In Amharic the same idea is also expressed by adjectives derived from the personal interrogative, which are, however, used with both persons and things. They agree with their noun in gender, viz.,

masc. መናቸው : *mânâčau*

fem. መናቸዮች : *mânâčaiṭû*

መናቸዮች : *mânâčaiṭû*

These interrogatives regularly precede the noun. In Ethiopic there is concord of case. e. g.,

Eth. መንት : ሰላም : *měnt 'asb* 'what reward?'

መንት : ሠላም : *měnta šanâja* 'what good (acc.)?'

Amh. መን : ትእዛዝ : *měñ tēzâz* 'which order?'

መን : ፍጥረት : *měñ fēṭrat* 'what sort of a creature?'

መናቸው : ነገሥ : *mânâčau nēgûš* 'which king?'

መናቸዮች : ትእዛዝ : *mânâčaiṭû tēzâz* 'which commandment?'

Ta. ብመንታይ : ሥልጣን : *bě-měntâi šellân* 'by what power?'

Te. እ-በመ : መስል : 'ēb-mî masl } 'with what parable?'

እ-በ : መመስል : 'ēb mî-masl }

Heb. מה יתרון 'what advantage?'

Syr. ܡܢ ܡܢܝܬܝܐ ܡܢܝܬܝܐ 'what punishment?'

Man. ܡܢܝܬܝܐ ܡܢܝܬܝܐ 'what power?'

Mod. Syr. ܡܢܝܬܝܐ ܡܢܝܬܝܐ *le-mîdî medittâ* 'to what city?'

Jew. Pal. מה חטא 'what sin?'



- Meh. *da<sup>1</sup> hâsan çâhan dâ* 'what dish is this?'  
*da<sup>1</sup> hâsan jambîjîet dî* 'what dagger is this?'  
*da<sup>1</sup> hâsan miîêr liê* 'what mirrors are these?'

### Possessive.

'Whose?' is expressed by treating the personal interrogative like a noun indicating the possessor.

In Arabic, both Classical and Modern, Ethiopic, Tigrîna, Hebrew, Samaritan, and Mandaic the interrogative may form the *nomen rectum* of a construct chain, standing in the nominative form, e. g.,

Arab.	بيت من <i>baitu man</i>	} 'whose house?'
Eth.	፬፯ : ሙን : <i>bêta mannû</i>	
Heb.	בֵּית־מִי	
Mod. Pal. Arab.	فنجان مين <i>finjên mîn</i>	'whose cup?'
Man.	בר מאן	} 'whose son?'
Ta.	ḡad : ḡad : <i>ḡad man</i>	
Sam.	ברת מן	} 'whose daughter?'
Jew. Pal.	בת מן	

In those languages which have developed a special preposition to indicate the genitive, the interrogative may stand after this preposition. The prepositional phrase usually follows the modified noun in all the languages except Amharic, where it regularly precedes. e. g.,

Eth.	፬፯ : ሙን : <i>bêt za-mannû</i>	'whose house?'
Amh.	የሙን ልጅ : <i>ḡa-mân lĕj</i>	'whose son?'
Jew. Pal.	ברתא דמן	'whose daughter?'
Syr.	בֵּיתָא דְּמַנּוּ	'whose house?'
Mod. Syr.	ܬܐܘܪܐ ܕܡܢܐ : <i>taurâ de-mânî</i>	'whose ox?'
Meh.	( <i>da<sup>2</sup></i> ) <i>habrît da mon (dime reheimet)</i>	'whose daughter (is this pretty girl)?'

### Quantitative.

The ideas 'how much,'<sup>3</sup> 'how many?' are expressed in Arabic,

<sup>1</sup> For this *da* compare following n.

<sup>2</sup> Just what this *da* is which occurs at the beginning of interrogative sentences (cf. above) is uncertain. Jahn thinks it is a demonstrative (cf. *Meh. Gr.* p. 29). In this case this sentence would be literally 'this one, daughter of whom this pretty one.' So in the sentences above 'this, what sort of a dish is this?' etc.

<sup>3</sup> With regard to the material available for the study of the expression of this idea, the same statement may be made as in the case of the indefinites; cf. p. 182, n. 2.

Classical and Modern, Hebrew, Syriac, and Mehri by the neuter interrogative combined with *ka* 'like.' To express 'how many' this combination is placed directly before the noun, which stands in the plural in Hebrew and Syriac, in Arabic, Classical and Modern, in the singular, which singular is accusative in the Classical language. In Syriac the noun stands sometimes in the absolute, sometimes in the emphatic state, without difference of meaning. e. g.,

- Heb. כָּמַחַרְמָה פְּעָמִים } 'how many times?'  
 Syr. כָּמַחַרְמָה פְּעָמִים מְעַל רְחֵלָא } 'how many wanton men?'  
 Arab. كَم رَجُلَا *kam rajula*<sup>n</sup> 'how many men?'  
 Eg. Arab. كَم بَيْت *kam bêt* 'how many houses?'  
 Pal. " اَكَم بَيْضَا *'akam bêḏa* 'how many eggs?'  
 Meh. *kâm hâbû* (pl.<sup>2</sup>) 'how many men?'

In the languages of the Abyssinian branch, Tigrîna and Tigre form similar words for this idea by prefixing a word meaning 'as, how' to interrogative elements, while Ethiopic and Amharic express this idea by words meaning 'measure' or the like, either with or without an interrogative element: viz.,

- Eth. ማመጠን : *mîmaṭan*  
 ስፍን : *sěfn*, እስፍንቱ : *ěsfěntû*  
 Amh. ስንት : *sěnt*, እስንት : *ěsent*  
 Ta. ክንደይ : *kěndaï*  
 Te. አክልአየ : *'akēl'aï*, አክልሚ : *'akēlmî*

These words are used as adjectives before the noun, e. g.,<sup>3</sup>

- Eth. ማመጠን : አንቅፅት : *mîmaṭan 'anqē't* 'how many springs?'  
 ማመጠን : መዛርዐ : *mîmaṭana mazâr'a* (acc.) 'how many baskets?'  
 Amh. ስንት : ሰው : *sěnt saü* } 'how many men?'  
 ስንት : ሰዎች : *sěnt saüöč* }  
 ስንት : አመት : *sěnt 'amat* 'how many years?'

<sup>1</sup> In exclamations the genitive of the singular or broken plural is used after *kam*, e. g., *kam rajulî*<sup>n</sup> 'how many men!' cf. Wright-DeG. *Ar. Gr.* II. p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Usually with the singular, cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Except in Amharic no statement as to the concord of these words is given by the grammars. In Amharic the noun stands in the singular; the only case in which it stands in the plural is the one here, given by Abbad. *Dict. Lang. Amar.* p. 187: in Ethiopic the noun seems to stand in the plural; in Tigrîna, in either singular or plural; in Tigre in the example given it stands in the singular.

Ta. ክንደይ : ገበጎቲ : *këndaj gabarî* (pl.) 'how many workers?'

ክንደይ : ሕሳብ : *këndaj 'akâlât* (pl.) 'how many persons?'

ክንደይ : ማዕልተ : *këndaj mât'êlî* (sg.) 'how many days?'

Te. አክልአዩ : እንገራ : *'akêl'añ 'engêrâ* 'how much bread?'

Sometimes these expressions for 'how many?' are used also for 'how much?'

The idea of 'how much?' may also be expressed in some of the languages by the words just given followed by the noun governed by a preposition having a partitive force, e. g.,

Arab. كم من الخبز *kam mina 'l-hubzi* 'how much bread.'

Heb. (Mod.<sup>1</sup>) כַּמָּה מִן־הַלֶּחֶם 'how much bread?'

### Indefinite Qualification.

A noun may be modified by various indefinite pronominal ideas indicating quantity, number, or sort. The principal ideas are, viz., all, every, each, no, some, any, a little, few, much, many, a certain, same, self, other, various, both, such, enough.<sup>2</sup>

#### *All, Every.*

'All, every' is expressed in all the Semitic languages by pronouns derived from a root כל<sup>3</sup>. In general the pronoun may stand in the construct state before the noun, or it may take a possessive suffix referring to the noun, and be placed either before or after the noun<sup>4</sup>.

The first construction is found in Assyrian, Arabic, Classical and Modern, Mineo-Sabean, Tigrîna, Hebrew, Moabite, and in all the dialects of Aramaic. It is rare in Tigrîna; in Moabite, Phœnician (?), and Biblical Aramaic it is the only construction found. In Modern Syriac, where the construct chain has been lost, the pronoun is rather to be considered an adjective than a *nomen regens*; here כל always means 'every.' In Syriac and Mandaic either absolute or emphatic state may be used after the pronoun without difference of meaning. In those langua-

<sup>1</sup> No example occurs in Biblical Hebrew.

<sup>2</sup> The material for the discussion of these important modifying ideas is exceedingly meager; in no Semitic grammar are they fully and satisfactorily treated.

<sup>3</sup> Just what the constructions of Mehri *kall*, Malulan *hul* are is not certain; cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 30; Parisot, *Dial. Mal.* p. 312.

<sup>4</sup> In Egyptian *nû* 'all, every' stands after the noun like an ordinary adjective. In Coptic *nim* has the same construction; *têr* + suffix stands after the noun like כל + suffix; cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 84.

ges which distinguish between definite and indefinite nouns, the pronoun followed by singular noun denotes 'every' when the noun is indefinite, 'all, whole', when it is definite; on the Moabite stone it occurs only with a definite noun (ll. 4 (bis), 11, 20, 24, 28); in Syriac when the noun is not specially determined by a possessive suffix, following genitive, etc. the pronoun denotes 'every.' e. g.,

Ass. *kal malkê* 'all princes.'

Arab. كل مدينة *kullu madînatî* 'every city.'

كل المدينة *kullu 'l-madînatî* 'all the city, the whole city.'

كل المدن *kullu 'l-muduni* 'all the cities.'

Ta. ᐱᐱ : ᐱᐱ : ᐱᐱ : *kuëllê dëuëjî* 'every sick man.'

Heb. כל-עיר 'every city.'

כל-העיר 'all the city.'

כל-האנשים 'all the men.'

Mo. כל העם 'all the people.'

כל השלכין 'all the attackers.'

Ph. כל זבח 'every offering.'

כל אדם 'all people.'

Syr. כל מדינא 'every city.'

כל קניין 'all possessions.'

כל מהומנא 'all believers.'

Bib. Aram. כל-מלך 'every king.'

כל-מלכותא 'the whole kingdom.'

Bab. Tal. כל עבדא 'every slave.'

כל מלי 'all things.'

Mod. Syr. كل إنسان *kul 'nâšâ* 'every man.'

The second construction is found in Assyrian, Arabic, Ethiopic, Amharic, Tigrîna, Hebrew, Syriac, Mandaic, Babylonian Talmudic, and Modern Syriac. In Ethiopic and Amharic<sup>1</sup> it is the only, in Tigrîna, the usual construction. In Assyrian, Ethiopic, Syriac, and Mandaic the pronoun may stand either before or after the noun. In Tigrîna, Babylonian Talmudic, and Modern Syriac it regularly precedes, though some instances of postposition are found in Tigrîna and Talmudic<sup>2</sup>. In Arabic and Hebrew it always, in Amharic it almost always follows. The suffix of the pronoun usually agrees in gender and num-

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 193 b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Marg. *Man. Bab. Tal.* p. 67.

ber with the noun, but in Ethiopic and Amharic the suffix of the masculine singular is most frequently used for both genders and numbers. In Arabic and Hebrew the noun is always definite, in Syriac and Mandaic, always in the emphatic state; in Amharic the noun may take the definite article. When the combination stands in the accusative, the modifier in Ethiopic has a special accusative form in the masculine singular; in Amharic, -ን is regularly used only with the noun, tho occasionally it is found with both. e.g.,

Ass. *matâti kalîšina* } 'all lands.'  
*kalîšina matâti* }

Arab. *المدينة كلها* *al-madînatu kulluhâ* 'all the city.'  
*المدن كلها* *al-mudunu kulluhâ* 'all the cities.'  
*البيت كله* *al-baitu kulluhu* 'the whole house.'  
*الناس كلهم* *an-nâsu kulluhum* 'all mankind.'

Eth. *ሕሉ፡ብሕሉ* : *kuëllû bē'ēsî* } 'every man, all men.'  
*ብሕሉ፡ሕሉ* : *bē'ēsî kuëllû* }

*ሕላ፡ምድር* : *kuëllâ mēdr* } 'all the earth.'  
*ምድር፡ሕላ* : *mēdr kuëllâ* }

*ሕሎ፡ነገሥት* : *kuëllômû nagašt* } 'all (the) kings.'  
*ነገሥት፡ሕሎ* : *nagašt kuëllômû* }

*ሕሉ፡መንግሥት* : *kuëllû mangēšt* 'every kingdom.'

*ሕሉ፡ጽጌዖት* : *kuëllû ṣəgēiāt* 'all (the) flowers.'

Ta. *ሕሊ፡ዓደ* : *kuëllî'â 'âdî* 'every city.'

*ሕሎም፡ሕፃናት* : *kuëllôm hēdânât* 'all children.'

*ሕላን፡አሕምልተ* : *kuëllan 'ahmēltî* 'all plants.'

*ሕሌው፡ድውዖት* : *kuëllēw dēwīāt* 'all the sick.'

*ናብዛ፡ምድሪ፡ሕሊ፡* *nābzâ mēdrî kuëllî'â* 'in this whole land' (Matt. 9, 27).

Amh. *ነገር፡ሁሉ* : *nagar hûlû* 'every thing.'

*መንግሥት፡ሁልዋ* : *mangešt hûlyâ* 'every kingdom.'

*ሴተች፡ሁሉ* : *sētōč hûlû* 'all the women.'

*አገሪቱ፡ሁልዋ* : *'agar-îtu hûlyâ* 'the whole city.'

*ነገርን፡ሁሉ* : *nagar-n hûlû* (acc.) 'every thing.'

*ዓለምን፡ሁሉን* : *'alam-en hûlû-n* (acc.) 'the whole world.'

Heb. *יִשְׂרָאֵל כָּל* 'all Israel.'

*הָעִיר כָּל* 'all the city.'

*הָאֲנָשִׁים כָּל* 'all the men.'

Syr. *ܕܠܗ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ* } 'all the city.'  
*ܕܠܗ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ* }

כָּלֵהוֹן גְּבֵרָא מְלוֹס } 'all the men.'  
 גְּבֵרָא כָּלֵהוֹן גְּבֵרָא מְלוֹס }

Mod. Syr. כָּלֵה לַיְלָא *kullêh laîlâ* 'the whole night.'

כָּלֵה אֶרֶץ *kullâh 'ar'â* 'the whole earth.'

Bab. Tal. כּוּלִי עֻלְמָא 'all the world.'

כּוּלָּה מְחָא 'the entire city.'

In the Modern Arabic of Tlemsen and Tunis the article may be used with *kull* after a noun instead of a suffix<sup>1</sup>, e. g.,

النَّاسِ الْكُلَّ *en-nâs el-kull* 'all the people.'

الْبِلَادِ الْكُلَّ *el-blîd el-kull* 'all the land.'

In Post-Biblical Hebrew the two constructions of כָּל are sometimes combined, e. g.,

כָּל הַיּוֹם כָּל 'the whole day.'

כָּל הַשָּׂדֶה כָּל 'the whole field.'

Sometimes other words are employed with the same meaning and in the same constructions as כָּל; the most important of these are Assyrian *gimru*, *gabbu*, Arabic جميع *jamî'u*. In Assyrian *gimru* is most commonly employed with a suffix after its noun, tho it may stand before the noun in the construct; *gabbu* regularly stands after, but rarely takes a suffix: e. g.,

ilâni gimrašun } 'all gods.'

gimîr ilâni }

mâtâtî gabbu 'all lands.'

mâtu gabbîša 'the whole land.'

In Arabic, both Classical and Modern, جميع (Eg. Arab. *gamî'*) has the same constructions as كل, e. g.,

جميع العالم { Cl. *jamî'u 'l-âlamî*  
 Mod. *jamî' el-âlam* } 'all the world.'

العالم جميعه { Cl. *al-âlamu jamî'uhû*  
 Mod. *el-âlam jamî'ôh* }

The distributive idea of 'each, every, one by one, one after another' is expressed in many of the Semitic languages by repetition of the indefinite noun; in the Abyssinian languages this is comparatively rare, except in Amharic. In Syriac and Mandaic the noun most frequently stands in the absolute state. e. g.,

Cl. Arab. كِتَابٌ كِتَابٌ *kitâbu" kitâbu* 'every book, one book after another.'

Eg. Arab. رِيَالٌ رِيَالٌ *riîâl riîâl* 'dollar by dollar.'

<sup>1</sup> Said by Marçais to be common to all the dialects and not unknown in the classical language, cf. *Arab. TL* p. 178.

Heb.	יום יום 'every day.'
Syr.	שבע שבע שבט 'every seven.'
	בין זמן בין זמן 'from time to time.'
Man.	מאלכא מאלכא 'every king.'
	במדין במדין 'city by city.'
Sam.	נכר נכר 'each man.'
Amh. } Ta. }	ዕለት : ዕለት : 'ēlat 'ēlat 'every day.'

Sometimes the two nouns are connected by a conjunction or a preposition. The most usual preposition is **ב**; the conjunction **ו** appears to be used only in Hebrew: e. g.,

Heb.	יום ביום 'every day.'
	דור ודור 'all generations.'
Syr.	כל שנה בשנה 'every year.'
	יום מן יום 'from day to day.'
Man.	יום ביום 'day by day.'
	לבוש על לבוש 'dress after dress.'

In Ethiopic and Tigrīna this idea is most commonly expressed by doubling the preposition on which the noun depends; in Ethiopic the prepositions that are chiefly so employed are **በ** *ba-*, **ለ** *la-*, and **ዘ** *za-*; in Tigrīna the chief reduplicated forms are **በ-በ** *babē-* or **በ-በ** *bēbē*, **ነ-ነ** *nēnē-*, **ነ-ነ** *nanāi*; **ና-በ** : *nābab*; in Amharic when the noun depends on the preposition **በ**, the whole combination is doubled: e. g.,

Eth.	ሰላሳ : ዘለለ : ዕለት : <i>sīsāḥa-na za-lala</i> 'ēlatē-na 'our food for every day.'
	በበዘመዱ : <i>baba-zamad-ū</i> 'each according to its kind.'
Ta.	ሰላሳ : ነ-ነ : ዕለት : <i>sīsāi-nā nanāi-ēlat-nā</i> 'our food for every day.'
	ነ-ነ : <i>nēnē-ēlat</i> 'for every day.'
Amh.	ባማት : ባማት : <i>bāmat bāmat</i> 'every year.'
	በገንዘብ : በገንዘብ : <i>ba-nagh ba-nagh</i> 'every morning.'

*Some, Any.*

The indefinite idea of 'some, any' in many of the languages, probably in all, may be expressed simply by the indefinite noun, singular or plural, in certain constructions, e. g.,

Heb.	יין ישלי 'I have some wine' (Jud. 19, 19).
	ויתרו אנשים ממנו עד בקר 'and some men left some of it till the morning' (Ex. 16, 20).
	היטב-לשוני עולה 'is there any iniquity in my tongue?' (Job. 6, 30).

Arab. هل عندك درهم *hal 'inda-ka darâhimu* 'have you any money?'

Eth. አምድገረ : መዋዕል : 'ēmdēhra maṣā'ēl 'after some days.'

In Assyrian and the Abyssinian languages (very rarely in Ethiopic), this idea may be expressed by pronominal adjectives identical with or derived from the interrogatives, viz.,

Ass. *manman* } (in their various forms)  
*manma* }  
*aumma, iaumma*

Eth. መን : , ምን : *mannû, mēnt* (usually with -ን, -ገ, -ከ, -ከ added; *mannû* ordinarily takes *hî*, and *mēnt, nî*, viz., *mannûhî, mēntnî*)<sup>1</sup>

Amh. ማናቸው : *mânâčaw* (and its feminine forms)

Ta. መን : , ምንታይ : *man. mentâi*

Te. መንማ : *manmâ*

E. g.:-

Ass. šarru aumma 'some king or other.'

Amh. ማናቸው : መቃጠፍትና *mânâčaw maqṣaftēnâ* 'any plague.'

ማናቸዩቱ : ነፍስ : *mânâčawtū nafs* 'any soul.'

Ta. ኃይል : መን : *hâiâl man* 'any strong man.'

Te. ደብ : መንማ : ቤት : *dīb manmâ bêt* 'in any house.'

In Syriac the interrogative adjective + , + personal pronoun of the 3. sg. is used as an adjective before or after the noun in the sense of 'any, any at all'; both the interrogative and the personal pronoun agree with the noun: e. g.,

ܐܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ 'about any matter at all.'

ܐܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ 'any city at all.'

ܐܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ 'and any death.'

Special words for the idea of 'some, any' outside of the class just considered have been developed in some of the languages.

In Amharic አንዳች : 'andâč, አንዳንድ : 'andând or አንድ : 'andâd, and አያሌ : 'ajâlê; in Tigrîña አያሌ : and ክንደይ : *kēndai*; in Tigre ገሌ : *galê*, are used as adjectives in this sense: all the Amharic words except አንዳች : have a plural meaning and are employed with nouns in the plural, tho the singular may also be used; in Tigrîña and Tigre the singular is apparently employed. e. g.,

Amh. አንዳች : ገር : 'andâč *nagar* 'any opportunity.'

<sup>1</sup> Very rare in affirmative sentences.



	አንዳድ : እቃ :	'andâd 'eqâ 'some vessels.'
	አዳሌ : ሰው :	'aîâlê sau }
	” ሰዎች :	'aîâlê sauôc } 'some people.'
Ta.	አዳሌ : } ማዕልተ :	{ 'aîâlê } mǎ'elti 'some days.'
	አንዳድ : }	{ kēndaj }
Te.	ገሌ : ሰብ :	galê sab 'some people'.

In Arabic the noun بعض *ba'du*<sup>1</sup> may stand in the construct before a genitive in this sense of 'some', in Classical Arabic only in connection with another بعض meaning 'other', but in Modern Arabic often without correlative<sup>2</sup>; e. g.,

Cl. بعض الشر أهون من بعض *ba'du 'š-širri 'ahyanu min ba'di* 'some evils are easier to bear than others.'

Mod. بعض الناس *ba'd en-nās* 'some people.'

In Hebrew the plural of the numeral אחד 'one' is sometimes used with a plural noun to express 'some',<sup>2</sup> e. g.,

ימים אחרים 'some days' (Gen 27,44; 29,20).

In some Modern Arabic dialects the indefinite article may be used with a plural or collective in the sense of 'some' (cf. p. 158), e. g.,

Mesopotamian فرد اولاد *fard ulâd* 'some children.'

Tangier شى قوم *šî qaym* 'some people.'

In Syriac ܡܕܡܡ is used as an adjective with either singular or plural nouns in the sense of 'some'; it may stand either before or after the noun, e. g.,

ܡܕܡܡ ܐܢܫܐ *mādmā 'nšā* 'some men.'

ܡܕܡܡ ܕܝܬܪܢ *mādmā d-yitrān* 'some advantage.'

— ܒܝܬ ܦܢܝܐ ܡܕܡܡ — *bēt pniā mādmā* 'among some corpses that —'.

Words meaning 'some' may in many cases be connected with the noun they modify by a partitive preposition, e. g.,

Amh. አንዳንድ : ካገር : ሰዎች : 'andând kâgar (ka-ag- for ka-ja- } ag-) sauôc 'some of the people of the city.'

Ta. አዳሌ : አንክብ : ፈገግውያን : 'aîâlê 'ēnkāb farisāuējān 'some of the Pharisees.'

Arab. بعض من الناس *ba'du minā 'n-nāsi* 'some of the people.'

Syr. ܡܕܡܡ ܕܝܬܪܢ *mādmā d-yitrān* 'in some of the books.'

The partitive idea 'some of' with a definite noun may be

<sup>1</sup> In Mehri *baḍ* is said to be used in this sense with a following plural, cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Compare with this the use of the plural of 'uno' in Spanish, e. g., *unos bollos* 'some cakes'; cf. Knapp, *Gram. of Mod. Span.* p. 159.

expressed by the preposition מן 'from' used before the definite noun, rarely the indefinite, as a sort of partitive article like the French *de*. So in Arabic, Ethiopic, Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Samaritan, Syriac, and Mandaic, e. g.,

Arab.	من الدنانير <i>mina 'd-danânîri</i> 'some of the denars.'
	من الخبز <i>mina 'l-hubzi</i> 'some of the bread.'
Eth.	እንደ : እንስሳ : 'ēmma 'ēnsēsâ 'some of the beasts.'
	እምላህ : 'em-'ēlûb 'something difficult.'
Heb.	מִזְקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'some of the elders of Israel' (Ex. 17,5).
	מִדָּם הַחֹטֵאת 'some of the blood of the sin-offering' (Lev. 5,9).
Bib. Aram.	מִן נִצְבָּתָא דִּי-פְרוּזָא 'some of the firmness of iron.'
Sam.	מִן אֶדָם 'some blood.'
Syr.	מִן תַּלְמִידוֹהִי 'some of his disciples.'
	מִן רוּחְךָ 'some of thy spirit.'
Man.	מִן מַלְאכֵי אֵשׁ 'some of the fire angels.'
	מִן בִּרְכַּתָּא 'some of our blessing.'

#### No.

The adjectival idea 'no' is expressed in general by an indeterminate noun in connection with a negative, most usually with the negative meaning 'there is not,' e. g.,

Arab.	ليس له مخلص <i>laisa la-hu mahlaṣu</i> 'he had no way of escape.'
Heb.	אֵין לֶחֶם בְּבֵית 'there is no bread in the house.'
Bib. Ar.	לֹא אֶתִּי לָךְ חֶלֶק 'you will have no part.'
Syr.	لَا إِلَهَ هُوَ 'he is no god.'
	أَيُّ لَيْتَ بَارِئًا 'if there are no righteous ones.'
Man.	אסותא לית לה 'there is no cure for him.'
Bab. Tal.	באתר דלית נברא 'in a place where there is no man.'
Eth.	አልብላለ : ምት : 'albēlā mēta 'I have no husband.'
Amh.	በገራችን ምግል : ምግል : ምግል <i>b-agar-āčēn uag ṣallam</i> 'in our land there is no law.'
Ta.	በርካት : ምግል : ምግል : ምግል <i>bērhân-mâ ṣallan 'abâ'u</i> 'for there is no light there.'

In Assyrian and the Abyssinian dialects the idea of 'no' is emphasized by the indefinite adjectives (cf. p. 187 above) in connection with a negative. In Ethiopic they usually have **ወእ**—before them in addition to the other negative; in Tigrīna they may be preceded by **ወይ**—: e. g.,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No examples are available in Amharic and Tigrīna; cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 426 (§ 325a); Praet. *Tig. Spr.* pp. 342, 344.

Ass. *ilu manuman ul* . . . 'no god.'

*šarru iaummu ul* . . . 'no king.'

Eth. አታገሥኡ፡ ምንተኒ፡ ጸረ፡ 'i-tānšē'ū mēntanī çôra 'ye shall not bear any burden.'

ከመ፡ አይገነዝ፡ ምንተኒ፡ ብእሲተ፡ kama 'i-ḡēnšā' mēnta-nī bē'ēsīta 'that he should take no wife.'

እትገበሩ፡ ወእምንተኒ፡ ዐመዓ፡ 'i-tēgbarū ሂእ'i-mēntanī 'amadā 'do no harm.'

The negative idea is sometimes emphasized by some other modifier of the noun. In Hebrew, the Western Aramaic<sup>1</sup> dialects, and Ethiopic, such a modifier is כל, e. g.,

Heb. לא תאכלו מכל עץ הגן 'ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden.'

לא יעשה עבודה 'no work shall be done.'

Bib. Aram. וכל מקום לא נמצא להם 'and no place was found for them.'

Jew. Pal. לא תכלו מכל אילן 'ye shall not eat of any tree.'

Sam. ולא שתותר כל ירק 'and no green thing was left.'

Eth. ወዘሉ፡ ገብረ፡ ሐሪሽ፡ እትገበሩ፡ ሂእ-kuëllô gēbra ḥarīs 'i-tēgbarū 'and no heavy work (work of ploughing) shall ye do.'

In Syriac מָדָם 'some' is used in a similar manner, e. g.,

מָדָם אֵין חֵסֶד } 'no advantage is in them.'

מָדָם יִתְּנֵן לֵית בְּהִין } 'no unclean thing comes into their mind.'

In Modern Syriac the idea of 'no' is regularly expressed by *hič* and *čû* used as adjectives, in connection with a negative, e. g.,

לֹא מִצֵּל } לֹא חֵי hīč 'urhâ la maçîâ 'uâ 'no road was found.'

לֹא מִן } לֹא מִן čû qenûmâ 'from no person.'

#### A certain.

In a number of the languages the idea of 'a certain' as distinct from the simple indefinite idea 'a', has special forms of expression.

In Arabic it may be expressed by the particle *la* after the indefinite noun, e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> Probably this statement is true with regard to Christian Palestinian, and perhaps also with regard to Malulan, but the construction is not mentioned by the authorities.

رجل *rajula-mmâ* 'a certain man.'

To be compared with this are the groups,

Ph. אדם <sup>1</sup> 'a certain man.'

Heb. וְהִנֵּנִי מְדַבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ 'if he shows me anything  
(דבר מה) I will tell you' (Nu. 23, 3).

In Arabic the noun بعض *ba'du* 'part' followed by the genitive of a plural or a collective may also be used in this sense, e.g.,

بعض التلاميذ *ba'du 't-talâmîḏi* 'a certain one of the pupils.'

يوم في بعض الأيام *fî ba'di 'l-'aijâmi* 'one day, a certain day.'

In Ethiopic it is expressed by the word for 'man' or 'woman' in apposition to the noun, by the numeral 'one,' or by the adjective እገሌ : 'ēgalê, e. g.,

ብእሰት : ብብረቂት : *bē'ēsît 'ebrâwît* 'a certain Hebrew woman.'

አሐዱ : ብእሰ : 'aḥadû bē'ēsî 'a certain man.'

እገሌ : ወራዛ : 'ēgalê wārêzâ 'a certain youth.'

The word እገሌ : is used also in this meaning in Amharic and Tigrîña.<sup>2</sup> In Tigrîña ኣደ : *hādê* 'one' may be employed in this sense, e. g.,

Ta. ኣደ : ሳምራዊ : *hādê sāmērâwî* 'a certain Samaritan.'

In Syriac it is expressed by ܡܡܡ after the noun, e. g.,

ܡܡܡ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ 'a certain enmity.'

In the Babylonian Talmud it is expressed by the demonstrative הווא before the noun,<sup>3</sup> e. g.,

הווא נברא 'a certain man.'

הווא איתתא 'a certain woman.'

In Modern Syriac it is expressed by ܡܠܢ *pelân* before the noun, e. g.,

ܡܠܢ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ *be-pelân zarnâ* 'at a certain time.'

ܡܠܢ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ *be-pelân duktâ* 'in a certain place.'

### *A Little, Few,*

The ideas 'a little,' 'few' are expressed by the following words, viz.,

Ass. *iḥu*

Arab. قليل *qalîlu*, Mod. *qalîl*

<sup>1</sup> Some prefer to read אדם 'men' in the only passage in which this occurs, cf. Schroed., *Phön. Spr.* p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 130; *Tig. Spr.* p. 304 (n. 2); in the examples given it appears only as substantive; in Tigrîña texts it occurs only once.

<sup>3</sup> With this indefinite use of the demonstrative הווא is to be compared the use of the Ethiopic ኣኩ : as indefinite article (cf. p. 158).

Meh.	<i>haraun</i> (with sg. and pl.) <sup>†</sup>
Eth.	ዳጥ : <i>hēdāt</i>
Amh.	ጥፂጥ : <i>ṭeqit</i> , ቀሉ : <i>qēlā</i>
Ta.	ቅሩብ : <i>quērūb</i> , ንእሽቲያ : <i>nē'stai</i>
Heb.	מעט
Syr.	ܩܠܝܠܐ
Mod. Syr.	ܩܠܝܠܐ <i>hačā</i>
Ch. Pal.	ציבחד
Jew. Pal.	ליל, זער, צבחד
Sam.	זער, ציבעת, ציבער

The Assyrian, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac words may be inflected, tho the Syriac is usually employed without variation. The plurals of the Assyrian, Arabic and Hebrew words used as adjectives denote 'few.' 'a little' is denoted by the singular of these adjectives; in Hebrew, however, most frequently by מעט in the construct before the noun. In those languages in which the word is employed without variation, it is used with both meanings. Ordinarily these words take the same position and construction as descriptive adjectives. The Aramaic words, however, have a tendency to precede the noun, and in Ethiopic and Tigrīna preposition is the rule. The Samaritan forms stand before the noun and are probably in the construct like Hebrew מעט. In some of the languages the words may be followed by the definite noun after a partitive preposition. e. g.,

Ass. *itti uqu iqi* 'with few people.'

*qābē iqūti* 'few warriors.'

Arab. مال قليل *mālu" qalīlu"* 'a little property.'

رجال قليلون *rijālu" qalīlūna* 'a few men.'

قليل من الناس *qalīlu" mina 'n-nāsi* 'a few people.'

Eth. ዳጥ : መዋዕል : *hēdāt mauâ'l* 'a few days.'

Aml. ጥፂጥ : { ሰው : } *ṭeqit* { ሰው : } { ሰው : } 'few men.'

Ta. ንእሽቲያ : ግግ : *nē'stai* 'āšā 'a few fishes.'

ቅሩብ : ማዕልቲ : *quērūb mā'elti* 'a few days.'

Heb. מעט מים 'a little water.'

עזר מעט 'a little help.'

אנשים מעטים 'a few men.'

Syr. ܩܠܝܠܐ ሙሴ 'a little sun.'

ܩܠܝܠܐ ܠܝܕܝܢܐ 'a little comfort.'

<sup>†</sup> Cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 31.

	קליל מלי שוּנָא מלכ מלכ מלכ	'a few words of peace.
	קליל מן סמנא מלכ מלכ מלכ	'a little of Satan.'
Mod. Syr.	בֶּה-חַצֵּה חֲסֵה	'in a little time.'
Jew. Pal.	זעיר כסות	'a little clothing.'
	צבחר גוברין	'few men.'
Sam.	ציבער מיה	'a little water.'
	ציבעת מון	'a little food.'

*Much, Many.*

The ideas 'much,' 'many' are expressed by the following words, viz..

Ass.	<i>mādu</i>
Arab.	كثير <i>kathîru</i> ; Mod. <i>katîr</i>
Meh.	<i>māken</i> (with sg. and pl.) <sup>1</sup>
Eth.	{
Ta.	{ ብዙህ : <i>bězûh</i>
Amh.	ብዙ : <i>bězû</i> , ገጽ : 'ējĕg
Heb.	רב
Bib. Aram.	שניא
Ch. Pal.	סני
Jew. Pal.	סנין, סני
Syr.	סני
Mod. Syr.	ܪܒܐ : <i>rābā</i>
Man.	נאפשא

In Amharic, Christian Palestinian, Modern Syriac, and usually in Mandaic, the words are invariable, and in Syriac it may remain without inflexion. Where singular and plural forms are distinguished, the singular denote 'much', the plural 'many.' These words have in most cases the position and construction of the descriptive adjective, but occasionally the Hebrew word precedes its noun, while in Aramaic there is a strong predilection for this position, and in Tigrîña preposition is the rule. In some languages the words may be followed by a definite noun after a partitive preposition. e. g.,

Ass.	<i>šarrāni mādûtu</i>	'many kings.'
Arab.	مال كثير <i>māl kathîru</i>	'much property.'
	كلاب كثير <i>kilābu kathîrûna</i>	} 'many dogs.'
	كثير من الكلاب <i>kathîru mina 'l-kilābi</i>	
Eth.	ሁለት ሺህ : <i>hâtĕ'ân bēzûhân</i>	'many sinners.'
	ሁለት ሰባ : <i>bēzûh sab'ē</i>	'much people.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 31.

- Ta. ሰዓላ : ሰዓ : *bězûlî sab* 'many people.'  
 ሰዓላ : ገብረ : *bězûlî gēbrî* 'much work.'
- Amh. ሰዓ : } { ሰዓ : } { *bězû* } { *say* }  
 አጃጃ : } { ሰዓ : } { 'ējēg } { *sayôč* } 'many men.'
- Heb. מְרֵבָה *mēṣabâ* 'much cattle.'  
 רַבִּים *rabbîm* 'many men.'  
 מְרַבִּים *mēṣabbîm* 'many pains' (Ps. 32, 10).
- Syr. ܡܢܝܥܐ *ṣṣanîʿâ* 'much flesh.'  
 ܢܝܥܐ *ṣṣanîʿâ* 'many men.'  
 ܡܢܝܥܐ *ṣṣanîʿâ* 'many times.'
- Bib. Aram. מְרַבִּים *mēṣabbîm* 'many great gifts' (Dan. 2, 48).
- Jew. Pal. כֶּסֶף *ṣṣep* 'much silver.'  
 דְּבַשׁ *dēṣ* 'much honey.'
- Man. בִּישׁוּתָא נַאפְשָׁא *bišūṭā nāpšā* 'much evil.'  
 שְׁנִיָּא נַאפְשָׁתָא *šṣanîʿâ nāpšatā* 'many years.'  
 נַאפְשָׁא נִשְׁמַתָּא *nāpšā nišmatā* 'many souls.'  
 נַאפְשָׁא עֲקָרָא *nāpšā ʿqārā* 'much honor.'
- Mod. Syr. ܪܒܐ ܝܓܪܐ *râbâ iqārâ* 'much splendor.'  
 ܪܒܐ ܣܘܣܝܐܬܐ *râbâ sūsâṣâtê* }  
 ܪܒܐ ܣܘܣܝܐܬܐ ܪܒܐ *sūsâṣâtê râbâ* } 'many horses.'
- In Arabic the idea of 'many a' is expressed by *rubba* followed by an indefinite substantive in the genitive, or followed by a suffix and the noun in the accusative; this suffix is usually *-hu*, but it may agree with the following noun: e. g.,  
 رُبُّمَا رَجُلًا كَرِيمًا *rubba rajulî" karîmî* 'many a noble man.'  
 رُبُّمَا وَرَقَاءَ هَتُوفٍ *rubba qarqâ'a hatûfi* 'many a cooing dove.'  
 رُبُّمَا امْرَأَةً *rubba-hu 'mra'ata* }  
 رُبُّمَا امْرَأَةً *rubba-hâ 'mra'atu* } 'many a woman.'  
 رُبُّمَا رِجَالًا *rubba-hum rijâla* 'many men.'

#### Other.

'Other' is expressed by various adjectives, many from the stem *ahar*, which in Arabic and Hebrew have the sense of 'another' in the indefinite state, and that of 'the other' in the definite state, e. g.,

Ass. *šanû*

Arab. *'aḥarū*

Meh. *gâher*

Eth. አልፎ : *kâlē*, በሌላ : *bâ'ēd*

Amh. ሌላ : *lêlâ*

Heb. אַחֵר *ahēr*

Bib. Aram. אַחֵר

Ch. Pal. חורין

Jew. Pal. אחרון

Syr. אחר

Man. הוריןא

These adjectives follow the construction of ordinary adjectives except in the case of Syriac, where it regularly precedes the noun, e. g.,

Arab. ملك اخر *maliku* 'aharu 'another king.'الملك الآخر *al-maliku 'l-aharu* 'the other king.'

Heb. אַחַד אִישׁ אֶחָד 'another man.'

הָאִישׁ הָאֶחָד 'the other man.'

אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים 'other gods.'

Eth. አሌ። ሌላ። : *kālē' bē'ēsī* 'another man.'አምላክ። ሌላ። : *ēm-bâ'čd zamad* 'of another tribe.'Aml. ሌላ። ሰው። : *lêlâ sau* 'another man.'ሌላች። አማልክት። : *lêlôč 'amâlêkt* 'other gods.'

Syr. אחרין מתל אסב מלך 'another parable.'

*Various.*

The idea of 'various, different kinds of' is sometimes expressed simply by repetition of the noun. So in Hebrew and some of the Aramaic dialects. In Hebrew and Samaritan the two nouns are connected by ו, in Syriac, Mandaic and Modern Syriac no connective is used; in Syriac and Mandaic the noun stands most frequently in the absolute state, e. g.,

Heb. אֶבֶן וְאֶבֶן 'different weights' (Deut. 25, 13).

Sam. מכלה ומכלה 'different ephas.'

Syr. ܠܫܢ ܠܫܢܐ 'with various tongues.'

Mod. Syr. ܠܝܠܐ ܠܝܠܐ *rangâ rangâ* 'various colors.'

Man. ḏnawniā nawniā 'of various colors.'

זאן וזאן 'various kinds.'

In Anharic this idea is usually expressed by the repetition of the adjectives ሌላ። and ልዩ።; a preposition is repeated before the second ሌላ። but stands only once before doubled ልዩ።. The noun seems to stand usually in the singular, tho the plural also occurs, e. g.,

ሌላ። ሌላ። : አምላክ። : { *lêla lêla* }  
 ልዩ። ልዩ። : { *l'îû l'îû* } *amlâk* 'various, different gods.'

በሌላ። በሌላ። ድዌ። : *ba-lêlâ ba-lêlâ dayê* 'with various kinds of disease.'





In those languages which have special emphatic particles, at least<sup>1</sup> in Assyrian and Ethiopic<sup>2</sup> (cf. Adverbial Qualification below), these particles may be used with the demonstratives or a pronominal suffix or its equivalent, to express this meaning; in Ethiopic this is especially frequent with ከያ, which may also stand alone in this sense (cf. below): e. g.,

Ass. *ina šatti-ma šiatī* 'in that very, same year.'

*ina ūmi-šu-ma* 'on that same day.'

Eth. ከያመ : ፍፍተ : የሐውረ : *kijā-hā-ma fēnōta jahawērū* 'they go the same way.'

ከያ : ከመ : መሥዋዕተ : *kijā-hā kēma mašwā'ta* (acc.) 'the same sacrifice.'

In some of the languages special constructions have been developed to express this idea, tho they often express rather 'self' than 'same'.

In Ethiopic the emphatic pronouns formed by adding the suffixes to ለሊ and ከያ may stand before a noun in the sense of 'self, same,' ለሊ is used with a nominative, ከያ with an accusative: e. g.,

ለሊሃ : ፍፍተመ : *lali-hā fēnōt-ōmū* 'their path itself'

ከያሃ : ምድረ : *kijā-hā mēdra* 'the land itself'

ከያሁ : መንፈስ : *kijā-hū manfasa* 'the same spirit.'

In Arabic these ideas may be expressed by ذات 'substance,' نفس 'soul,' or a similar word + suffix, standing as an appositive, or in a prepositional phrase introduced by ب after a definite noun, e. g.,

الكتاب بذاته *al-kitābu bi-ḡati-hi* 'the book itself, the same book.'

جاء الرجل بنفسه (نفسه) *jā'a 'r-rajulu bi-naḡsi-hi* (or *naḡsu-hu*) 'the man himself came.'

The idea of 'same' is sometimes expressed by ذات or a similar word as *nomen regens* before the noun, or by the pronoun of the 3. sg. standing in apposition to a noun modified by a demonstrative, e. g.,

الرجل ذات الرجل *ḡātu 'r-rajuli* 'the same man.' [distance.]

على ذلك القدر هو *alā ḡālīka 'l-qadri huwa* 'at the same

In Biblical Hebrew in a few passages the noun עצם 'bone' occurs in the construct before a definite noun in the sense of 'same, self,' e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> *Hā* is apparently not used in this way in Syriac (cf. below).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dill. *Lex. Aeth.* cols. 142, 722, 830, 869, 918, 919, 967.

בְּעֵצִים הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה 'on this same day.'

כְּעֵצִים הַשָּׁמַיִם 'like the heaven itself.'

In one passage the plural of אחד is used for 'same,' viz.,

דְּבָרִים אֲחֵרִים 'the same words' (Gen. 11, 1).

In Post-Biblical Hebrew עצם + suffix may stand as an appositive after a noun in the sense of 'self,' e. g.,

הַפְּרִי עֲצָמוֹ 'the fruit itself.'

In Post-Biblical Hebrew, Samaritan, and Christian and Jewish Palestinian, את or ית + suffix is used before a definite noun in the sense of 'same' (cf. above p. 148).

In Western Aramaic, and in Post-Biblical Hebrew (here probably borrowed from Aramaic) a noun depending on a preposition may be given the added meaning of 'same' by the construction described p. 148 above.

In Syriac the idea of 'same' may be expressed by a repeated personal pronoun, independent or suffix, with ܡܝܢ between, used in apposition before the modified noun, e. g.,

ܗܘ ܕܪ ܗܘ ܕܗܘ ܕܗܘ ܕܗܘ 'the same nature.'

ܠܗ ܕܪ ܠܗ ܠܗ ܠܗ ܠܗ ܠܗ ܠܗ 'to his same disciple.'

ܩܬܐ ܕܪ ܩܬܐ ܕܪ ܩܬܐ ܕܪ ܩܬܐ ܕܪ ܩܬܐ 'in that same wagon.'

The idea of 'self' in apposition to a noun is expressed by נפשו 'soul' or מנעם 'person' with suffix, e. g.,

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'the king himself.'

ܩܢܘܡܐ ܕܩܢܘܡܐ ܕܩܢܘܡܐ 'Fate itself.'

In Amharic<sup>2</sup> ሰጠሁ : ሰጠሁ : 'master of the house' and ራስ : 'head,' in Tigre ዓሰ : 'soul,' + suffix, are used as appositives in the sense of 'self,' e. g.,

Amh. ነግሱ : ሰጠሁ : nēgûš-âcay bālabêt-û 'their king, himself.'

የሱስ : ራስ : yasûs rās-û 'Jesus himself'

Te. ደዊት : ዓሰ : dawît nôs-û 'David himself.'

### Such.

'Such' is ordinarily expressed by some combination of the particle *ki*, *ka* 'as, like,' and a demonstrative pronoun; the Ethiopic form is sometimes preceded by the relative, the Syriac

<sup>1</sup> נפש is also thus employed in other Aramaic dialects; in Jewish Palestinian נרים 'bone' also seems to occur in this construction.

<sup>2</sup> In Tigrina ሰጠሁ : bāl 'lord' is apparently used in the same way, cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 160.

form is regularly so preceded; in Amharic the idea may be expressed by a relative clause consisting of the adverb 'thus' + relative + verb 'to be': generally speaking the word for 'such' may precede or follow: e. g.,

Arab. **رجل كهذا** 'rajulu' ka-hâḥḍâ }  
 Eth. **ብእሱ : ከመዝ** : bē'ēsî kama-zē } 'such a man.'  
**ብእሱ : ከከመዝ** : bē'ēsî za-kama-zē }  
 Ta. **ሰብ : ከምዘው** : sab kamzîw }  
 Amh. **እንደህ : ደብውን : መመን** : 'ēndēh iälla-u-n' māmān (acc.)  
 'such faith.'

Te. **እብ : እክልእሱ : ገዳር** : 'ēb 'akēl'ēllî ga'âr 'with such shrieks.'

Heb. **כִּי כֵן הָיָה** 'such a man' (Gen. 41, 38).

Bib. Aram. **כִּי כֵן הָיָה** 'such a thing' (Dan. 2, 10).

Syr. **ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ** 'such pains.'

**ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ** 'in such a deed.'

**ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ** 'such a thing.'

**ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ** 'such oppressions.'

In Modern Syriac the old demonstratives **ܟܝܢ** *hādâ* and **ܟܝܢ** *hādâkh* and **ܟܝܢ** *hatkhâ* (prob. **ܟܝܢ** + **ܟܝܢ** = **ܟܝܢ**) are used as adjectives before the noun in this meaning. e. g.,

**ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ** *hādâ 'nâšâ* } 'such people.'  
**ܟܝܢ ܟܝܢ** *hatkhâ 'nâšâ* }

In Christian Palestinian the phrase **הַלֵּין דִּנְנָם** 'of the kind (γένος) of these' is used as an adjective in this sense; it seems usually to precede its noun: e. g.,

**הַלֵּין דִּנְנָם** 'such signs.'

### Enough.

'Enough' is expressed in various ways.<sup>2</sup>

In Arabic it is rendered by **بالكفاية** *bi'l-kifâ'iyati* 'in the sufficiency,' e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. under Sentence Qualification below.

<sup>2</sup> In Modern Syriac it is expressed by **ܒܥܣܫܐ** *bassâ* used as an adjective after the noun (cf. Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 159); in Mehri by the verbal expression **እጅጅህድ** 'it is enough' used attributively with the noun (cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 121); in Syriac **ܥܡܡܐ** and **ܥܡܡܐ** (ܥܡܡܐ) mean 'enough', but they do not seem to be used attributively: in Ethiopic the idea may be expressed by a relative clause with the verb **እክለ** : 'akkala 'to suffice'; **መጠን** : *maṭan* 'measure' + genitive also seems sometimes to have this meaning (cf. Dill. *Lex. Aeth.* col. 222); in Amharic the idea is expressed by **የሚበቃ** : *iam-ibaqâ* 'which suffices' used as an adjective (cf. Isenb. *Amh. Dict.* I, 89; II, 75.)

مال بالكفاية *mālu* *bi'l-kifāiati* 'property enough.'

In Hebrew it is expressed by the noun יָ 'sufficiency' in the construct before its noun, tho most of the examples that occur in Biblical Hebrew mean 'enough for,' e. g.,

יָ שֶׁהָ 'enough for one sheep.'

יָ חֵלֶב עֵזִים 'enough goat's milk.'

(To be continued.)

*Comparative Syntax of the Combinations formed by the Noun and its Modifiers in Semitic* (Conclusion). — By FRANK R. BLAKE, Ph. D., Johns Hopkins University.

**Numeral Qualification.**

*Construction of Cardinals.*

The Semitic numerals from 'three' to 'ten' possessed originally the peculiarity that feminine forms were used with masculine nouns, and masculine forms with feminine nouns. This reversed concord is preserved in most of the Semitic languages,<sup>1</sup> but in some either the feminine or the masculine forms have become the prevailing type. In Ethiopic, although the comparatively rare masculine forms are regularly used with feminine nouns, the feminine has become the usual form with all nouns, whatever the gender. In Tigrīña and Amharic these cardinals (including 'two') have only one form, which is in Tigrīña always feminine, in Amharic, feminine from 'two' to 'eight', 'nine' and 'ten' being masculine.<sup>2</sup> In Modern Syriac as spoken in the lowlands, the masculine form has been entirely lost, though the two sets of forms are still preserved in the dialect of Kurdistan. In Modern Palestinian Arabic the feminine forms are giving way to the masculine. In Modern Egyptian Arabic the masculine and feminine forms are used without distinction of gender. In the dialect of Tlemsen there seems to be only one series of forms, which are feminine, except 'one' 'two' and 'nine' which are masculine.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So in Classical Arabic, Mineo-Sabean, Mehri (for exceptions cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 75), Hebrew, (for exceptions cf. Herner, *Synt. der Zahlwörter*, p. 7), Phœnician, Biblical Aramaic, Samaritan, Christian and Jewish Palestinian, Malulan, Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic, and Mandaic; apparently also in Assyrian (cf. below). This peculiarity is not found in Egyptian and Coptic, where the numerals agree in gender with the noun; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 130 f.; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 86—89.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Praet. *Äth. Gr.* p. 126; Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 216; Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 202, 203.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* pp. 150, 151; Bauer, *Pal. Arab.* p. 80; Spitta, *Arab. Vul. Aeg.* pp. 157, 158; Març. *Arab. Tl.* p. 155.

In Arabic the constructions of the cardinals may be divided into four classes.

- a) واحد 'one' is an adjective and follows the rules of position and agreement of other adjectives, e. g.,

رجل واحد *rajulu<sup>n</sup> uâhidu<sup>n</sup>* 'one man.'

اثنان 'two' is also sometimes rarely used as an adjective with the dual, e. g.,

رجلان اثنان *rajulâni 'ithnâni* 'two men,'

but usually the dual alone is sufficient.

- b) The numerals 'three' to 'ten' take the modified noun in the plural; they may stand after it like adjectives, or before it in the construct state. The plural is regularly a broken plural if there is one, and in preference a *pluralis paucitatis*. The numeral agrees with the gender of the singular, and not with the feminine gender of the broken plural. e. g.,

بنون ثلاثة *banûna thalâthatu<sup>n</sup>* 'three sons.'

بنات اربع *banâtu<sup>n</sup> 'arbâ'u<sup>n</sup>* 'four daughters.'

بنين ثلاثة *thalâthatu banîna* 'three sons.'

بنات اربع *'arbâ'u banâti<sup>n</sup>* 'four daughters.'

رجال ثلاثة *thalâthatu rijâlî<sup>n</sup>* 'three men.'

Contrary to the regular rule these numerals are followed by the genitive singular (in poetry sometimes by the genitive plural) of the word for 'hundred,' e. g.,

مائة ثلاث *thalâthu mi'ati<sup>n</sup>* 'three hundred.'

- c) The numbers from 'eleven' to 'ninety-nine' are followed by the noun in the accusative singular, e. g.,

ثلاثون رجلا *thalâthûna rajula<sup>n</sup>* 'thirty men.'

- d) The 'hundreds' and 'thousands' are followed by the genitive singular, e. g.,

اربعة مائة رجل *'arbâ'u mi'ati rajuli<sup>n</sup>* 'four hundred men.'

الف رجل *'alfu rajuli<sup>n</sup>* 'a thousand men.'

In compound numerals the construction of the modified noun is that demanded by the preceding adjacent numeral; the noun, however, may be repeated with each numeral. The intermediate numbers above 'one hundred' may stand after the noun like the numerals from 'three' to 'ten.' e. g.,

اربعة آلاف وسبع مائة واحدى واربعون سنة *'arbâ'atu âlâfi<sup>n</sup> uâ-sab'u mi'ati<sup>n</sup> uâ-'ihdâ uâ-'arba'ûna sanata<sup>n</sup>* '4741 years.'

ثلاثة آلاف وثلاثمائة واربع سنين *thalâthatu 'âlâfi<sup>n</sup> uâ-thalâthu-mi'ati<sup>n</sup> uâ-'arba'u sinîna* '3304 years.'

الفا الف دينار ومائة الف دينار واربعة واربعون الف دينار  
 'alfâ 'alfi dînâri" ya-mi'atu 'alfi dînâri"  
 ya-'arba'atu" ya-'arba'ûna 'alfa dînâri" ya-thamânûna  
 dînâra" '2,144,080 dinars.'

سمك كبير مائة وثلاثة وخمسون samaku" kabîru" mi'atu"  
 ya-thalâthatu" ya-hamsûna 'large fishes, a hundred and  
 fifty-three.'

In rare instances we find an accusative plural for a genitive after the numerals 'three' to 'ten'; an accusative plural for an accusative singular after the numerals 'eleven' to 'ninety-nine'; an accusative singular or genitive plural after the 'hundreds' and 'thousands:' e. g.,

خمسۃ اثوابا ḥamsatu" 'athuāba" 'five pieces of cloth.'  
 اثنتى عشرة اسباطا ithnatai" 'aṣrata 'asbāṭa" 'twelve  
 tribes.'

مائتين عاما mi'ataini (acc.) 'āma" 'two hundred years.'  
 ثلاث مائة سنين thalâtha (acc.) mi'ati sinîna 'three  
 hundred years.'

In Modern Arabic the constructions of the numerals are the same as in the Classical language except in the following cases.

When the numeral 'two' is employed with a noun the latter regularly stands in the plural, rarely in the dual, e. g.,

Eg. Arab. اثنین اولاد êtnên âlâd 'two children.'

اثنین بیوت êtnên biyût 'two houses.'

With the numerals from 2—10 the singular is sometimes found, e. g.,

Eg. Arab. ثلاثۃ قرش telâte qirṣ 'three piastres.'

اربعة جنيه arba'a ginêh 'four pounds.'

Any numeral may be placed after the noun in apposition, when the meaning is definite, the noun in this case standing in the plural. For examples cf. p. 212 below.

In Mineo-Sabean the numerals seem regularly to precede their noun. After 'two' the noun seems to stand in the dual; after the numbers from 3—100 (exclusive), in either singular or plural; after '100,' in the singular: the noun has in many cases the indefinite -m affixed. The numeral is probably sometimes in the construct, certainly so in the case of the forms of the 'tens' other than 'twenty' in ى-. e. g.,

احد ثور ḥd thur 'one bull.'

ثنیٰ معینى thni mîlini (du.) 'two watch posts.'



ثنئى نمرن *thni nmrn* (du.) 'two panthers.'  
 شلت احدى *šlth 'hl* (pl.) 'three ornaments.'  
 شلتا الاحم *šlth 'šbh-m* (pl.) 'three offerings.'  
 اربعة خسف *'rb't hsf* (sg.?) four *hasf*'s (a measure).'  
 خمسة الفم *hmst 'lf-m* (sg.) 'four thousands.'  
 سبع عشر امه *sb' 'sr 'mh* (pl.) 'seventeen cubits.'  
 اربعة عشر امم *'rb't 'sr 'm-m* (sg.) 'fourteen cubits.'  
 عشري الفم *'sr' 'lf-m* (pl.) 'twenty thousands.'  
 اربعى الفم *'rb' 'lf-m* (sg.) 'forty thousands.'  
 عشري ومائة اسدم *'sr' u-m't 'sd-m* (sg.) 'one hundred and twenty soldiers.'  
 مائتن اسدم *m'tn 'sd-m* 'two hundred soldiers.'

In Mehri the numerals from 'two' to 'ten' stand before the noun, which is regularly in the plural, tho the singular also occurs. The numerals from 'eleven' up take the noun after them in the singular. e. g.,

ربوت ايايتن (m. sg. *aiiâ*) 'four baskets.'  
 هوبا ايايتن (f. sg. *aiñ*) 'seven eyes.'  
 arba' šama' (sg.) 'four candles.'  
 temantâšar haiḡbât 'eighteen female-camels.'  
 asrîn qarš 'twenty dollars.'

The numeral 'two', however, ordinarily stands after the dual in -i, e. g.,

qaršî tru 'two dollars.'  
 jûnîti trît 'two sacks.'

In Hebrew 'one' is an adjective, e. g.,

איש אחד 'one man.'  
 אשה אחת 'one woman.'

'Two' has been attracted to the construction of the numerals 'three' to 'ten' without, however, conforming to the reversed concord of gender. The numbers 'two' to 'ten' regularly take the object numbered in the plural;¹ they may stand either before or after it as adjectives, or before it in the construct. e. g.,

שְׁנֵי אַנָּשִׁים	}	'two men.'
שְׁנַיִם אַנָּשִׁים		
אַנָּשִׁים שְׁנַיִם		
שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים	}	'two women.'
שְׁתַּיִם נָשִׁים		
נָשִׁים שְׁתַּיִם		

¹ For the few cases in which the noun stands in the singular, cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 454 (§ 134 e).

שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים	'three days.'
שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים	'three sons.'
שְׁלֹשׁ עָרִים	'three cities.'
בָּנוֹת שְׁלֹשׁ	'three daughters.'

The numbers<sup>1</sup> from 'eleven' to 'nine-teen' usually take the plural, except with certain frequently counted nouns;<sup>2</sup> the numeral regularly precedes, but sometimes also follows, especially in later texts: e. g.,

אֶחָד עָשָׂר בָּנִים	'eleven sons.'
שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר פָּרִים	'twelve bullocks.'
אֵילִם שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר	'twelve rams' (Nu. 7, 87).
אֶחָד עָשָׂר יוֹם	'eleven days.'

The 'tens' may stand before or after the noun, which is regularly plural except in the case of certain frequently counted nouns<sup>3</sup> after the numeral, e. g.,

אַרְבָּעִים עָרִים	'forty cities.'
אַמּוֹת עָשָׂרִים	'twenty cubits.'
אֵילִם שְׁשִׁים	'sixty rams.'
שְׁלֹשִׁים אִישׁ	'thirty men.'

Numbers intermediate between the 'tens' take the noun after them in the singular, even when the unit immediately precedes the noun, or before them in the plural, e. g.,

שְׁנַיִם וְשָׁשִׁים שָׁנָה	'sixty two years' (Gen. 5, 20).
שְׁלֹשִׁים וְשָׁמֹנֶה שָׁנָה	'thirty-eight years' (Deut. 2, 14).
שִׁבְעִים וְשָׁנַיִם שָׁבָעִים	'sixty-two weeks' (Dan. 9, 26).

The various forms of the numerals 'hundred' and 'thousand' take the noun after them,<sup>4</sup> sometimes in the singular,<sup>5</sup> sometimes in the plural; all forms may stand in the absolute state,

<sup>1</sup> For the use of singular and plural with the numbers above 'ten' cf. *Hern. Syn. Zahlw.* p. 90 ff.

<sup>2</sup> These are יוֹם *day*, שָׁנָה *year*, אִישׁ *man*, נֶפֶשׁ *person*, שִׁבְטָם *tribe*, מַצֵּבָה *pillar*, and less regularly in the singular, אַמָּה *cubit*, חֹדֶשׁ *month*, עִיר *city*, שֶׁקֶל *shekel*.

<sup>3</sup> These nouns are in most cases the same as those mentioned in the case of the 'teens,' viz., אִישׁ, יוֹם, נֶפֶשׁ, שֶׁקֶל, and אֶלֶף *thousand*, כֹּד (a certain measure).

<sup>4</sup> The noun, however, sometimes precedes as, e. g., צֹאן שְׁלֹשָׁת־אֶלְפִים '3000 sheep' (I Sam. 25, 2).

<sup>5</sup> The nouns which stand in the singular are in general the same as those which are placed in the singular with the 'teens' and 'the tens,' viz., אִישׁ, אֶלֶף, אַמָּה, יוֹם, שָׁנָה, כֹּד, שֶׁקֶל, and רִגְלִי *foot soldier*, עֶקֶר *yoke*, כֶּתֶם *talent*; cf. *Ges. Heb. Gr.* p. 454 (§ 134 g).

and some forms of both 'hundred' and 'thousand' may stand in the construct:<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

מֵאָה שָׁנָה	}	'a hundred years.'
מֵאָת שָׁנָה		
אַלְפֵי אִישׁ		'a thousand men.'
שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת אִישׁ		'six hundred men.'
מֵאָתִים לֶחֶם		'two hundred (loaves of) bread.'
מֵאָה צִמּוּקִים		'a hundred bunches of raisins.'
שְׁלֹשׁ-מֵאוֹת שׁוּעָלִים		'three hundred foxes.'
אַלְפֵי עֲזִים		'a thousand goats.'
שֵׁשֶׁת אֲלָפִים זָמְלִים		'six thousand camels.'

Numerals intermediate between the 'hundreds' and 'thousands,' when they follow the noun take it in the plural, when they precede the noun, it takes the form required by the immediately preceding numeral, e. g.,

יָמִים אַלְפֵי מֵאָתִים וְתִשְׁעִים '1290 days.'

שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת וְשִׁשִּׁים וְשָׁשׁ כִּכָּרֵי זָהָב '666 talents of gold.'

In the compound numerals made by addition, excepting the 'teens' the noun is often repeated with each numeral in the required form, as in Arabic, e. g.,

חֲמִשָּׁה שָׁנִים וְשִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה '75 years.'

מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְשִׁבְעֵי שָׁנִים '127 years.'

In Phœnician the noun modified by the numeral usually stands before it in the plural, tho some cases occur in which it is found after it in the singular, e. g.,

שְׁעֶנֶת עֶשֶׂר וָאַרְבַּע (pl.) 'fourteen years.'

לָמִים מֵאָת (pl.) 'one hundred pounds.'

שִׁשִּׁים שָׁנִים (sg.) 'sixty years.'

In Jewish Palestinian and Samaritan 'one' is an adjective and follows the noun. The numerals 2—10 rarely stand before the noun in the construct, usually before or after the noun in apposition;<sup>2</sup> the noun stands in the plural. In Pal-

<sup>1</sup> The forms that may stand in the construct are the singular of 'hundred' and the plural of 'thousand,' viz., מֵאָת and אֲלָפִי: the form of the singular of 'thousand,' viz., אֲלָף is indecisive, it may be either absolute or construct; probably one form was meant in some cases and the other in other cases. The other forms are always in the absolute, viz., מֵאוֹת, מֵאָתִים, אֲלָפִים. The form אֲלָפִי, however, is not used as a regular numeral, but only in the indefinite sense of 'thousands.'

<sup>2</sup> This statement is made by Winer, *Gram. Chal.*, but all his examples in which the numeral follows are taken from Biblical Aramaic, cf. p. 111.

estinian the higher numerals stand before the plural of the noun, tho they may be placed after in lists. In Samaritan the higher numerals stand before the noun, which is plural except in the case of certain nouns (about the same as those which stand in the singular with the 'teens' in Hebrew).<sup>1</sup> In Samaritan the 'hundreds' and 'thousands' take the singular. e. g.,

Jew. Pal. שבעה יומין 'seven days.'

חמשת עשר בנים 'fifteen sons.'

ארבעין סמכין 'forty sockets.'

עזי מאתן ותישיא עשרין ודברי עשרין '200 she-goats, 20 he-goats, and 20 rams' (Gen. 32, 14).

Sam. שבעה יומין 'seven days.'

עשר שנים 'ten years.'

תורין תורין 'two bulls.'

תרי ברין 'two sons.'

תריעסר איש 'twelve men.'

שבעים תמרים 'seventy palm trees.'

ארבע מואן נבר 'four hundred men.'

In Biblical Aramaic 'one' is an adjective and follows the noun, which stands in the singular,<sup>2</sup> e. g.,

שְׁמֵר חֶדֶד 'one side.'

The numerals from 'three' to 'ten' take the noun in the plural, except, as in Arabic, in the case of מֵאָה 'hundred;' as in Arabic and Hebrew they may stand before or after the noun, before it usually in the construct state: e. g.,

שִׁבְעַת יַעֲמֵהוּ 'his seven councillors.'

אַרְבַּע רוּחֵי שָׁמַיָא 'the four winds of heaven.'

גְּבָרִין תְּלָתָה 'three men.'

אַרְבַּע מֵאָה 'four hundred.'

עֲשָׂרָה מְלָכִין 'ten kings.'

The higher numerals also take the noun in the plural, but stand without exception as adjectives after the noun, e. g.,

יָרֵחַיִן תְּרֵי עָשָׂר 'twelve months.'

יוֹמֵיִן תְּלָתִין 'thirty days.'

אַחַשְׁדָּרְפָּנַיָא מֵאָה וְעֶשְׂרִין 'a hundred and twenty princes.'

The numerals are regularly used as adjectives in Syriac, Mandaic, Modern Syriac, and Malulan. In Syriac and Mandaic the numeral stands either before or after the noun, preposition being more common; in Modern Syriac and Malulan (apparently)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 205, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> There are no examples of 'two' modifying a noun.

it always precedes. Except with 'one' the noun stands generally speaking in the plural; in Mandaic, however, some instances of the singular are found, and in Malulan the singular is perhaps as common as the plural. In Malulan the original absolute form of the noun seems to be regularly used; in Syriac the absolute state is often found, but the emphatic is just as common; in Mandaic, the emphatic state is the usual form: in Modern Syriac it is the only form used. e. g.,

Syr.  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܬܡܢܬܥܫܪ ܡܠܟܐ}$  } 'eighteen kings.'

Man.  $\text{ܬܪܝܢ ܡܠܐܬܝܬܐ}$  'the two angels.'

$\text{ܫܬܝܬܝܢ ܘܫܒܬܐ ܒܢܐܬܐ}$  '67 daughters.'

$\text{ܫܒܬܐ ܕܡܝ}$  'seven figures.'

Mal.  $\text{ṯlōtā gabrūn}$  'three men.'

$\text{ṯlōtā yūm}$  'three days.'

Mod. Syr.  $\text{ܐܡܬܐ ܐܡܬܐ ܐܡܬܐ}$  'imā 'nāšā 'a hundred people.'

After compound numbers ending with 'one' in Syriac and Mandaic the singular may be used as well as the plural; e. g.,

Syr.  $\text{ܥܫܪܝܢ ܘܚܕ ܝܘܡ (ܝܘܡܐ) ܡܫܬܬܝܬܐ ܫܡܪ (ܫܡܪܐ)}$  'twenty-one days.'

Man.  $\text{ܫܬܝܬܝܢ ܘܚܕܐ ܫܬܐ (ܫܬܐܬܐ)}$  'in seventy-one years.'

The numeral 'thousand' is regularly followed in Mandaic by a genitive construction; in Syriac also it sometimes takes its noun after  $\text{ܕܝܠܐ}$  e. g.,

Man.  $\text{ܐܠܦܐ ܕܫܢܝܐ}$  } 'a thousand years.'

$\text{ܐܠܝܦ ܫܢܝܐ}$  }

Syr.  $\text{ܫܬܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܕܫܢܝܐ ܐܠܦܐ ܐܠܦܐ}$  'six thousand years'.

In Syriac the construct of the numeral is preserved in a few standing expressions, e. g.,

$\text{ܥܫܪܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ}$  'the ten cities, Dekapolis.'

$\text{ܐܪܒܥܬ ܕܪܝܚܐ ܐܪܒܥܬ ܕܪܝܚܐ}$  'the four winds.'

In the languages of the Abyssinian group also the adjectival construction has become the regular one. It is the only construction in Amharic and Tigrīna, and the usual one in Ethiopic. The numeral regularly precedes the noun in all three languages. The reversed concord of gender, as we have seen, has been given up, except in comparatively rare instances in Ethiopic. With the numerals from 'two' upwards the rules for the concord of number are as follows. In Ethiopic

<sup>1</sup> According to Maclean, in Modern Syriac  $\text{ܐܪܒܐ ܕܪܝܒܐ}$  '10,000', and sometimes  $\text{ܐܪܒܐ}$  take  $\text{ܕܝܠܐ}$  before their noun, cf. *Vern. Syr.* p. 67.

the noun stands most frequently in the singular tho the plural may also be used; in Tigrîna either singular or plural may be used without distinction; Amharic follows in general the rule of Tigrîna, but with the numerals from 'hundred' upwards the singular is more common, and with the lower numerals, living beings stand somewhat more frequently in the plural, things somewhat more frequently in the singular.  
e. g.,

Eth. **ዐሣርቱ፡ወሠለስቱ፡አህጉር፡** 'asartû ūa-salastû 'ahgûr  
'thirteen cities.'

**ምእተ፡አባፃዕ፡** mē'ēt 'abāgē '100 sheep.'

**ስድስቱ፡ምእተ፡ብእሲ፡** sēdēstû mē'ēt bē'ēsî '600 men.'

**እልፍ፡ብእሲ፡** 'ēlf bē'ēsî '1000 men.'

**ሠላስ፡አህጉር፡** salâs 'ahgûr 'three cities.'

Amh. **ሁለት፡ዓይን፡** hūlat 'āḥn 'two eyes.'

**ሁለት፡ሰዶፍች፡** hūlat saifōč 'two swords.'

**ሶስት፡ሴትች፡** sōst sētōč 'three women.'

**መቶ፡ልጅ፡** matō lēj 'a hundred boys.'

Ta. **ኃምሽቱ፡ቦቋል፡** ḥāmēštê bôquâl 'five sparrows.'

" **አዐጥፍ፡** ḥāmēštê 'āyāf 'five birds.'

In Ethiopic and Amharic the numeral may stand after the noun in the enumeration of chapters, &c., e. g.,

Eth. **በዓመት፡፮፡** ba-āmat 500 'in the year five hundred.'

Amh. **ምዕራፍ፡አንድ፡** mē'râf 'and 'chapter one.'

Some relics of the ancient construction with numeral as nomen regens of a construct chain are found in Ethiopic in the case of those numerals which are without the suffix ū, e. g.,

**ኀምስት፡ዕደው፡** ḥamēsta 'ēday 'five men.'

**ሰቡዕ፡ዕለት፡** sabū'a 'ēlat 'seven days.'

In Assyrian *ēdu* may precede or follow its noun, *istên* regularly precedes; 'two' takes the plural: e. g.,

*ēdu amēlu* 'one man.'

*edlu ēdu* 'one hero.'

*ina istên ūmi* 'in one day.'

*šinâ ūmê* 'two days.'

The constructions of the other numerals are not entirely clear, as they are usually not written out, but the following points seem to be certain.

- a) The numerals may stand in the construct or as an adjective before a following plural, the reversed concord of gender being apparently observed, e. g.,

*ana irbitti šârê* 'to the four winds.'

*irbit naçmade* 'team of four.'

*šelalti ûmê* 'three days.'

- b) The numerals may follow the noun in the plural, the relation being apparently either adjectival or that of a construct chain; the reversed concord of gender is apparently not always observed: e. g.,

<i>kibrât irbitti<sup>m</sup></i>	}	'the four regions.'
<i>kibrâti</i> "		
<i>kibrât arba'i</i>		
<i>kibrâti<sup>m</sup> arba'i<sup>m</sup></i> (genitive)		

- c) The higher numerals seem to take the noun in the singular, e. g.,

*10,000 qaštu* '10,000 bows.'

In parent Semitic,<sup>1</sup> therefore, the cardinals had in all probability the following constructions.

The first two were originally adjectives as is shown by their regular concord of gender. The remaining numerals might stand before the noun, governing it in a dependent case, or they might stand, before it or after it as an appositive or adjective.

The plural was probably always used whenever the noun preceded the numerals 'three' and upwards, or when it stood after them in the partitive genitive. The singular of the noun seems to have been used when the numeral governed the noun in the accusative, indicating that with respect to which the enumeration was made. Parent Semitic may have possessed a living dual like Arabic, in which case 'two' was probably not employed as a nominal modifier; but it is more

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<sup>1</sup> In Old Egyptian the cardinal ordinarily stands after the noun, which is usually in the plural; in the Pyramid texts the cardinal may stand in apposition before the noun; in New Egyptian the cardinal usually stands before the noun, to which it is joined by the genitive *n*: similarly in Coptic; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 130; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 88, 89. In Coptic the noun stands usually in the singular, as a special plural form is ordinarily not made, cf. Steind. *op. cit.* pp. 68—72.

In Indo-European the usual position of the numeral was before the noun (cf. p. 158, n. 2). Originally the numerals from 1—19 had the construction of adjectives, those from 20 up the construction of substantives; the adjectival construction gains on the substantive construction in the development of the individual languages; cf. Delbrück, *Verg. Syn.* I. pp. 521—535, espec. 522.

likely that originally 'two of anything' was indicated by the numeral adjective following a noun in the plural.

In general the lower numbers seem to have preferred a plural noun, the higher numbers, a singular noun.

The original status of the numerals has been best preserved in Arabic and Hebrew, and many traces of it are found in the other languages, but in the Aramaic and Ethiopic branches the numerals have passed over more or less completely to an adjectival construction. The common use of the genitive singular after the higher numbers, and the rare use of an accusative plural after certain numbers which we find in Arabic, are probably due to the mixing of the original constructions with genitive plural and accusative singular.

### *Determination of Cardinals.*

The combination of noun and cardinal is made definite in those languages which distinguish between the definite and indefinite states of a noun, by the use of the definite article.

In Classical Arabic when the article is applied to the 'teens' it is used ordinarily only with the unit, tho it may stand with both; when it is applied to the numbers intermediate between the 'tens' it stands with both parts; when it is applied to multiples of 'hundred', it stands before the unit: in Egyptian Arabic it is used only once with the first part of a compound numeral: e. g.,

Cl.  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{الثلاثة عشر } ath\text{-}thalâthata \text{ 'ašara} \\ \text{الثلاثة العشر } ath\text{-}thalâthata \text{ 'l-'ašara} \end{array} \right\} \text{ 'the thirteen.'}$   
 السبعة والسبعون *as-sab'atu ūa-'s-sab'ūna* 'the seventy-seven.'

الثلاثمائة *ath-thalâthu-mi'ati* 'the three hundred.'

Eg. *الخامسة عشر el-ḥamastâšar* 'the fifteen.'

*الواحد وعشرين el-ūāḥid ūe-'ašrīn* 'the twenty-one.'

In Classical Arabic when the relation between the two is adjectival, both take the article, e. g.,

*الرجل الواحد ar-rajulu al-ūāḥidu* 'the one man.'

*الرجال الخمسة ar-rijālu al-ḥamsatu* 'the five men.'

When the two are joined in a construct chain, the article stands usually only with the *nomen rectum*, tho cases occur in which it stands before the *regens*, in which case the combination has become practically a compound,<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> cf. Reck. *Syn. Verh.* p. 284.



الرجال خمسة *ḥamsatu 'r-rijāli* 'the five men.'

الرجال ألف *'alfu 'r-rijāli* 'the thousand men.'

الثلاث ساعات *ath-thalāthu-sā'āti* 'the three hours.'

When the noun follows the numeral in the accusative, the article is used only with the numeral, e. g.,

التسعون رجلا *'at-tis'ūna rajula* 'the ninety men.'

السبعة والسبعون جملا *'as-sab'atu ḡa-'s-sab'ūna jamala* 'the seventy-seven camels.'

الثلاثة عشر جملا *'ath-thalāthatu 'ašara jamala* 'the thirteen camels.'

In Modern Arabic when the numeral precedes it alone takes the article; when the noun comes first the article is used with both; the first construction is the usual one: e. g.,

Eg. Arab. الكراسي العشرة *el-kerâsi el-'ašara* 'the ten chairs.'

البيوت الثلاثة وعشرين *el-bi'ût et-telâte ḡe-'ašrîn* 'the thirty-three houses.'

القروش الخمسين *el-qurûṣ el-ḥamsîn* 'the fifty piastres.'

الثمانية فضة *et-tamânîje faḍḍa* 'the eight piastres.'

الخمس وعشرين حمار *el-ḥamsa ḡe-'ašrîn ḥumâr* 'the twenty-five asses.'

الأربعين صندوق *el-'arba'in ṣandûq* 'the forty chests.'

الألف دينار *el-'alfe dînâr* 'the thousand dinars.'

In Mineo-Sabean the definite *-n* seems to be used sometimes with the noun alone, sometimes with both noun and numeral, e. g.,

أربع امن *'rb 'm-n* 'the four cubits.'<sup>1</sup>

أربعتن وعشرنهن اصلمن *'rbt-n ḡ-'šrn-hn 'çlm-n* 'the four and twenty images.'

In Hebrew the article is regularly used only with the noun, whatever the construction, e. g.,

חמשת האנשים 'the five men' (Jud. 18, 7).

ארבעים היום 'the forty days.'

שלושה בני הענק 'the three sons of Anak.'

המזנות עשר 'the ten shrines.'

The first cardinal usually takes the construction of a

<sup>1</sup> This expression is translated simply 'four cubits' by Hommel, but the *n* of امن seems to be the definite article.

descriptive adjective, tho in a number of cases it stands without article like the other cardinals,<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

הַיָּם הָאֶחָד 'the one sea.'

הַכֶּבֶשׂ אֶחָד 'the one lamb.'

In Jewish Palestinian the definite state of the noun may be employed with the numeral, e. g.,

תְּרִין נְהוֹרִיָּא 'the two rivers.'

In Amharic, as with the descriptive adjective, the cardinal alone takes the definite article; in the case of numerals compounded by multiplication the definite article stands only with the first. The accusative —ን is used according to the rule for descriptive adjectives (cf. p. 166 f.). e. g.,

ሰባቱ : ከዋክብት : *sabât-û kayâkēbt* 'the seven stars.'

አስራ : ሁለቱ : ወጋደር : *asrâ hûlat-û yatâdar* 'the twelvesoldiers.'

አራቱ : መቶ : ሰዎች : *arât-û matô sayôôč* 'the four hundred men.'

ሁለቱን : ገሣፂች : *hûlat-û-n gazâôčč* (acc.) 'the two blasphemers.'

In Syriac and Ethiopic and apparently also in Assyrian the determination may be expressed by adding the suffix of the third person to the numeral. In Syriac the suffix is plural and agrees in gender with the noun; in Ethiopic the suffix may stand in the plural agreeing in gender with the noun, or in the masculine singular.<sup>2</sup> e. g.,

Syr. *ܬܠܬܐ ܢܗܪܝܢ ܕܗܝܠܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ* 'these three views.'

*ܬܠܬ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ* 'the two worlds.'

*ܬܠܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ* 'the five kings.'

Eth. *ሳለስቲህሙ : ዐደሙ : šalastî-hômû 'ēday* 'the three men.'

*ክልሊሆኑ : አደሁ : kēlē'ê-hôn 'ēdayî-hû* 'his two hands.'

*ሰባቲሁ : ሰማያት : sab'atî-hû samâjât* 'the seven heavens.'

*ተስፋቲሁ : ሕዝብ : tas'âtî-hû hēzb* 'the nine tribes.'

Ass. *sibitti-šunu ilâni limnûti* 'the seven evil spirits.'

This construction is found also in Biblical Aramaic in one passage, viz.,

וְגִבְרִיָּא אֵלֶּךָ תְּלַתְהוֹן 'these three men' (Dan. 3, 23).

Many of the Aramaic dialects have developed a special form of the numeral to indicate the determination;<sup>3</sup> so in

<sup>1</sup> cf. Hern. *Syn. Zahlw.* pp. 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> The numerals above 'two' take an *î* before the suffixes just like a plural noun.

<sup>3</sup> For these determinate forms cf. Nöld. *Chr. Pal.* p. 483 f.; Dalm. *Jüd. Pal.* p. 129; Uhlem. *Inst. Sam.* p. 133 f.; Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 190; Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 154 f.

Christian and Jewish Palestinian, Modern Syriac, and to some extent also in Samaritan; in Mandaic, only the numeral 'two' has such a form. In Western Aramaic the modified noun has the definite form. e. g.,

Mod. Syr. **ܬܝܪܘܬܝܝܢ ܝܝܡܝܢ** *tirūṭāi iṣmānē* 'the two days, both days.'  
**ܕܬܪܬܝܢ ܕܬܠܬܝܢ ܕܬܠܬܝܢ ܕܬܠܬܝܢ** *'arba'ntāi kâlâtê* 'the four daughters  
 in law.'

Ch. Pal. **ܐܪܒܥܬܝ ܪܘܚܝܐ** 'the four winds.'

**ܚܡܝܫܬܐ ܠܚܡܐ** 'the five loaves.'

Sam. **ܫܒܥܬܝ ܡܕܒܚܝܐ** 'the seven altars.'

**ܥܫܪܬܝ ܡܠܝܐ** 'the ten commandments.'

### Ordinals.

Special forms for the ordinals usually occur only for the first ten numerals, in Modern Syriac only for the first two.<sup>1</sup> They are treated in general like ordinary adjectives in all the languages;<sup>2</sup> in Assyrian they may stand either before or after the noun, and in the Abyssinian languages they regularly precede. In those languages which distinguish between the definite and indefinite state of nouns, the noun modified by the ordinal is regularly treated as definite. e. g.,

Ass. **ܝܢܐ ܫܢܝܬܝ ܫܢܝܬܝ** 'the second time.'

**ܝܢܐ ܫܠܫܝ ܝܡܝ** 'on the third day.'

Arab. **البيت الاول** *al-baitu al-awwalu* 'the first house.'

**المرأة الاولى** *al-mar'atu al-'ulâ* 'the first woman.'

Meh. **ܓܝܝܐܢ ܫܠܝܬ** *gaiên sôlit* 'the third boy.'

Heb. **היום השלישי** 'the third day.'

Eth. **በሥላሴ ሰዓት** *ba-šälēst 'ēlat* 'on the third day.'

Amh. **በሥላሴ ዓመት** *bârâtāñâ-y 'âmat* 'in the fourth year.'

Ta. **ሰዓት ሩባላ** *'ašartê sēât* 'the tenth hour.'

Bib. Aram. **הייתה רביעית** 'the fourth beast.'

<sup>1</sup> In Assyrian, Ethiopic, Amharic, Arabic, Jewish Palestinian, Syriac, and Mandaic ordinals occur for some of the numbers above 'ten', cf. Del. Ass. Gr. p. 213; Dill-Bez. *Āth. Gr.* p. 328; Praet. *Āth. Gr.* p. 131; Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 205, 206; Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I. pp. 261, 262; Dalm. Jew. Pal. pp. 131, 132; Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* p. 95 (§ 153); Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> In Egyptian and Coptic the ordinals may stand either before or after the noun; in Coptic the two are joined by the genitive sign *n*; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 131; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 90.

Sam. בר חמישא 'the fifth son.'

ביומה תליתאה 'on the third day.'

Syr. יֻמָּא הַרְיֵנָא שְׁמַלְא 'the second day.'

Mod. Syr. سَامَا قَامَا *sâmâ qâmâ* 'the first part.'

In Modern Arabic, the masculine form of the ordinals may be followed by the genitive of their noun. In Classical Arabic اول 'first' has the same construction.<sup>1</sup> No article is used with the combination in Classical Arabic, and usually none in the Modern language. In Egyptian Arabic when the article is employed it stands before the ordinal, the whole combination being treated as one idea.<sup>2</sup> e. g.,

Cl. اول بيت *awwalu baiti* 'the first house.'

Eg. اول مرة *awwal marra* 'the first time.'

ثاني نابه *tânî nôba* 'the second time.'

ثالث يوم *tâlît îôm* 'the third day.'

الثالث يوم *et-tâlît îôm* 'the third day.'

Sometimes in those languages which possess a special definite form of the noun, the article may be omitted either wholly or partly. So in Hebrew with the noun or with both noun and ordinal:<sup>3</sup> in Amharic with the ordinal; in Amharic the ordinal in this case stands very frequently after the noun. This omission is especially frequent in the enumeration of days, chapters, or the like. e. g.,

Heb. יום שני 'day second' (Gen. 1, 8).

יום הששי 'day the sixth' (Gen. 1, 31).

Amh. በሶስተኛ ቀን *ba-sôstanâ qan* 'on the third day.'

መጽሐፍ ዘጠነኛ *mě'râf zaṭanañâ* 'chapter ninth.'

The cardinals are frequently used for the ordinals, not only when the corresponding ordinal does not exist, but also often when the corresponding ordinal is in use. The cardinal may be used as an adjective, or it may stand in the genitive.

The first construction is found in Arabic, the Abyssinian languages, Hebrew, Jewish Palestinian, Samaritan, and Mandæic. In Arabic the cardinal follows the noun; in Ethiopic and Hebrew it may precede or follow; in Samaritan the noun usually follows either in the absolute or the emphatic state;

<sup>1</sup> In Coptic likewise the first ordinal may stand in the construct before its noun; cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> To be contrasted with this is the Amharic construction of the ordinal 'first' as genitive to its noun (cf. p. 217).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 428 (§ 126 w).

in Amharic, Tigrîna, and Mandaic the cardinal regularly precedes. The noun is usually in the singular, but in Mandaic and in a few cases in Amharic the plural is used. In Arabic the cardinal takes the article like an ordinal; in Hebrew the article appears to be used with the cardinal after the noun.<sup>1</sup>  
e. g.,

- Arab. البيت العشرون *al-baitu 'l-'iṣrûna* 'the 20<sup>th</sup> house.'
- Eg. Arab. البيت الخمسة عشر *el-bêt el-ḥamastâšar* 'the 15<sup>th</sup> house.'
- Eth. በጾእት : ወዐሣርቱ : ጸመት : *ba-mē'ēt ya-'ašartû 'âmat* 'in the 110<sup>th</sup> year.'
- በጸመት : ዐሣርቱ : ጾእት : *ba-'âmat 'ašartû mē'ēt* 'in the year 1000.'
- Heb. בַּשְּׁבַעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם 'on the seventeenth day.'
- בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה 'on the fortieth day.'
- עַד יוֹם הָאֶחָד וְעָשָׂרִים 'on the twenty-first day.'
- Sam. בשבעה עמר יום 'on the seventeenth day.'
- בַּעֲרַבְעִים שָׁנָה 'in the fortieth year.'
- בַּעֲרַבַּע עֶסְרָה שָׁנָה 'in the fourteenth year.'
- Man. ביומא חדא 'on the first day.'<sup>2</sup>
- בארבא יומיה 'on the fourth day.'
- Amh. በሥራ : አንድ : አመት : *bāšrâ 'and 'amat* 'in the eleventh year.'
- በአስራ : ሁለት : ቀን : *ba'asrâ ḥūlat qan* 'on the twelfth day.'
- በ፲፪ : ከ፪፻ : ፰፻ : ዘመናት : *ba-7-šî ka-200, 81 zamanât* (pl.) 'in the 7281<sup>st</sup> year.'
- Ta. በአሣርት : ሓፂ : ስዓት : *bē'ašart ḥâdê sē'ât* 'at the eleventh hour.'

The construction with cardinal in the genitive is found in Arabic, Classical and Modern. Hebrew, Phenician, Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, and Modern Syriac; no article is employed except sometimes in Hebrew: e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ges. Heb. Gr.* p. 456 (§ 134o).

<sup>2</sup> In all the examples given by Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 348 f., except this one, the numeral precedes and the noun has the plural form as in the second example. With this plural is to be compared the plural which is occasionally found in Amharic; cf. last example here and *Praet. Amh. Spr.* p. 329 (top).

Arab. *في سنة الف من الهجرة* *fî sanati 'alfin mina 'l-hijrati*  
'in the year 1000 of the Hejira.'

Eg. Arab. *عربية ثلاثين* *'arabîet telâtîn* 'the 30<sup>th</sup> wagon,  
wagon No. 30.'

Heb.<sup>1</sup> *בשנת שלש* 'in the third year.'  
*שנת השבע* 'the seventh year.'

Ph. *בשנת עשר וארבע* 'in the 14<sup>th</sup> year.'

Bib. Aram. *עד שנת תרמין* 'until the second year.'

Syr. *יֻקְמָא דְתֻרִין* *'umâ de-trâi* 'the second day.'  
*עֲדֻמָּא לְשָׁנָת. אַרְבַּעַמָּא וְעֶקְרִין* *ḥabla ḥamad aḥmadla waḥad*  
'until the 420<sup>th</sup> year.'

Mod. Syr. *يَوْمًا* *'umâ de-trâi* 'the second day.'

In Hebrew in a few passages an ordinal with article is used in the genitive after a noun, the ordinal agreeing with the noun in gender. Here we have a mixing of the regular construction of the ordinal with the construction just described, e. g.,

*בשנת התשיעית* 'in the ninth year' (2 Ki. 17, 6).

Similar, tho not directly allied with this, is the Amharic construction by which the ordinal 'first' is placed in the genitive after its noun (cf. p. 169 above), e. g.,

*ṣā-fūtañā-ū sañ* 'the first man.'

## Nominal Qualification.

### Construct Chain.

The representation of a genitive relation between two nouns by what is called a construct chain is one of the most characteristic and primitive features of Semitic speech.<sup>2</sup> It is found in all the branches of the family but not to the same extent

<sup>1</sup> In expressions in which the cardinals stand in the sense of ordinals after *יום*, e. g., *יום אָהר* Gen. 1, 5; *ביום שְׁמוֹנֶה* 2 Chr. 29, 17, it is not impossible to consider the cardinal a genitive as here: but it is also possible to consider it an adjective as in the preceding case.

<sup>2</sup> The construct chain is found also in Egyptian and Coptic. In Egyptian the relation between the two nouns is not so close as in Semitic, as they may be separated by other words; in Coptic this construction has in most cases given way to the one with genitive sign *ⲛ*: cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 115; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 79, 82, 83, 89, 90. It occurs moreover in Malay and Javanese; cf. A. Seidel, *Prakt. Gram. d. Malayischen Spr.* (Hartleben) p. 19; H. Bohatta, *Prakt. Gram. d. Javanischen Spr.* (Hartleben) p. 32.

in all. It is the regular rule in Arabic, Mineo-Sabean, and Hebrew; in Assyrian, Ethiopic, Amharic, Tigrîna, Tigre, Phœnician, and Aramaic, and in Modern Arabic and Mishnic Hebrew, it is more or less completely replaced by other constructions; in the Eastern Aramaic dialects the use of the construct is more restricted than in the Western, and in Malulan, Modern Syriac, and Amharic it has been practically lost, occurring only in a few standing expressions.<sup>1</sup> The two words of the construct chain form one idea, and cannot be separated by another word except in certain special cases.<sup>2</sup> The first word loses its primary accent, and usually suffers a modification in form. The second word stands logically in the genitive, but it is only in Assyrian and Arabic that it is also genitive in form; in the other languages it is the same as the nominative. In those languages which have developed a determinate form of the noun, this combination is made definite by using the second noun in this form; the first noun can never take the determinate form, except in certain cases in Arabic.<sup>3</sup> In those languages which do not distinguish between definite and indefinite nouns (including the Eastern Aramaic dialects), the combination may be either definite or indefinite. When the combination is definite, both nouns are definite. It is not possible to combine an indefinite *regens* with a definite *rectum*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Parisot, *Dial. Mal.* p. 506; Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 117 ff.; Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 195, 196.

<sup>2</sup> This is almost the only species of nominal compound known to Semitic, tho even here no real compound is formed save in exceptional cases (cf. pp. 211 f., 219, 220; also Phil. *Stat. Con.* pp. 44—54; Del. *Ass. Gr.* p. 202 f.) A second kind of compound is found in Assyrian, and consists of noun + adjective, e. g., *šēp arik* 'long foot (a bird)', *lîbbu rapšu* 'great-hearted.' These compounds are equivalent in meaning to adjective + noun in the genitive, such as *rapša uzni* 'far reaching of mind.' Delitzsch explains the noun before the adjective as an accusative dependent on the adjective, e. g., 'long with respect to foot' (cf. *Ass. Gr.* p. 203), but it is not impossible that these formations may be possessive compounds like the Sanskrit *bahuvrihs*, viz., 'having a long foot,' etc. (cf. W. D. Whitney, *A Sanskrit Grammar* 3rd ed, Leipzig and Boston, 1896, pp. 501—511). With the paucity of nominal compounds in Semitic is to be contrasted the exuberance of such formations in the Indo-European languages, particularly in Sanskrit; cf. Delb. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 200—215, 217—220; Whitney, *op. cit.*, pp. 485—515.

<sup>3</sup> For cases in Hebrew in which the article seems to stand with a construct cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 431, 432 (§ 127 f, g).

or vice versa, these combinations must be effected with the help of the prepositional phrases described below (p. 225 ff.). e. g.,

Ass. *bāb bīti* 'a house-door, the door of the house.'

*bēl ilāni* 'the lord of the gods.'

Arab. بنت ملك *bintu maliki* 'a king's daughter, a princess.'

بنت الملك *bintu 'l-maliki* 'the king's daughter.'

Min. בית מלכן *bīt mik-n* 'the king's house.'

Eth. ወልደ ገዢ *waldā nēgūš* 'a, the king's son.'

Ta. ቃል ለእግዚአብሔር *qāl 'ēgzi'abhēr* 'the word of God.'

Te. ወድ ረቡ *wad rabbī* 'son of God.'

አባል ወሰት *'ab-lā' ualat* 'the father of the girl.'

Heb. בת מלך *'a king's daughter.'*

בת המלך *'the king's daughter.'*

Ph. מלך הארץ *'the king of the land.'*

Bib. Aram. לִבִּי אָדָם *'a man's heart.'*

בית מלכה *'the king's house.'*

Syr. כסף זאפה *'false money.'*

רוח קדש *'the Holy Spirit.'*

When the second noun of the chain is a proper name or a noun with a possessive suffix, the combination is necessarily definite, e. g.,

Heb. בן־דָּוִד *'the son of David, David's son.'*

אלהי אבותי *'the gods of my fathers.'*

The second noun may also be made definite by a following definite genitive, e. g.,

Heb. יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיִּיךָ *'the days of the years of thy life.'*

Arab. على قتل رسول الله *'alā qatli rasūli 'llāhi* 'for killing the apostle of God.'

In Arabic an adjective<sup>2</sup> modifying a definite noun, and hence with article, may stand in the construct before a noun indicating with respect to what, e. g.,

الرجل الحسن الوجه *ar-rajulu 'l-ḥasanu 'l-uajhi* 'the man of the beautiful countenance.'

Here, however, the combination حسن الوجه *ḥasanu 'l-uajhi*

<sup>1</sup> The article *la, lā* is regularly written as one word with the construct, tho of course it belongs to the second noun; cf. Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> Strictly speaking the properties of adjectives and participles do not come under the head of the present discussion, but these points are added here for the sake of completeness.



is treated as if it were a simple adjective, taking the article according to rule after a definite noun.

An Arabic participle<sup>1</sup> followed by a genitive may also take the article, e. g.,

القاتل الناس *al-qâtîlu 'n-nâsi* 'he who kills people.'

This, however, is probably due to a mixture of constructions. A participle may take its object in either genitive or accusative, and before the accusative object, of course, the article is admissible with the participle, viz.,

(a) *qâtîlu 'n-nâsi* (gen.)

(b) *qâtîlu<sup>n</sup> 'n-nâsa* (acc.)

(c) *al-qâtîlu 'n-nâsa* (acc.)

The anomalous construction *al-qâtîlu 'n-nâsi* is due to a confusion of (a) and (c).

In Modern Arabic<sup>2</sup> and Tigre certain construct chains have come to be regarded as one word, and so may take the article before the first element,<sup>3</sup> e. g.,

Eg. Arab. الماورد *el-mâ-ward* 'the rose water.'

Te. ለቤተ : ልቲ : *la-ba'âl-bêt* 'the master of the house.'

Under ordinary circumstances a proper name can not stand as the first member of a construct chain, but in Arabic and Hebrew a genitive is sometimes added to a proper name in order to distinguish between persons, places, etc. with the same name, the proper name becoming, for the time being, common;<sup>4</sup> e. g.,

Arab. ربيع الفرس *rabi'u 'l-farasi* 'Rabia of the horse.'

حيرة النعمان *hîratu 'n-nu'mâna* 'Hira (capital city) of Numan.'

Heb. בֵּית לָחֶם : יְהוּדָה 'Bethlehem in Judah.'

In Ethiopic and Syriac such expressions are regularly rendered by the circumlocution with the relative (cf. pp. 226, 230 f.).

In certain cases the two nouns of the construct chain do not stand in immediate juxtaposition.

In Arabic, Syriac, and Tigrîña certain particles or parenthetical expressions may intervene between them;<sup>5</sup> e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. n. 2 of pag. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also article which compound numerals p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> For apparent cases in Hebrew cf. *Phil. Stat. Con.* p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> In this case Coptic employs the genitive case sign *ente*, cf. p. 151. n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> For cases in which the construct chain is apparently broken in Hebrew cf. *Phil. Stat. Con.* p. 9 f.; *Ges. Heb. Gr.* p. 435 (§ 128 e).

Arab. ان الشاة تسمع صوت والده ربه } 'the sheep hears the  
'inna 'š-šāta tasma'ru ṣawta, } voice, by God, of its  
ya-'llāhi, rabbihi } master.'

Syr. ܒܢܝ ܒܠܐ ܕܒܠܐܝܬܐ ܕܒܠܐܝܬܐ } 'the sons, indeed, of Bala.'  
ܕܒܠܐܝܬܐ ܕܒܠܐܝܬܐ ܕܒܠܐܝܬܐ } 'that they are the sons of  
the righteous.'

Ta. ብሥፍላን : ብኃይል : ኤልያስ : *bē-manfas-ēn bē-hāyil-ēn*  
'ēlējās 'in the spirit and in the power of Elias.'

In Ethiopic certain modifiers of the genitive, particularly the demonstratives and *ከሱ* : may stand between genitive and construct, e. g.,

ከቀደምት : ወ-እቶ : ቤት : *hōhṭa wē'ētū bēt* 'the door of that house.'  
የገሠ : ከላ : ምድር : *nēgūša ku'ellā mēdr* 'the king of the whole  
land.'

When two nouns are modified by the same genitive it is possible to form a construct chain by placing the two nouns in the construct state connected by 'and' and following them with the genitive. In Ethiopic in this case only the second noun has the construct form, the first standing in the absolute: such a construction is, however, comparatively rare, a circumlocution being ordinarily employed. e. g.,

Arab. قطع الله يد ورجل من فعل هذا } 'God cut off the  
*qaṭa'a 'llāhu iada ya-rjla man* } hand and foot of  
*fa'ala hāṣā* } him who did this.'

Eth. ነገድ : ወሐዘን : እስራኤል : } 'the tribes and people of Israel.'  
*nagad ya-hēzba 'ēsrā'el* }

Heb. מִבְּחֹר וּמִבְּטֵר לְבָנוֹן } 'the choicest and best of Lebanon.'

Syr. ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ } 'those who write and read their  
ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܬܐ } own names.'

The circumlocutions which are usually employed to express this combination are of several kinds, viz.:

- a) the genitive may be used with both nouns;
- b) the genitive may be used with the first noun and the second noun take a suffix representing the genitive;
- c) one of the other means of expressing the genitive may be employed (cf. pp. 225—238). e. g.,

a) Eth. ነገድ : እስራኤል : ወሐዘን : እስራኤል : } 'the tribes and  
*nagada 'ēsrā'el ya-hēzba 'ēsrā'el* } people of Israel.'

b) Arab. سيف زيد ورمحه } 'Zaid's sword and spear.'  
*saiḡfu zaiḡdi ya-rumhu-hu* }

Eth. **ገደ : እስራኤል : ወሐዝሱ :** } 'the tribes and people of  
*nagada 'ēsra'ēl uā-hēzb-ū* } Israel.'

Heb. **לְפָנַי וְלִפְנֵי עַבְדִּי** 'to the prayer and supplication  
 of thy servant.' (1 Ki. 8, 28)

When one noun is modified by two genitives, the combination is quite frequently expressed by a construct chain, the modified noun standing in the construct state and the two other nouns following the genitive connected by 'and'; e. g.,

Ass. *ēkal šamē u erṣiti* 'the temple of heaven and earth.'

Arab. **سلطان البر والبحر** *sultānu* } 'Sultan of the land and sea.'  
*'l-barri uā-'l-bahri* }

Heb. **שָׂרֵי הָאֲלָפִים וְהַמֵּאוֹת** 'the captains of thousands and  
 hundreds' (Nu. 31, 54).

Eth. **እምላክ : ሰማይ : ወምድር :** } 'the God of heaven and earth.'  
*'amlāka sāmāi uā-mēdr* }

This combination may also be expressed in several other ways, viz.:

- a) the *nomen regens* may be repeated before each genitive;
- b) the *nomen regens* and the first of the modifying nouns may form a construct chain, and the second stand after a particle indicating the genitive;
- c) the genitive of both nouns may be indicated by such a particle: e. g.,

a) Heb. **יְהוָה וְיְהוָה שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ** 'the God of heaven and earth.'

b) Eth. **መዛንተ : ፀሓይ : ወዘወርሃ :** } 'the treasures of the  
*mazāgēbta dahāi uā-za-uarh* } sun and moon.'

c) Ass. *ilāni ša šamē u erṣiti* 'the gods of heaven and earth.'

Eth. **ዮሱፕ : ዘሉጥ : ወዘአብራም :** } 'the shepherds of Lot  
*nōlōt za-lōt uā-za-'abrām* } and Abraham.'

The plural of the idea expressed by a construct chain is indicated sometimes by pluralizing the construct, sometimes by pluralizing the genitive, and sometimes by pluralizing both, e. g.,

Assyr. *bīt nakamāti* 'treasure houses.'

*abnē nisiqti* 'precious stones.'

Eth. **አራዊት : ምድር :** 'arawūta mēdr 'wild animals (animals  
 of the land).'

**ዐጽመ : ገበዮች :** 'aṣma gabayāt 'ribs (bones of the side).'

**አብያተ : ክርስቲያናት :** 'abiāta krēstīānāt churches (houses  
 of Christians).'

Heb. בְּנֵי יִמִּי 'Benjamites.'

בֵּית אָבוֹת 'families (fathers' houses).'

גִּבּוֹרֵי הַיָּלִים 'heroes of valor.'

Syr. ܩܒܘܪܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܚܝܐ 'graves (houses of burial).'

בְּנֵי קוֹלָא ܡܠ 'words (daughters of the voice).'

When the *nomen regens* of a construct chain is logically modified by a possessive adjective idea, if the possessive suffix is used, it must stand with the *rectum* and not with the *regens*, e. g.,

Arab. كاس فضته *ka'su fidḍati-hi* 'his silver cup.'

Eth. ገዢ ስፋል፡ ክፍሉ *nēyāia haqlē-ka* 'thy field-instrument, weapon.'

Te. ወ-ሳ፡ ደሳለሁ ስፍራ *uēlād darasā-hū* 'his disciples (children of his teaching).'

Heb. הַר קָדְשִׁי 'my holy mountain.'

Jew. Pal. בעלי דבויבון 'your enemies (possessors of enmity).'

Sam. אד ימינה (ה suffix) 'his right hand.'

When the *nomen regens* is modified by a descriptive adjective<sup>1</sup> the adjective stands after the *rectum* in Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic; in Ethiopic it may stand either before the *regens* or after the *rectum*. In Assyrian the adjective either precedes the *regens*, or the circumlocution with *ša* is used. When the construct chain is definite, the adjective has the definite form in those languages which distinguish between definite and indefinite. e. g.

Arab. بنت ملك جميلة *bintu maliki<sup>n</sup> jamīlatu<sup>n</sup>* 'a beautiful princess (king's daughter).'

بيت الملك الواسع *baītu 'l-maliki 'l-uāsī'u* 'the spacious palace (king's house).'

Heb. עֲטָרַת זָהָב גְּדוֹלָה 'a great crown of gold.'

מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל 'the great work of JHVH.'

Bib. Aram. בֵּית אֱלֹהֵא רָבָא 'the great temple.'<sup>2</sup>

Sam. באלפן קשמן רבה 'in the great law of thy truth (thy great and true law).'

<sup>1</sup> In Coptic when the *nomen regens* of a genitive combination is modified by an adjective or another genitive, this additional modifier is added after the genitive sign *ente*, cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Altho this passage, Ezra 5, 8 is usually translated 'the temple of the great God,' [so A. Bertholet, *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemiah* (= Abt. XIX of Marti's *Kurzer Handc. zum AT.*) Tübingen & Leipzig, 1902, p. 21] the similar phrase בֵּית אֱלֹהֵא דָּנָה 'this temple' makes the connection of רבא with בית not unlikely.

Eth. **ፀፀደ፡ፀፀደ፡ወደ፡** 'abîi 'açada yaïn } 'a great  
**ፀፀደ፡ወደ፡ፀፀደ፡** 'açada yaïn 'abîi }  
 vinyard (garden of wine).'

Ass. **rapšâti matâti Nairi** 'the broad lands of Nairi.'

Ambiguïty sometimes arises in this construction from the fact that the adjective may in many cases be referred to either *nomen regens* or *nomen rectum*. In Classical Arabic ordinarily no ambiguity is possible on account of the case endings; in Modern Arabic and the other languages the ambiguity may be prevented by using some circumlocution for the construct chain (cf. pp. 225—238). These circumlocutions are employed even in those languages which have the property of placing the adjective before the construct. e. g.,

Cl. Arab. باب بيت كبير **bâbu baiṭi kabîru** 'a large house-door.'  
**bâbu baiṭi kabîri** 'a door of a large house.'

Eg. Arab. باب البيت الكبير **bâb el-bêt el-kebîr** { 'the large door of the house.'  
 'the door of the large house.'

الباب الكبير بتاع البيت **el-bâb el-kebîr betâ' el-bêt** 'the large door of the house.'

Heb. בן־האיש הטוב { 'the son of the good man.'  
 'the man's good son.'

הבן הטוב אשר לאיש 'the man's good son.'

Ass. **šangû çîru ša Bêl** 'high-priest of Bel.'

**namçaru zaqtu ša epêš taḥâzi** 'the sharp battle-sword.'

Eth. **ፀፀለተ፡ፀፀደ፡እ፡ተ፡ዘ፡ዚ፡** **ba-ēlat 'abâi 'ënta kuēnanê**  
 'on the great day of judgment.'

When the *nomen regens* is modified by a demonstrative, the demonstrative has in general the same position as the adjective, tho in Ethiopic it stands more frequently before the *regens*. The article required by the demonstrative is taken of course by the *rectum*: in Hebrew the demonstrative itself has the article, as it has after a simple definite noun; on the other hand the Samaritan demonstrative is without the prefixed ה which it takes when modifying a simple noun. e. g.,

Arab. بيت الملك هذا **baiṭu 'l-maliki hâḏâ** 'this palace (king's house).'

- Heb. אִישׁ-הַבִּלְעָל הַזֶּה 'this good-for-nothing man (man of no account).'  
 Bib.Aram. בֵּית-אֱלֹהִים 'this temple (house of god).'  
 Sam. מַשְׁרַן אֱלֹהִים 'this camp of God.'  
 Eth. ዝንቲ፡ዐጺዶ፡ወደን፡ zəntü 'açada uaiṇ 'this vinyard.'  
 ወ-ስተ፡ሀገረ፡ኢደቡሉዎን፡ዛቲ፡ uṣta hagara 'iābūsē-  
 ūōn zātî 'in this city of the Jebusites'  
 (or 'the city of the J. here').

### *Prepositional Phrases.*

Case relations between nouns may also be denoted by prepositions, the noun and following prepositional phrase being often equivalent in meaning to a construct chain. These prepositional phrases, in the course of the development of the Semitic languages, have encroached more and more upon the domain of the construct chain,<sup>1</sup> until in some of the modern dialects, viz., Amharic and Modern Syriac, they have driven it entirely from the field.

The principal prepositions that are used in this way are, viz.:

- a) prepositions derived from the relative pronouns;
- b) prepositions derived from nouns meaning property, possession and the like;
- c) prepositions indicating a dative;
- d) prepositions indicating a partitive genitive;
- e) other prepositions, which play a comparatively insignificant role.

These phrases are in many cases the exact equivalent of the genitive in a construct chain. This is true not only of those languages in which the construct chain is obsolete or obsolescent, but also to some extent in those languages in which it exists in full vigor. In these latter languages, however, they are usually employed only when for some reason the construct chain is awkward or inadmissible.

#### (a)

The first class of prepositions is found in Assyrian, Ethiopic, Amharic, Mineo-Sabean, Mehri, Phenician, and Aramaic.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 218, n. 1. In Coptic the genitive sign *n* is employed not only to indicate a genitive but also to connect noun and attributive adjective, cardinal, or ordinal; cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 83, 89, 90. Similarly the so-called ligatures in the Philippine languages are employed both in genitive and adjectival relations; cf. my article *The Tagalog Ligature and Analogies in other Languages* JAOS, vol. 1. c., 1908, pp. 227—231.

In Assyrian the relative *ša* + dependent noun may be employed as follows:

- a) as the exact equivalent of the genitive in a construct chain, with or without suffix on the *nomen regens*, referring to the genitive, e. g.,

*ina çilli ša Uramazda* 'in the protection of Ahuramazda.'

*mutu ša aššati* }  
*muṣṣu ša aššati* } 'the woman's husband.'

*ilāni šūt šamē erciti*, 'the gods of heaven and earth.'

- b) necessarily for the simple genitive when the *nomen regens* is modified by a possessive suffix, following adjective or other modifier, e. g.,

*andulla-šunu ša šalāme* 'their safe protection (protection of safety).'

*šangû çiru ša Bêl* 'high-priest of Bel.'

*šarrāni kalû-šunu ša Nairi* 'all the kings of Nairi.'

- c) for emphasis at the beginning of a sentence with retrospective suffix on the following dependent noun, e. g.,

*ša NN . . . . . abikta-šu aštakan* 'of so and so . . . . I accomplished the defeat.'

*ša<sup>ma</sup> Madaa mandatta-šunu amḥur* 'of Media . . . . I received the tribute.'

In Ethiopic the relative pronoun is usually employed in the masculine form **H**-; the position of the phrase is entirely free, it may stand either before or after the modified noun, and it may be separated from it by other words.

These phrases may be used as the exact equivalent of the genitive in the construct chain, e. g.,

**ወልድ ፡ ከፕፕሥ ፡** *wald za-nəguš* 'the king's son.'

**ዕለት ፡ እገተ ፡ ቱዛ ፡** *ēlat 'ēnta kuēnanē* 'the day of judgment.'

Usually, however, they are employed when for one reason or another the construct chain is ambiguous or impossible, viz.:

- a) after proper names which cannot stand in the construct state, e. g.,

**ቤተ ፡ ልሔም ፡ ዘቦሁ፡** *bēta lēhēm za-īhūdā* 'Bethlehem in Judah.'

- b) after words ending in a long vowel that have no special construct form, and after an accusative, e. g.,

**ጦላሌ : ዘክርዳዶ : ገራህት** : *mēsālē za-kērdāda garāht* 'the parable of the weed of the field.'

**ቀተለ : ሕፃናት : ዘቤተ : ልሑም** : *qatala ḥēdānāta za-bēta lē-hēm* 'he killed the children of Bethlehem.'

- c) when the *nomen regens* is modified by a suffix, or following adjective or other modifier, e. g.,

**ደምዩ : ዘሐዲስ : ሥርዐት** : *damē-ja za-ḥadīs šēr'at* 'my blood of the new covenant.'

**በዐለት : ዐባዶ : ዘጽዃ** : *ba-'ēlat 'abāḥi za-kuēnanē* 'on the great day of judgment.'

**ምሥዋዖ : ለበዓል : ዘእቡክ** : *mēšūā'-ō la-bū'āl za-'abū-ka* 'the Baal-altar of your father.'

- d) to avoid a long succession of construct states, e. g.,

**ኑሰ : ሐቕል : ዘወልድኑ** : *kōla ḥaql za-ualdē-kî* 'thy son's mandrakes.'

- e) when a noun is modified by more than one genitive; in this case the governing noun may stand in the construct before the first dependent noun, and the second may take **H**, or the governing noun may stand in the absolute form, both dependent nouns taking **H**: e. g.,

**ወዘገባት : ፀሐይ : ወዘወርኅ** : *mazāgēbta ḍahaj̄ ūa-za-uarḥ* 'the treasures of the sun and moon.'

**ኖሎት : ዘሉጥ : ወዘአብራም** : *nōlōt za-lōṭ ūa-za-'abrām* 'the herdsmen of Lot and Abram.'

In Amharic the construction with the relative **የ** *ja* has completely replaced the construct chain. In the older texts the position of the phrase introduced by the relative is free, as in Ethiopic, but in the modern language its position is regularly before the noun, except with the genitives of geographical names modifying the name of a person, which may stand either before or after. In the modern language the relative phrase and its noun stand regularly in immediate juxtaposition, ordinarily no word except the enclitic particles **ም**, **ስ**, **ኝ**, being allowed to stand between them (cf., however, below). e. g.,

**የጸጋ : ልጅ** : *ja-ṣagā lēj* 'son of grace.'

**የናዝሬትን : የሴስን** : *ja-nāzērēt-ū-n iasūs-ēn* 'Jesus of Nazareth (acc).'

**የሱስ : የናዝሬት** : *iasūs ja-nāzērēt-ū* 'Jesus of Nazareth.'

Sometimes, as in Assyrian and Aramaic, the *nomen regens* has a possessive suffix referring to the *nomen rectum*, e. g.,



የጠባባን : ዘውዳቸው : *ia-ṭabībân zaüd-âçau* 'the crown of the wise.'

When two or more genitives depend on the same noun, all the genitives connected by ም or ና may stand before the noun; but frequently only the first is placed before the noun, the others following: e. g.,

የእግዚአብሔርና : የሰጉም : ዘፋን : *ia-ʾëgzî'abhêr-nâ ia-bag-û-m<sup>1</sup> zûfân* 'and the throne of God and the lamb.'

የደዕቆብም : ወንድም : የዮሳም : የይሁዳም : የሲሞንም : *ia-ia'qôb-ēm uandēm ia-iðsâ-m ia-iĕhûdâ-m ia-sîmôn-ēm* 'and the brother of Jacob, Josa, Juda, and Simon.'

When two or more nouns are modified by the same genitive, the genitive as usual stands first, the modified nouns connected by ም following; usually the last *nomen regens*, and in a series of more than two, several of the last, take a suffix referring to the genitive: e. g.,

የቅዱሳን : ትዕግሥት : ሃይማኖታቸውም : *ia-qëdûsân tē'gëšt hâimânôt-âçau-m* 'the hope and belief of the saints.'

The sign of the genitive የ is quite frequently omitted, the preceding genitive being then practically an adjective modifying the noun. This is always the case when the *nomen regens* depends on a preposition or the sign of the genitive የ, but it is also found outside of this construction, especially in titles, geographical names, and standing expressions. e. g.,

የመቸው : አለቃ : *ia-matô-û 'alaqâ* 'the commander of a hundred.'  
ለመቸው : አለቃ : *la-matô-û 'alaqâ* 'to the commander of a hundred.'

ወደ : ንጉሥ : ቤት : *uada nēgûš* (for *ia-nēgûš*) *bêt* 'to the house of the king.'

ደጅ : አዘማች : *daj 'azmâč* 'duke (soldier of the door).'

አጋውምድር : *'agûu-mëdr* 'the land of Agau.'

ወጥ : ቤት : *uaf bêt* 'kitchen (house of sauce, cookery).'

When the *nomen regens* is itself in the genitive, it and its preceding *nomen rectum* are placed before the new *nomen regens*, one የ standing at the beginning instead of two; this new *nomen regens* may itself be placed in the genitive in the same way, and so on indefinitely, the የ of the subordinate

<sup>1</sup> This -m connects the whole expression with what precedes, being placed with the second instead of the first word of the element it connects with something preceding: cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 394 (§ 296b).

genitive being regularly dropped after that of the governing noun, so that no more than one **የ** ever stands at the beginning of such a chain of successively subordinated genitives. If the last *nomen regens* of such a chain is governed by a preposition, the preposition stands first and even the single **የ** is lost. e. g.,

**የምድር : የገሥታትም : አለቃ :** *ḵa-mēdr nagaštāt-ēm 'alaqā* 'and the prince of the kings of the earth.'

**የእግዚአብሔር : ልጅ : ወንጌል : መጀመርያ :** *ḵa-ēgzābhēr lēj uangēl majamarjā* 'the beginning of the Gospel of the Son of God.'

**በበሉሉን : ምርኮ : ጊዜ :** *ba-bābīlōn* (for *ba-ia-bā-*) *mērkō gīzē* 'at the time of the Babylonian captivity.'

Some instances of this peculiar genitive construction occur also in Tigriña and Tigre,<sup>1</sup> due doubtless to the influence of Amharic, e. g.,

Ta. **እንኳብ : የርዳኖስ : ማዕደ :** 'enkāb ḵōrdānōs (for *nāḵi ḵō-*) *mā'dō* 'from the other side of Jordan.'

Te. **እብ : ዳማ : ካዮት :** 'ēb dīmā (for *nāḵi dī-*) *khāḵōt* 'in the life of eternity.'

With regard to the application of the article and the accusative -ን, the genitive phrase is treated just like an adjective (cf. p. 166 f.). When both elements of the combination, however, are indeterminate the accusative -ን is usually placed with the genitive, rarely with the *regens*. e. g.,

Art. **የመቶው : አለቃ :** *ḵa-matō-u 'alaqā* 'the commander of a hundred.'

**የትግሬው : ሽፍታ :** *ḵa-tēgrē-u šēftā* 'the rebel of Tigre.'

**የቤተሉብ : ካህን :** *ḵa-bēt'el-ū kāhēn* 'the priest of Bethel.'

Acc. **የሰው : ልጅን :** *ḵa-sau lēj-ēn* 'the son of man.'

**የኃጢአተኛን : ጦት :** *ḵa-hāḵī'atānā-n mōt* 'the death of a sinner.'

**የደረት : ልብቡን :** *ḵa-darat lēbs-ū-n* 'his upper garment (his breast-clothing).'

**የደረቱን : ልብስ :** *ḵa-darat-ū-n lēbs* 'the clothing of his breast.'

**የአዚአልን : ልጆች :** *ḵa-'ūzī'el-n lējōč* 'the sons of Uziel.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Praet, *Tig. Spr.* p. 212 f.; Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 292. In Tigriña the use of the construct chain in such expressions instead of the locution with **ኖይ** : e. g., **እንኳብ : ማዕደ : የርዳኖስ :** instead of **እ' ማ' ኖይ : የ'** is also due to Amharic influence cf. *op. et loc. cit.*

ሰላምቲን ፡ አባታቸውን ፡ *ia-samāi-ū-n* 'abāt-āčhuū-n 'your father in heaven.'

ቸርቸር ፡ የእግዚአብሔርን ፡ *čarnat-ū-n ia-ʾēgzīʾabḥēr-n* 'the goodness of God.'

In Mineo-Sabean the relative is in certain constructions employed to indicate a genitive relation,<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

ثورن ذ ذهب *thur-n ḏ ḏhb-n* 'the bull of gold.'

قشبة ذ مرثدم *qšbt ḏt mrthd-m* 'K. (a woman) of (the tribe of) M.'

اصلم الى ذهب *ʿlīm-m ʾlī ḏhb-m* 'statues of gold.'

In Mehri the genitive is regularly expressed in this way,<sup>2</sup> e. g.,

*habrūt da doulet* 'the daughter of the king.'

*bōb da bēt* 'the door of the house.'

*hare di rīsīt* 'a snake's head.'

*uqūūten la farat* 'baskets for dates.'

In Aramaic the use of the relative + dependent noun has encroached greatly upon that of the construct chain. It may be used for the construct in almost any case. In Western Aramaic the two constructions are used side by side, in Biblical Aramaic, with about the same degree of frequency, while in Jewish Palestinian the relative construction has gained considerably on the other; in Syriac and Mandaic the relative

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Homm. *Süd-arab. Chr.* p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Closely connected with these South Arabian constructions is the construction of Arabic demonstrative ذو (employed as relative by some tribes, cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I. p. 272f.) in the sense of 'owner, possessor' (cf. p. 151, n. 1). This ذو with its genitive may be used in apposition to a preceding noun, in which case it is very much like a genitive sign, cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* II. p. 203. e. g.,

رجل ذو مال *rajulūn ḏū mālīn* 'a man of wealth (a man, a possessor of wealth).'

ارض ذات شوك *ʾarḏūn ḏātu šaukīn* 'land covered with thorns.'

On the other hand Ethiopic **H**, Tigre **ሰ**, and occasionally Mineo-Sabean **ḏ** are used absolutely like Arabic ذو, e. g.,

Arab. **ذو رحم** *ḏū raḥmīn* 'a relative.'

**أولو الالباب** *ʾulū ʾl-ʾalbābi* 'intelligent people.'

Eth. **ዘለምታ** : *za-lamṣ* 'a leper.'

**እለ ፡ ፀመዓ** : *ʾēlla ʾamaḏā* 'unjust people.'

Te. **ሰቀጥል** : *la-qatēl* 'something mortal.'

**ሰአምን** : *la-ʾamēn* 'the believer.'

Min. **ذت نشقم** *ḏt nšq-m* 'she of N.=Goddess of N.'

Cf. Dill.-Bez. *Āth. Gr.* p. 415 (§ 186 a ḏ); Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 305; Homm. *Süd-arab. Chr.* p. 14.

construction is by far the more frequent; in Modern Syriac it has completely replaced the construct chain. In Modern Syriac the *nomen regens* may take the ending אֲ- *-it*, after which the relative is usually dropped.<sup>1</sup> In Biblical Aramaic the *nomen regens* without suffix stands in the absolute or emphatic state according as it is definite or indefinite; in Syriac and Mandaic it stands regularly in the emphatic state, though the absolute is also used in rare instances. In practically all the Aramaic dialects when both *nomen regens* and *nomen rectum* are determinate in sense, the *nomen regens* may take a suffix referring to the *nomen rectum* (cf. p. 145 ff.). As in Ethiopic, the position of these phrases in Syriac and Mandaic is very free; they may stand not only after, but also before their noun, and other words may stand between them. e. g.,

Bib. Aram. נָהַר דִּי-נִיּוֹר 'a stream of fire.'

רֹאשָׁה דִּי-רְהֻבָּה 'the head of gold.'

שְׁמֵה דִּי-אַלְהָא 'the name of God.'

Syr. כֶּסֶפָא דְּוֹאפָא מִסֻּפָּא 'false money.'

מַלְכָא דְּבָבְלָא 'the king of Babylon.'

בְּרָה דְּאַלְהָא בְּרֵה 'the son of God.'

כָּל שׁוּלְטָן דְּרוֹמְיוֹתָא 'every military (Roman) office.'

Mod. Syr. שְׁוֹאֲגָא דֵּה-חֵתִּיָּא 'forgiveness

שְׁוֹאֲגִית חֵתִּיָּא 'of sins.'

חִסְסִית דֵּה-מָרָא 'the suffering of our Lord.'

בֵּרֹן-עַה דֵּה-אַלְהָא 'the son of God.'

When the *nomen regens* of a construct chain is modified by another genitive the paraphrase with the relative must be used, e. g.,

Bib. Aram. מֵאֲנִי בֵּית אַלְהָא דִּי רְהֻבָּה וְכֶסֶפָא 'the gold and silver vessels of the temple.'

Syr. אֲבָר פּוֹקֵדְנָא דְּאַדָּם 'Adam's breaking of the covenant.'

In Phœnician the relative plus dependent noun is quite frequently used as the equivalent of the genitive of a construct chain, e. g.,

מַצְבַּת שֶׁאֲתָבָן 'the grave of Atban.'

*yth alonim ualonuth si macom syth* 'the gods and goddesses of this place.'

<sup>1</sup> For an explanation of this ending cf. p. 146.

## (b)

The second class of prepositional phrases is found in Tigrīña, Tigre, and Modern Arabic, in all of which they are used alongside of the construct chain, as the equivalent of the *nomen rectum*.

In Tigrīña and Tigre the word ናይ : *nâi* (<Eth. ንዩላጅ : *nēuāḡ* 'possession') is used to introduce phrases of this type. In Tigrīña the order of the phrase is free like that of the relative phrases in Ethiopic and Aramaic, tho the natural position is after the modified noun; it may stand before or after the noun, and other words may intervene between them; in its use it corresponds closely to the use of the phrase introduced by the relative in Ethiopic: in Tigre the phrase stands regularly before the noun, tho it may follow.<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

Ta. ገሊላ : ናይ : አሕዛብ : *galilā nâi 'aḥzâb* 'Galilee of the heathen.'

ናይእግዚአብሔር : ቅዱስ : *nâi-'əgzî'abhêr qəḏûs* 'a saint of God.'

እነስ : ድምጽ : አዩ : ናይዚጸውዕ : 'an-əs dəmç 'iḡō nâi-zîçauē 'I, however, am the voice of one crying.'

Te. ናይ : ረቡ : ቅዱስ : *nâi rabbî qəḏûs* 'a saint of God.'

ናይ : ጳጳፕ : ኻዮት : *nâi dîmâ khâiôt* 'the life of eternity.'

In the Modern Arabic dialects, the genitive of a construct chain may be replaced by a noun meaning 'possession' governing the genitive and standing in apposition to the *nomen regens*. These nouns are the genitive signs متاع (Syria and Algeria), بناء (Egypt and Palestine), شيت (Jerusalem), مال (Baghdad), حق (Yemen) [cf. p. 150]. These are ordinarily invariable for gender and number; occasionally, however, Egyptian بناء, Syriac متاع, and Jerusalem شيت have the plural forms بتوع *bētû'*, متوع *metû'*, شيوث *šuiût*, شيوث *šuiût* after a plural noun; and more rarely the Egyptian and Syrian words have a feminine form بتاعة *betâ'et*, متاعة *metâ'et*, after a feminine noun. The *nomen regens* regularly takes the article, but in Egypt at least, it may also stand in the indefinite form. e. g.,

الدار متاع شريكى *ed-dâr metâ šarikî* 'the house of my companion.'

الكتاب مال التلميذ *el-kitâb mâl et-talmîd* 'the pupil's book.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Litt. Te. Pron. p. 292, n. 2.

المسافر الصندوق حق *eḡ-ḡandūq haqq el-musâfir* 'the traveler's trunk.'

السلطان العساكر بتاع (بتنوع) *el-'asâkir bet'â (betû') es-sultân* 'the Sultan's soldiers.'

الجامع شبك بتاع *šibbâk betâ' el-gâmî* 'a window of the mosque.'

Here is also to be classed the similar use of the demonstrative *دا* *دى* in North Africa, e. g.,

كتاب دا البنت *kitab del-bint* 'the book of the girl.'

شجرة دا الزيتون *šajare dez-zaitûn* 'olive tree (tree of olives).'

## (c)

Prepositional phrases of the third class are found in Arabic, Ethiopic, Tigriña, Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Samaritan, and rarely in Syriac.

In Arabic the preposition *ل* is used to express the genitive relation between an indefinite *nomen regens* and a definite *nomen* or *pronomen rectum*,<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

ابن للملك *ibnu li-l-maliki* 'a son of the king.'

اخ لك *'aḡu la-ka* 'a brother of thine.'

In Ethiopic phrases introduced by *ለ* are employed as follows, viz.:

- a) as the equivalent of a genitive in a construct chain, especially when the genitive has rather a dative force, e. g.,  
**ወሉደ ለአቡኸመ** : *üelüda (acc.) la-'abû-këmmû* 'children of your father' (Matt. 5, 45).

**ዴ ለምድር** : *ḡeṽ la-mědr* 'salt of the earth' (Matt. 5, 13).

- b) to modify an indefinite noun after a negative, when the *nomen* or *pronomen rectum* is definite, e. g.,

**ኢይተረከብ ለመፍሰስ** : *'i-ïëtrakab lômû 'asr* 'no trace of them is found.'

- c) after **እለ** : *'ëlla* in the sense of 'those of,'<sup>2</sup> e. g.,

**ወእናሁ ለየሐንስ ለዳሳውያን** : *ua-'ardû'î-hû la-ïðhanës ua-'ëlla-hî la-farîsâyuëiân* 'the disciples of John and those also of the Pharisees.'

- d) with pronominal suffix in the place of a possessive suffix (cf. below, p. 244 f.).

<sup>1</sup> Coptic *ente* has a similar use; cf. p. 220, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Strictly speaking this belongs to the discussion of the pronoun and its modifiers, but it is added here for the sake of completeness.

- e) above all in connection with a suffix on the *nomen regens* to indicate that the idea expressed by the combination is definite; this construction may also be used even when the determination is already indicated by the determinate character of the *nomen rectum* (cf. p. 145): e. g.,

**מִלְכָּה : אֶת־רֹאשׁ :** *tafar-â la-tâbôt* 'the roof of the ark.'

**מֶלֶךְ : אֶת־בֶּן־מֶלֶךְ :** *qald-û la-nêgûš* 'the king's son.'

**רַחֲמֵי :** **אֶת־רַחֲמֵי־אֱלֹהִים :** *mêhrat-û la-'êgzî'abhêr* 'the mercy of God.'

**זָהָב :** **אֶת־אֶרֶץ־עֵינִי :** *qarg-â la-i'ê'tî mêdr* 'the gold of that land.'

**שֵׁם :** **אֶת־אֲבִי :** *sēm-û la-abû-ka* 'the name of thy father.'

In Tigriña a phrase introduced by the preposition **נֶ** *nê* 'to' is quite frequently used to express the genitive, usually, tho not always, in connection with a suffix on the *nomen regens* referring to the *nomen rectum*, e. g.,

**לֵדֶה :** **נֶאֱבֹרֶה :** *lêdê-'û nê-'qasûs* 'the birth of Jesus.'

**מַלְאָכִי :** **נֶאֱבֹרֶה :** *nê-'êgzî'abhêr mal'ak* 'the angel of God.'

**אִשְׁתִּי :** **נֶאֱבֹרֶה :** *sabaît nê-'ûrîâ* 'the wife of Uriah.'

In Hebrew phrases introduced by **ל** are used in the sense of a genitive; sometimes when a construct chain would be equally suitable, e. g.,

**לְשָׂאוֹת הַדָּפִיִּים :** 'the watchmen of Saul' (1. Sam. 14, 16); but ordinarily when for any reason a construct chain would be difficult or impossible. The principal uses<sup>1</sup> of such phrases are, viz.:

- a) to express a determinate genitive which depends on an indeterminate noun, e. g.,

**בֶּן־יֵשׁוּעַ :** 'a son of Jesse' (1. Sam. 16, 18).

**מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד :** 'a psalm of David' (Ps. 3, 1).

- b) to modify a noun which is already modified by a genitive or a possessive suffix, e. g.,

**חֶלֶקֶת הַשָּׂדֶה לְבֹאֵז :** 'Boaz' portion of the field' (Ru. 2, 3).

**עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל :** 'in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel' (1. Ki. 14, 19).

**שְׂכַבְתָּךְ לְזֶרַע :** 'thy emission of seed' (Lev. 18, 20).

- c) to modify substantives accompanied by numerals, especially in dates, e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> For exceptional cases in which **ל** is used as genitive sign cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 439, 440 (§ 129 c. g).

בְּשֶׁבַעַה וְעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ 'on the twenty-seventh day of the month' (Gen. 8, 14).

בְּשָׁנָה שְׁתִּיתָּם לְדָרְיוֹשׁ 'in the second year of Darius.'

בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִּי 'on the third day after my giving birth' (1 Ki. 3, 18).

In Biblical Aramaic and Samaritan the use of phrases with ל is in general the same as in Hebrew; they are employed, viz.:

a) to express the genitive of a determinate noun modifying an indeterminate, e. g.,

Bib. Aram. מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל 'a king of Israel.'

לְעֵלּוֹן לְאֵלֵה שְׁמַיָּא 'for burnt offerings for the Lord of Heaven.'

Sam. עֶבֶד לִרְב טַבְחָא 'a servant of the chief cook.'

b) after a noun modified by a numeral, in dates, e. g.,

Bib. Aram. בְּשָׁנָה תְּרֵה לְבִלְשַׁזְזַר 'in the first year of Bel-shazzar.'

יוֹם תְּלִיתָה לִירַח אָדָר 'the third day of the month Adar.'

Sam. בִּשְׁתָּה תִּנְיַתָּה לְמַפּוֹקִיחוֹן 'in the second year of their going out.'

c) to modify a noun already modified by a genitive, e. g.,

Sam. נָסִיא בֵּית אָב לְכֹרֶן קֹהַת 'the family chief of the family of Kohath.'

In Syriac, phrases with ל are sometimes used to express the genitive after expressions of space and time, e. g.,

מִן נֶרְבָּיָא לְסִינֻתָּא 'on the north of the enclosure.'

מִן בְּתֵר תְּלִיתִין יָרְחִין לְמַפְקָתָה 'thirty months after his departure.'

Cases like:—

בְּשָׁנָה מֵאָא וְחֵדָּא לְחַיִּי אַבְרָהָם 'in the year one hundred and one of Abraham's life,'

seem to be borrowed from Hebrew.<sup>1</sup>

In Malulan *il* is a common genitive determinant, e. g.,

*dairayôt il ma'lûlâ* 'the convents of Malula.'

*päit il malk'â* 'the house of the king.'

(d)

Prepositional phrases of the fourth class are found principally in Arabic and Ethiopic.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* p. 183 (§ 247).



In Arabic, phrases with the preposition *من* are used in the sense of a partitive genitive as follows, viz.:

- a) to express the genitive of a determinate noun modifying an indeterminate, e. g.,

*haiḡu<sup>n</sup> mina 'l-jinni* 'a tribe of Jinn.'  
*jamā'atu<sup>n</sup> min ḥadami-hi* 'a company of his servants.'

- b) to express the genitive of possession after an indeterminate noun, the object of the preposition in this case being the plural of the governing noun followed by the genitive of the possessor, e. g.,

*qaṣru<sup>n</sup> min quṣūri maliki<sup>n</sup>* = قصر  
 ملك *qaṣru maliki<sup>n</sup>* 'a royal castle.'  
*qaṣru<sup>n</sup> min quṣūri 'l-maliki* = قصر  
 الملك *qaṣru<sup>n</sup> li-l-maliki* 'a castle of the king.'  
*maliku<sup>n</sup> min mulūki fārisa* 'a king of Persia.'

- c) to modify a noun already modified by a suffix, e. g.,

*aḡḡaru-hu min al-jinni* 'his relatives of the Jinn.'

In Ethiopic a phrase after እምነ : or እም- sometimes stands for a partitive genitive, e. g.,

ወሉደ : ትጉሃነ : እምበሰእ : *uēlūda tēgūhān 'em-ṣab'ē* 'the children of the watchers among men.'

It may also, like the phrases with ל in Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic, depend on a noun modified by a numeral, e. g.

አመ : ከነ : አፃወፃምተ : እምሕይወቱ : ሰዓሕ : *ama kōna 601*  
*'āmata 'em-hēḡuat-ū la-nōḥ* 'in the year six hundred and one of Noah's life (when it was six hundred and one years of Noah's life).'

Phrases of this sort also occur occasionally in the other languages, e. g.,

Sam. מים מן נהרה 'water of the river.'

חלק מן רביאנך 'part of thy excellence.'

Bib. Aram. עור מן-אֲדָרִי-יָקִים 'chaff from the threshing floors of summer.'

(e)

The use of other prepositional phrases as nominal modifiers is comparatively rare; examples are,

Arab. ذريتك من بعدك *ḡurriḡatu-ka min ba'dika* 'thy posterity after thee.'

Eth. ስምዕ : በሐሰተ : *sēm'ə ba-ḥasat* 'false witness (heard falsely).

ላሕ : በእንተ : እሙ : *lāḥ ba'ənta 'əmmū* 'sorrow for his mother.'

Heb. אִשָּׁתָּה עִמָּה 'her husband with her' (Gen. 3, 6).

מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם 'king in Jerusalem' (Ecc. 1, 1).

Sam. נָסִיאָה בְּעַמָּךְ 'prince among thy people.'

### *Other Forms.*

Instead of the simple juxtaposition of noun and modifying phrase, the two may be more closely joined in several ways.

Sometimes the noun and the following prepositional phrase form a construct chain, the noun standing in the construct state; so in Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, and rarely in Assyrian: e. g.,

Heb. שְׂמֵחַת בִּקְצִיר 'joy in the harvest.'

Bib. Aram. מַלְכוּת תַּחֲתָ כְּלִשְׁמַיָּא 'the kingdoms under the whole heaven' (Dan. 7, 27).

Ass. *fēm ša Arabi* 'news of the Arabs.'

Sometimes the two are joined together by the relative pronoun, the prepositional phrase forming the predicate of the relative clause. Such a construction is of course possible in all the languages, but sometimes the relative has practically lost its force as such, and simply serves to connect modifier and modified more closely. So in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Ethiopic. In Ethiopic this is the ordinary way of joining a noun and a prepositional phrase that modifies it. Here is also to be classed Maghrebinic *كَيْل* which is a combination of a demonstrative element + the preposition *ل*. Some of these combinations have become practically genitive determinants. In Hebrew *אשר ל* is practically equivalent in meaning to the simple *ל* when it indicates possession; Post-Biblical *של* takes its noun without article, and the governing noun usually has a suffix. e. g.

Eth. እሳተ : ዘበሽጉ : *'ēhtū za-ba-šgā* 'his sister according to the flesh.'

אֱלֹהִים : אֲנִי : אֵין : *'albō bā'da 'amlāka za-'ēnbalē-ka* 'there is no other God beside thee.'

Bib. Heb. הַצֹּאֵן אֲשֶׁר לְאֵבִיהָ (= צֹאֵן אֵבִיהָ) 'the flocks of her father.'

הַמִּשְׁקָה וְהָאֹפֶה אֲשֶׁר לְמֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם 'the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt.'

שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לְשֹׁלֹמֹה 'Solomon's song of songs.'

יְרוּשָׁלַם אֲשֶׁר בִּיהוּדָה 'to Jerusalem in Judah.'

הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מִתַּחַת לָרָקִיעַ 'the water under the firmament' (Gen. 1, 7).

Mish.	שְׁנֵה שֶׁל שְׁחִירִית 'thesleep of the morning.'
	שֶׁכֶּרֶן שֶׁל מִצְוֹת 'the reward of the com- mandments.'
	תַּלְמִידָיו שֶׁל אַהֲרֹן 'the disciples of Aaron.'
Bib. Aram.	הַיְּבִלָּא דִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם 'thetempleinJerusalem.'
	גִּבּוֹר דִּי מִן־בְּנֵי זְלוּתָא 'a man of the captives.'
Sam.	אִפּוּאָה דִּלְמֶלֶךְ 'the baker of the king.'
	עֲאֵנָה דִּלְאִבּוּה 'the sheep of her father.'
	גִּנִּיתָה דִּבְנֵהרָה 'the fishes of the river (Nile).'
Mal.	<i>gabrñô til-ma'lûlâ</i> 'the men of Malula.'
	<i>k'uppôitâ til-môîâ</i> 'a glass of water.'
	<i>pûitâ til-malkâ</i> 'the house of the king.'
Alg. Arab.	السيف دىال الملك <i>es-sêf dijâl el-melik</i> 'the king's sword.'

### Personal Pronominal Qualification.

#### *Simple.*

The idea expressed in English by the possessive adjectives is regularly rendered in all the Semitic languages by the possessive suffixes.<sup>1</sup> The combination really forms a construct chain, the suffix, which represents a personal pronoun, being added

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 306—313 (§ 105), and the various Semitic grammars under the head of pronominal suffixes. Similar suffixes are found in Egyptian and Coptic; cf. Erm. *Ägypt. Gr.* pp. 77—81 (§§ 138—147); Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 39—45. In Indo-European languages are to be compared the enclitic forms of the personal pronouns in Sanskrit, Avestan, and Greek (the genitive forms corresponding to the possessive suffixes, the dative and accusative forms to the Semitic suffixes after prepositions and verbs) and the predominantly postpositive position of the possessive adjectives in Latin, Gothic, and certain Slavic dialects: cf. Whitney, *Sansk. Gr.* pp. 186, 187; A. V. W. Jackson, *Avesta Gr.* Stuttgart, 1892, pp. 110—113. Goodwin, *Greek. Gram.*, pp. 31, 82; Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 91—93. In a number of the Malayo-Polynesian languages similar enclitic pronominal forms exist; so in Malay, Javanese, and the Philippine languages: cf. A. Seidel, *Praktische Gram. d. Malay. Spr.*, Wien (Hartleben), p. 44; H. Bohatta, *Prakt. Gram. d. Javan. Spr.* Wien (Hartleben), p. 44; F. R. Blake, *Contribs. to Comp. Phil. Gr.* JAOS. vol. xxvii, 1906, pp. 365—386 (espec. p. 386 bot.). Possessive suffixes occur also in Hungarian and Turkish: cf. F. v. Ney, *Ungarische Sprachlehre*, 27. Aufl., Budapest, 1903, p. 85; A. Müller, *Türkische Gram.*, Berlin, 1889, p. 62 f.

to the construct state of the noun. The noun is made definite by the addition of the suffix and can, of course, not ordinarily have the determinate form.<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

Ass. <i>mât-su</i>	
Arab. أرضه 'ardu-hu	} 'his country.'
Eth. ሙድሩ፡ mēdr-û	
Heb. ארצו	
Syr. ܐܪܥܗ	

In those languages which have a preformative definite article, a participle<sup>2</sup> may take the article and the suffix at the same time; the suffix in this case, however, is not possessive but represents an accusative: e. g.,

Arab. القاتله *al-qâtilu-hu* 'the one that killed him.'

Heb. הַמַּכֵּהוּ 'the one smiting him' (Is. 9, 12).

In Tigre, however, and in the Arabic dialect of Malta an ordinary noun with a possessive suffix may take the article,<sup>3</sup> e. g.,

Te. ܐܢܬܐ *la-bē'ēs-â* 'her husband.'

Malt. *lil-lint-u* 'to his daughter.'

In Modern Arabic the possessive pronouns (originally a noun meaning possession + possessive suffix) may take the definite article,<sup>3</sup> e. g.,

المتاعى *el-metâ'î* 'mine.'

A noun with possessive suffix is definite, and an adjective modifying it stands ordinarily in the definite state when one is distinguished. So in Arabic, Hebrew, and probably in Western Aramaic. In Amharic the article may stand with the adjective, especially if it is a cardinal, but it may also be omitted. e. g.,

Arab. أخوه الصغير 'aḥūhu 'ṣ-ṣaġîru 'his little brother.'

جبتها الزرقاء *jubbatuhâ 'z-zarqâ'u* 'her blue jacket.'

Heb. יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה 'thy strong hand' (Deut. 3, 24).

Amh. ተናጽፏ፡ ልጅ፡ tānâš-îtû lēj-ê 'my little daughter.'

አራቱ፡ ልጆቹ፡ 'arât-û lējôc-û 'his four sons.'

<sup>1</sup> Contrast with this the use of the article with noun modified by possessive adjective or pronoun in Greek and Italian; e. g.,

Gr. ὁ σὸς πατήρ } 'thy father.' Ital. *il tuo padre* 'thy father.'

ὁ πατήρ σου }

Cf. Goodwin, *Greek Gram.* p. 206 (§ 946); C. N. Grandgent, *Italian Grammar*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Boston, 1892, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 219, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> In Maltese this is probably due to the influence of the Italian construction, e. g., *la sua figlia*; cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 470, n. 2.

𐤀𐤁𐤁 : 𐤀𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤁 : *něcûh lëbb-âcĥû-n* (acc.) 'your pure hearts' (2 Pet. 3, 1).

In Assyrian an adjective modifying a noun with suffix often stands before it, e. g.,

*ina emqi libbišu* 'in his wise heart.'

*agrâti nâpšâtîšunu* 'their precious life.'

In Modern Arabic an adjective without article may stand before a noun with suffix,<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

جألي سلامتكم *ġâlî selâmat-kum* 'your dear health.'

When a demonstrative modifies a noun with possessive suffix, its construction is in general the same as when it modifies a *nomen regens* in a construct chain. In Hebrew, however, no article is used with the demonstrative, and the Samaritan demonstrative is without the prefixed ה which it takes when modifying a simple noun. e. g.,

Arab. اختنا هذه *'uĥtunâ hâđihi* 'our sister here, this sister of ours.'

Amh. ደኽ : ታላቁ : ኃይልኽ : *ġekh tâlâq-û hâġil-êkh* 'this great power of thine.'

Ta. እዞም : ደቀደ : *'ezôm daq-aġ* 'these my children.'

Heb. הנה זה *'hên zê* 'this matter of ours.'

Sam. סמני אלן *'smnî alîn* 'these signs of mine.'

Syr. هذو كلمنا *'hâzô kilmnâ* 'these words of ours.'

Mod. Syr. هذا جاري *'âhâ šeuâġî* 'this neighbor of mine.'

Just as it is impossible to express the combination of indefinite *regens* with definite *rectum* by a construct chain (cf. p. 218f), so ordinarily the combination of indeterminate and personal pronominal qualification can not be expressed by noun + suffix; one of the circumlocutions for the genitive must be employed (cf. pp. 225—238): e. g.,

Arab. أخ لك *'aġu laka* 'a brother of thine.'

In Modern Syriac, however, this idea is rendered by placing the indefinite article ܠ *hâ* before the noun with suffix,<sup>2</sup> e. g.,

ܠܕܕܝܢܝ : ܠ *hâ dâst-î* 'a friend of mine.'

### Emphatic.

The idea which is expressed by the possessive suffix may also be indicated in various other ways, originally with em-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Perc. *Gr. Grab. Vul.* p. 139; also above p. 166, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This un-Semitic construction is probably borrowed from Turkish, cf. Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 278.

phasis on the possessive, though in some cases these constructions have become practically equivalent to the noun + suffix.

## (a)

An independent pronoun corresponding to the suffix may be used with the noun + suffix.

In Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Samaritan, Classical and Modern Egyptian Arabic, the nominative corresponding to the suffix is used in connection with the suffix,<sup>1</sup> either before or after the noun in Hebrew and Egyptian Arabic, after the noun in Classical Arabic; e. g.,

Heb. מוֹתִי אֲנִי 'my own death' (2 Sam. 19, 1).  
 דְּמָךְ נִמְאָתָה 'thy own blood also' (1 Ki. 21, 19).  
 אֲנִי עַם-לִבִּי 'in my own heart' (1 Ch. 28, 2).

Bib. Aram. רוּחִי אֲנָא 'my spirit' (Dan. 7, 15).

Sam.<sup>2</sup> וּפְנֵיכֶן אַתֶּן 'and your own bodies.'

Eg. Arab. بَيْتِهَا هِيَ *bêt-hâ hiya* 'her own house.'

أَنَا بَدَنِي *ana badan-i* 'my body.'

Cl. Arab. رَأْيُهُ هُوَ *ra'ïu-hu huwa* 'his opinion.'

أَنَا نَصِيبِي *naçib-i 'anâ* 'my share.'

In Assyrian the independent genitive and accusative forms are used either absolutely or after *ša* in connection with the suffix; they regularly precede the noun: e. g.,

*kātu amât-ka* 'thy own command.'

*šašu mašak-šu* 'his own skin.'

*ša kâšu ... qurdi-ku* 'thy might.'

## (b)

The emphasis may be expressed in those languages which

<sup>1</sup> This construction is not confined to possessive suffixes, but is just as frequent with suffixes after verbs and prepositions; cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 459; Uhlem. *Inst. Sam.* p. 148; Wright-De G. *Arab. Gr.* II. p. 282. In Mehri the independent pronouns are used to emphasise suffixes after a verb or a preposition, but not a nominal suffix; cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* pp. 28, 130.

The cases in Tigrîna in which an independent pronoun is placed absolutely at the beginning of a sentence referring to a following suffix, e. g., **ንሕናስ : አብርሃም : አብና :** *nêhnâ-s 'abrêhâm 'abô-nâ* 'as for us, Abraham is our father,' do not belong here, cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 291.

Similar to this is the Coptic construction of absolute personal pronoun after a noun with possessive article (cf. p. 242. n. 1) for the sake of emphasis, e. g., *pa-eiôt anok* 'my father,' cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 44 f.

<sup>2</sup> As this is the only example given by Uhlemann it is uncertain whether the pronoun may precede the noun.

have developed an independent possessive form,<sup>1</sup> by using this form either alone or in connection with the corresponding suffix.<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes the possessive stands after the noun in the construct state; so in Ethiopic and Syriac (rarely): e. g.,

Eth. ብሕረ : ዘኣየ : *bē'ēsē zī'ajā* 'my husband.'

Syr. ܐܬܬܐܢܐ : ܡܢ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܩܢܘܡ 'their own person.'

Usually, however, the possessives are treated as adjectives or prepositional phrases, and may stand either before or after the noun, which may or may not have the corresponding suffix.

<sup>1</sup> The independent possessives are formed in almost all the languages which make them by adding the suffixes to certain forms connected with the sign of the genitive. These forms are, viz.,

Eth. ዘኣ-, እንደኣ-, እሊኣ-: cf. Dill.-Bez. p. 304.

Ta. ཅེ-, or its plurals ཅེ་པ་-, ཅེ་མོ་-: cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 162.

Meh. *da*: cf. Jahn, *Mch. Gr.* p. 30; it is not stated whether they are used attributively.

Syr. ܕ-: cf. Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* p. 47.

Man. 𐱀-: cf. Nöld. *Man. Gr.* pp. 332 (especially n. 2), 333.

Bab. Tal. -𐤎, (-𐤎): Marg. *Man. Bal. Tal.* pp. 18, 69.

Mod. Syr. -ܐ: Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 83.

Jew. Pal. -𐤎, (-𐤎): Dalm. *Jüd. Pal.* p. 118.

Mal. *tid*: cf. Parisot, *Dial. Mal.* p. 311.

Mish. { -שׁ: cf. Geig. *Spr. Mish.* p. 37; Schröd. *Ph'n. Spr.* p. 165.  
Ph. }

Mod. Arab. متاع (Syriac and Algeria), بئاع (Egypt. and Palestine) مال (Yemen), مال (Baghdad), ديال (Algeria and Morocco), شيت (Jerusalem): cf. Wahrm. *Prak. Handb.* pp. 45, 46; Spitta, *Gramm. Vul. Aeg.* p. 262; Bauer, *Pal. Arab.* p. 100.

In Amharic they are formed by prefixing the genitive sign ፍ to the independent pronouns; cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 119.

In Tigre ፍ: and in Amharic, ገንዘብ : *ganzab* 'possession' and ወገን : *wagan* 'side' are employed with suffixes to form possessive pronouns, but these are used only absolutely: cf. Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 291; Pract. *Amh. Spr.* p. 119.

In the Assyrian of the Amarna letters a particle *an* (probably connected with the demonstrative *annū*) + suffix is employed as a possessive.

For these possessive pronouns in general, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 315, 316, (§ 106, f, g). Coptic possesses a series of possessive pronouns always used as substantives, and also a so-called possessive article consisting of the article with possessive suffixes which is used before the noun as the equivalent of the old possessive suffixes, which are obsolescent; e. g., *pek-son* 'thy brother,' *tef-sône* 'his sister,' *neu-eiote* 'their parents,' cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 43, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the French construction *mon livre à moi* 'my own book,' cf. W. D. Whitney, *A Pract. French Gram.* New. York, 1887, p. 251.

In Ethiopic<sup>1</sup> the possessive may stand before or after the noun; the noun may have the suffix, or the possessive may be preceded by the sign of the genitive **H**. The stem of the possessive pronoun (not the suffix) agrees in gender and number with the *nomen regens*. e. g.,

**ነፍሱ : እንተአሁ :** *naṣṣ-ô 'entî'ahû* 'his own life.'

**ለእለአሁ : አርዳአሁ :** *la-'ellî'ahû 'ardâ'i-hû* 'for his own disciples.'

**ብእሲት : ዘእንተአክ :** *bē'ēsît za-'entî'aka* 'thy wife.'

In Tigrîna the possessive stands either before or after the noun without suffix, e. g.,

**አድጊ : ናዮቱ :** *'adgî nâjâtû* 'his ass.'

**ናዮቱ : ቦታ :** *nâjâtû bôtâ* 'his place.'

In Amharic it precedes the noun, which may or may not have a suffix, e. g.,

**ነኔ : ልቤ :** *ianê lëbb-ê* 'my heart.'

**የኛ : ቃል :** *iañâ qâl* 'our word.'

In Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic, Mandaic, and Modern Syriac, it regularly stands after the noun; the noun may be with or without suffix in Syriac and Mandaic, always without in Modern Syriac, and apparently also in Babylonian Talmudic;<sup>2</sup> in Syriac when the noun has a suffix the possessive sometimes precedes: e. g.,

Syr. **ܐܰܠܰܗܰܐ, ܠܰܐܰܝܰܬܰܐ, ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ :** 'his own girdle.'

**ܐܰܠܰܗܰܐ, ܠܰܐܰܝܰܬܰܐ, ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ :** 'his own zeal.'

**ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ, ܠܰܐܰܝܰܬܰܐ, ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ :** 'thy own dwelling.'

Man. **ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ, ܠܰܐܰܝܰܬܰܐ, ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ :** 'in our splendor.'

**ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ, ܠܰܐܰܝܰܬܰܐ, ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ :** 'our clothing.'

Bab. Tal. **ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ, ܠܰܐܰܝܰܬܰܐ, ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ :** 'my mansion.'

**ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ, ܠܰܐܰܝܰܬܰܐ, ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ :** 'his gold.'

Mod. Syr. **ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ, ܠܰܐܰܝܰܬܰܐ, ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ ܕܰܝܰܠܰܐ :** *bâbâ deġî* 'my father.'

In Phœnician and Post-Biblical Hebrew it stands after the noun in place of the suffix; in Biblical Hebrew, in the few cases in which it occurs, after the noun with suffix: e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> In Ethiopic an objective suffix may be emphasized by **ከ** + suffix, cf. Dill.-Bez. *Āth. Gr.* p. 303; Pract. *Āth. Spr.* p. 25: e. g., **ከ.የከ : ተግሰሐ :** **አገላክ :** *kîja-ka tašâhala-ka 'amlâk* 'thee God has blest.' With this is to be compared the use of Arabic **إِذَا** 'iġîâ in similar cases, e. g., **رَأَيْتُكَ إِذَا** *ra'aitu-ka 'iġîâ-ka* 'I saw thee; cf. Wright-Dc. *G. Arab. Gr.* II. p. 283 (top); and also the use of the Assyrian independent genitive and accusative forms, e. g., *uka'llim-anni iâši* 'he showed me,' *kâša luqbi-ka* 'thee will I tell' (cf. Del. p. 351). Morphologically the -*iîâ* of *kîja*, the *iâ* of *iâti*, *iâši*, and the Arabic 'iġîâ are identical; cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 314 (§ 160 b, d).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Marg. *Man. Bab. Tal.* p. 69.



Ph. במערב שלהם *by-marob syllohom* 'through their protection.'

באזרת שלא 'through his help.'

Mish. דְּכַר שְׁלִי 'my word.'

Bib. Heb. פֶּרְמִי שְׁלִי 'my garden' (Ct. 1, 6).

In the Modern Arabic dialects the possessive pronouns are used in apposition to a noun with the definite article, the whole combination being practically equivalent to a noun with the suffix; *بتاع* in Egypt, and *متاع* in Syria and probably *شيت* are varied to agree in gender and number with the preceding noun; the forms in the other dialects are invariable: e. g.,

Egypt. الكتاب بتاعي *el-kitâb betâ'i* 'my book.'

البندقية بتاعتك *el-benduqîe betâ'etak* 'thy flint-lock.'

البيوت بتوعي *el-buiût butû'i* 'my houses.'

Alg. الكتب متاعي *el-kutub metâ'i* 'my books.'

القرازة متاعك *el-qizâze metâ'ak* 'thy bottle.'

السيف دبالى *es-sêf dijâli* 'my sword.'

Bag. السيف مالى *es-sêf mâli* 'my sword.'

In Assyrian the word *attû* with suffixes may, like the possessive pronouns, be used before or after the noun, which may or may not have the corresponding suffix, e. g.,

*abû'a attû'a* } 'my father.'

*attû'a abû'a* }

*bîta attûnu* (acc.) 'our house.'

*attûni ašâbani* 'our remaining.'

Similar is the use in the Assyrian of the Amarna letters of *an* (probably connected with demonstrative *annû*) + suffix, instead of a simple possessive suffix; the modified noun seems to stand in the construct: e. g.,

*mârat ani'a* 'my daughter.'

### (c)

In Ethiopic sometimes, instead of a simple possessive suffix, the preposition **ሰ** + suffix may be employed,<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> Whether the preposition + suffix may also follow its noun does not appear from the examples given by Dill-Bez. p. 416. With this usage are to be compared the so-called mediate (*mittelbar*) suffixes in Tigrîna, Tigre, and Amharic. These are composed of prepositions (in Amharic **ሰ**, **ሰ**; in Tigrîna **ሰ**; in Tigre **እል**, **እጐ** 'in', **ሰ**) + suffix. They are employed, however, only with verbs: cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 116 f.; Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 152 f.; Littm. *Te. Pron.* pp. 226–229.

ሎቶ : መዐዛ : lôtu ma'azâ 'its odor.'

ወላተዚ : ማይ : የሐውር : ሠላ-lâti-nî mâi ṣahaṣṣer 'and even its water is flowing.'

### Nominal Apposition.

A noun may be modified by another noun standing in apposition in the same case; in Arabic a noun in apposition to a vocative in the nominative case form may stand in either nominative or accusative.<sup>1</sup> Both nouns may be common, or one may be a proper name.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the first of two nouns in apposition is to be regarded as the modifier, but usually the second is subordinate to the first.

A common noun may be used in apposition to another common noun to denote class, quality, material or content. The appositives that denote class are the most common, but examples of all the others<sup>3</sup> are found in some of the languages. In Assyrian an appositive indicating material precedes its noun; when the first noun is plural the second noun is regularly put in the singular. e. g.,

Ass. êkallu šubat šarrûtišu 'the palace, his royal abode.'  
erinu zulûlu 'cedar roofing.'

ḥurâṣu iḥzu 'a golden setting.'

âlânîšu dannûti bît niṣirtišu 'his strong cities, well guarded places.'

šarrânî âlik mahrija 'the kings my predecessors.'

Eth. ወ-ሉድ : ረዐይት : uêlûd ra'ajt 'giant sons.'

ገነገም : እሳት : gahânam 'ēsât 'the fire of hell.'

ብእሴ : ነገሠ : bē'ēsê nēgûša (acc.) 'a man, a king.'

Amh. ባርቶ : ክብሶት : bârôč-ēnabîiât 'my servants the prophets.'

ሺህ : ድሪም : ሰር : šēh dērîm bēr 'a thousand dirhems of silver.'

<sup>1</sup> A somewhat similar indecision with regard to the concord of an apposition to a vocative appears in Sanskrit and Greek, where such a noun may stand either in the vocative or the nominative: cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. p. 196 f.

<sup>2</sup> In Indo-European, apposition is mostly of the second variety, cf. Delb. *op. cit.* p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> Appositives of this character are found in Egyptian, but apparently not to any extent in Coptic, cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 113; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 78.



Hebr. דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ 'David the king.'

הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד 'King David.'

Syr. ܐܢܬܐܣܝܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ 'king Anastasius.'

ܐܢܬܐܣܝܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ 'Anastasius the king.'

When a preposition stands before the first of the two nouns it is, in all the languages except Amharic, ordinarily not repeated. Cases of repetition, however, occur in several of the languages. e. g.,

Eth. ለአባነሰ : ለአብርሃም : *la-ʾəgzīʾējā la-ʾabrēhām* 'to my lord Abraham.'

Ta. ምስ : ማርያም : ምስክሩ : *mēs mārīām mēs-čnô-ʾû* 'with Mary his mother.'

Heb. אֶבְרָהָם וְאֶת־אָבֶל 'his brother Abel (acc.).'  
לְיוֹסֵף 'to his son Joseph.'

Man. ለመንፈስ ወይን ለአባ... 'his father, . . . the spirit by which he was begotten (acc).'

In Amharic the matter is somewhat complicated. When both nouns are determined, the preposition is usually repeated; when only the first noun is determined, the preposition is sometimes repeated and sometimes not; when the first noun is indeterminate, the preposition is used almost always before this noun only: e. g.,

ለአስቴር : ለነገሥቲቱ : *la-ʾastēr la-nəǧšt-ītū* 'to Esther the queen.'

የሰጥ : የናዖድ : ወዳጅ : *īābātēh ia-nāʾôd uadāj* 'the friend of thy father Naod.'

ለባሮቹ : ለቤደተ : *la-bārôčū la-nabījât* 'to his servants, the prophets.'

የነገሥ : ቱዋድሮስ : *īa-nəǧúš tēuôdērôs* 'of king Theodore.'

ወደ : አመንዝራ : ሴት : *uada ʾamanzērā sēt* 'to a harlot woman.'

## Adverbial Qualification.

### *Circumstantial.*

A noun or adjective is used in what may be called circumstantial or adverbial apposition to another noun to indicate the condition of that noun when the action of the sentence is performed. In Assyrian the appositive is represented by the adverbial derivative in *-iš*: in Arabic the indefinite accusative of the appositive is employed: in Ethiopic the appositive, which stood originally in the accusative as in Arabic, may stand in either nominative or accusative when the governing noun is a

nominative; a suffix referring to the governing noun is most commonly added to the appositive: in Tigrîna the appositive takes a suffix as in Ethiopic, and stands thus, or is placed after the preposition **ብ**: in Amharic the suffix is employed with a few special words<sup>1</sup> used as appositives, sometimes with accusative determinant **ኔ**, otherwise the appositive stands absolutely: in the other languages the noun or adjective is regularly used without change of form: in Hebrew instead of the adjective **רַגְלִי**, an adverbial form **בְּרַגְלִי** is employed<sup>2</sup>; the appositive adjective or noun usually agrees in gender and number with the governing noun; the adverbial forms are invariable; hence sometimes by analogy the noun or adjective is uninflected.<sup>2</sup> e. g.,

Ass. *šarru šalīš ittallak* 'the king went as a ruler.'

*šarru êdiš ipparšid* 'the king fled alone.'

Arab. *سار متوجها إلى المدينة sâra mutawajjiha* 'ila 'l-madînatî 'he journeyed, going towards Medina.'

جاء زيدا باكيا *jâ'a zaïdu bâkiya* 'Zaid came weeping.'

لقيت عمرا باكتا *laqaitu 'amra* bâkiya 'I met Amru weeping.'

Eth. **ወሐረ : ብእሲ : ጎኩዙ** : *ya-hôra b'ësi tékûz-û* 'and the man went away sad.'

**ነህ : ብእሲ : ደገጉዎ** : *naqha b'ësi dëngûd-ô* 'the man awoke terrified.'

**ረከብክዎሙ : ፍሉላዚዎሙ** : *rakabkëyômû fëšûhânî-hômû* 'I found them joyful.'

**ይትርፉ : አዳም : ወሐዋ : ሕዙና : or ሕዙናን** : *jëtrëfû* 'adâm ya-hëyâ hëzûnâna or hëzûnân 'Adam and Eve shall remain behind sad.'

**ርእኩ : ገዋገወ : ሰማይ : ፍጥላት** : *rë'ikû haṡâhṡa samâi fëtû-hâta* 'I saw the gates of heaven standing open.'

Ta. **ጥራሑ : ኃደሜ** : *țērâh-û hâdamê* 'he fled naked.'

**ጥራሩ : ሰደድዎ** : *țērâi-û sadadu* 'they drove him forth naked.'

**ብዕወ-ኑ : ዘተወልደ** : *bë-ëyur-û zë-tawaldê* 'who was born blind.'

**ዘሉም : ሕዝቢ : አላው : ብምሉእም : ደጽልዩ : አብደጌ** : *kuëllôm hëzbi 'allay bë-mëlu-ôm jëçlëxiû* 'abdagê 'all the people were praying in a multitude before the door.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 346—348.

<sup>2</sup> Examples in which a noun is modified by the appositive not being always available, cases in which the appositive modifies a pronoun are added to show the construction.

ሰደዶ : ሐና : ብእሱኑ : ንእሱስ : *sadaḍ-ô ḥannâ be-’ēsûr-û nê-iasûs* ‘Hanna sent Jesus bound.’

Amh. ምድርም : ባዶ : ከበረኸ : *mêdr-ēm bâdô nabbarač* ‘and the earth was empty.’

ባዶውንም : በደዱት : *bâdô-û-n-ēm saddadû-t* ‘and he sent him forth empty-handed.’

እራቁቸን : ከርሳቸው : አመለጠ : *’erâqût-û-nkarsâčay* ‘amallata ‘he fled from them naked.’

የመበለቸንም : በሬ : መያዙ : ወሰዱ : *ia-mabalat-û-n-ēm barê maîâžâ ḡassadû* ‘and the widow’s ox they took as security.’

Heb. ארר אל-בני אצבי : *’I will go down to my son as a mourner.’*

ערום הלוך ‘naked they go about.’

ימותו אנשים ‘they shall die as men.’

אני מלאת הלקחתי וריקם השיבני יהוה : *’I went forth (with) full (hands) and JHVH brings me back empty (handed).’*

לא תלכו ריקם ‘ye shall not go forth empty-handed.’

אתלמנות שלחתי ריקם ‘the widows thou hast sent away empty-handed.’

Syr. ܐܝܬܝܬܝܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܬܐܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܬܝܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܬܝܬܝܠܗܘܢ : *’and he went into it first.’*

אִסְחָק אָוֵלֵד לְיַעֲקֹב בֶּרֶ אִסְחָק אֵלֶּם אִבְרָהָם בֶּן שִׁשִּׁים : *’Isaac begot Jacob when he was 60 years old.’*

נִפְתָּח דְּרִיפָא קָם רִשָּׁא לְעַמָּה : *’Jephtah, the fugitive, rose as the chief of his people.’*

A noun may also be modified by the adverbial ideas ‘also’, ‘only, alone’, ‘indeed (simple emphasis)’ which belong to the same general class of ideas as the preceding.

#### *Also.*

‘Also’ is expressed by the following words, viz.,

Eth. -*Ḍ*, -*Ḷ*, -*nî*, -*hî*

Amh. ደግሞ : *dagmô*

Ta. -*ውን*, ከግም : -*uñ*, *ka’âm*

Arab. ايضاً ‘*aiḍā*’

Heb. גם, אף

Syr. ܐܝܢܐ (so Aramaic in general).

Mod. Syr. ܐܝܢܐ ‘*ûp*

The Ethiopic, Tigrîna, and Arabic forms stand after the modified noun, -*Ḍ*, -*Ḷ*, and -*ውን* being enclitic; in Ethiopic *ው* may precede the modified noun in addition: the Hebrew and

Aramaic forms precede; in Hebrew, however, it is more common to place **וְ** after the noun with a pronoun referring to the noun following it. e. g.,

- Eth. **የሱስ** : *iasûs-hî* } 'Jesus also.'  
**ወየሱስ** : *ua-iasûs-hî* }  
**ወበምድር** : *ua-ba-mêdr-nî* 'and in the earth also.'  
**ወእንስሳ** : *ua-ensēsâ-hî* 'and the beasts also.'
- Ta. **בַּשַּׁבָּת** : *nê-sanbat-uên* 'of the Sabbath also.'  
**פְּלִיטִים** : *qarâçât kââm* 'the publicans also.'
- Arab. **اَيْضًا** *al-kalb 'aïḍa* 'the dog also.'  
**اَيْضًا** *hâbîlu 'aïḍa* 'Abel also.'
- Heb. **וְהָאִישׁ** 'the man also.'  
**וְהָאִישׁ** *uēš* 'is Saul also among the prophets?'
- Syr. **ܐܝܬܐ** 'David also.'

### Only.<sup>1</sup>

The idea 'only, alone' is expressed by the following words, viz.,

- Eth. **በሐጥ** : *bāhtît*  
Ta. **በሐጥ** : *bēht*  
Amh. **በሐጥ** : *bēčā*  
Arab. **فقط** *faqaṭ*, لا غير *lā gairu*  
Eg. Arab. **فقط** *faqaṭ*, بس *bess*.  
Heb. **לְבַד**, **קֵץ**, **אֵין**  
Syr. **ܐܝܬܐ**  
Mod. Syr. **ܐܝܬܐ** 'ahēi

All these words except the Arabic, Modern Syriac(?), and Hebrew **קֵץ**, **אֵין**, take a suffix referring to the noun they modify, and follow their noun;<sup>2</sup> classical Arabic *faqaṭ*, which means literally 'and that's enough,' or 'and that's all,' and *lā gairu* 'not besides,'<sup>3</sup> regularly stand at the end of the sentence; in Egyptian Arabic the words may precede or follow their noun: Hebrew **קֵץ** and **אֵין** precede the noun. e. g.,

- Eth. **በሐጥ** : *bēčā bāhtît-û* 'the man alone, only the man.'

**በሐጥ** : *nôh bāhtît-û* 'only Noah.'

<sup>1</sup> In Assyrian the idea 'alone', and probably also 'only' is expressed by *ēdiššu* + suffix, viz., *ēdiššišu*, cf. Del. HB. p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Compare with these Coptic *ouaa* 'alone' + suffixes, Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> With these are to be compared the Modern Persian *و بس* *va-bās* 'only (and enough),' and the Spanish *no mas* in such expressions as *dos libros no mas* 'two books only.'

Ta. ሕዝብ : ብሕቶም : *hëzbî bëht-ôm* 'the people alone.'

Amh. ከይሁድ : ነገድ : ከብቻው : በቀር : *ka-ïëhûd nagad ka-bëcâ-u baqar* 'except the tribe of Judah only.'<sup>1</sup>

ሰነህናት : ብቻ : *la-kâhênât bëcâ* 'to the priests alone.'

Cl. Arab. جاء يسوف فقط *jâ'a ïusûfu faqaṭ* 'only Joseph came.'

Eg. Arab. فقط خمس قروش *faqaṭ ḥamas qurûṣ* } 'only five  
خمس قروش فقط *ḥamas qurûṣ faqaṭ* } piasters.'

بسي اربعة قروش *bess arbaa qurûṣ* 'only four piasters.'

Heb. יַעֲקֹב לְבַדּוֹ 'Jacob alone, only Jacob.'

אֶרֶץ הַכֹּהֲנִים לְבַדָּהּ 'the land of the priests alone.'

רק אֶרֶץ הַכֹּהֲנִים 'only the land of the priests.'

אֶת־נֹחַ 'only Noah.'

Syr. ܡܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ 'only the priest.'

### *Simple Emphasis.*

In some of the languages a special adverbial particle of pronominal origin is employed to emphasize the noun. Such particles are found in Assyrian, Ethiopic, Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, and Mandaic,<sup>2</sup> viz.,

Ass. -*ma*

Eth. -መ -*ma*, ክመ : *këma*

Te. 𐎠 𐎡𐎴 : *tû*<sup>3</sup>

Syr. ܡܐ : *Man*. ܡܢ : *Man*

Arab. -*la*

Heb. -ל

Except in Arabic and Hebrew these particles regularly follow their noun; e. g.,

Ass. *šar Aššur-ma* 'king of Assyria.'

*ina šatti-ma šîâtî* 'in that very year.'

*ina girrija-ma* 'on my campaign.'

<sup>1</sup> The preposition *ka* is here repeated before the apposition *bëcâ* (cf. p. 247).

<sup>2</sup> These particles are employed to emphasize not only nouns but all parts of speech. In Mandaic *hu* seems to be used chiefly with pronouns. With this use of *hû* in Aramaic is to be compared the so-called adverbial use of the demonstrative 𐎠 and 𐎡𐎴 in Hebrew, chiefly with interrogative pronouns; these emphatic demonstratives are apparently not employed with nouns. Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 463, 464.

Similar emphatic particles are found in most of the Philippine languages, e. g., Tagalog *nāa*, Bisaya *man*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Used chiefly with verbs, but also with other words, probably including nouns, tho no examples are given by Littmann. As an example of its use will serve 𐎠𐎡𐎴 : 𐎠 : 'eb-kâ tû 'in thee indeed,' cf. *Te. Pron.* pp. 301—303.



Eth. ውስተ ሙታክራማ : *uṣta matakfî-hû-ma* 'on his own shoulders.'

ሕያዋን : ክመ : *həṣṣāwān kēma* 'the living (not the dead).'

ውስተ ክርማ : ክመ : *uṣta karš kēma* 'merely into the belly.'

እከ : በጎበስተ : ክመ : *'akkô ba-hēbēst kēma* 'not by bread alone.'

Syr. ܠܒܢܝܢܐ ܗܝ ܕܢܝܪ ܕܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ 'for she is like a building.'

ܠܒܝܫܬܐ ܗܝ ܠܡܝܐ 'to evil.'

The Arabic and Hebrew<sup>1</sup> particles precede the noun, e. g., Arab. لا لموت *la-l-mawtu* 'death itself.'

Heb. ִלְכֹּלֵב 'verily a dead dog' (Ecc. 9, 4).

In Syriac a somewhat similar emphasis is conferred by placing the personal pronoun of the third person before the noun or a noun with modifiers; the pronoun agrees with the noun in gender and number: e. g.,

ܗܝ ܕܢܝܪܝܐ 'he, Jeremiah.'

ܗܝ ܕܢܡܘܣܐ ܢܡܘܣܐ 'the law of the watchman.'

ܗܝܢ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܡܡܝܢ 'these blessed ones.'

ܗܝ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܒܢܝܢܐ 'this blessing.'

With this construction is to be compared the Biblical Aramaic

ܗܝܐ ܨܠܡܐ 'that image, with regard to that image' (Dan. 2, 32), and the cases in Mandaic in which the personal pronoun of the third person is used before a noun,<sup>2</sup> e. g.,

ܗܝܢܢ ܡܠܐܟܝܐ 'they, the angels.'

ܗܝܐ ܪܘܚܐ 'she, the Ruha.'

### Sentence Qualification.

A noun is often modified by a whole sentence. This sentence may be a relative clause with or without connecting relative pronoun;<sup>3</sup> or the sentence, with or without connecting relative

<sup>1</sup> For this particle in Hebrew, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr. II. Syntax*, p. 110, and the literature there referred to.

<sup>2</sup> It is also possible that these Mandaic pronouns are used here simply as demonstrative adjectives, just as they are in many cases after the noun; cf. Nöld. *Man. Gr.* pp. 336, 337.

<sup>3</sup> The relative pronoun is at times varied for gender and number, viz.,

Eth. H *za-*, f. እንተ : *'ēnta*; pl. እለ : *'ēlla*; cf. Dill.-Bez. *Āth. Gr.* p, 295.

pronoun, may stand as a sort of *nomen rectum* after the construct state of the noun.

The first construction is found in all the languages. The relative pronoun regularly stands at the beginning of its clause except in Amharic and Tigre; in Amharic it always, in Tigre it usually stands immediately before the verb.<sup>1</sup> The relative clause regularly follows its noun in Assyrian, Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic, though in Assyrian, Syriac, and Mandaic instances of preposition are sometimes found; in Ethiopic, Tigrîna, and Tigre it may either precede or follow; in Amharic long relative clauses usually follow, while with short clauses preposition is the regular rule, tho even in this case the relative clause often follows when its antecedent has another modifier. In Arabic, and usually in Mehri, the relative pronoun is used only when the modified noun is definite.<sup>2</sup> In Mineo-Sabean a relative clause is extremely rare, its place being taken by a

Ta. sg. **ዝ** *zē*- pl. **እለ:እለ:** 'ella 'ellē (the demonstratives **እዝ:** 'ē and **እት:** 'ēt are also employed as relatives): cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 165.

Arab. **الذى** *allaḥī*, f. **التي** *allatī*; pl. m. **الذين** *allaḥīna*, f. **اللاتي** *allātī* (other forms sg. and pl., and a dual occur; **ذو**, usually indeclinable, but also with a full series of forms, is used in some dialects) cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I. pp. 270—273.

Min. **ዕ** *ē*, f. **ዕት** 'n; pl. **እለ**: cf. Homm. *Süd-arab. Chr.* pp. 15, 16.

Meh. sg. *da, de, di* pl. *la, le, li*: cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 28.

In many languages, however, it has become an invariable particle, viz. Ass. *ša*: Te. **ላ**, **ላ** *la-*, *lâ-*: Amh. **የ**, **የም** *ja-*, *jam-* (**የም** before imperfect otherwise **የ**): Mod. Arab. **إلى** *elle* (cf. Wahrm. *Prakt. Handb.* p. 181: for other dialectic forms cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 325, § 109 c.): Heb. **אשר** (also Mo.), **שׁ**; the demonstratives **הַ**, **זֶ**, **הַ** are also used as relatives (cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 118, 467, 468): Phen. **ሄ**, **ሄ**: Aram. **ܗܝ**, **ܗܝ**.

In some languages the regular demonstratives are also employed as relatives, so, e. g., in Hebrew and Tigrîna. In Classical Arabic and Hebrew the article is occasionally used as relative; cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I p. 269; Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 468 (§ 138 i). It is not impossible that the Tigre relative and article are identical (ctr. p. 142, n. 2). For the forms of the relatives in general, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 324—326 (§ 109).

<sup>1</sup> In compound verbal forms in Amharic and Tigre, the relative regularly stands with the auxiliary (cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 255); Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 308 [L.'s statement as to Amharic is a mistake].

<sup>2</sup> This is also the rule in Coptic, cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 219—221.

clause standing as *nomen rectum* to an antecedent (cf. below).<sup>1</sup>  
e. g.,

- Ass. *mātu ša akšudu* 'the land that I conquered.'  
*ša epuš-šunūti dunqu* 'the favor that I showed them.'
- Eth. መርዓት : ዘጥተ : ምታ : *mar'ât za-môta mêt-â* 'a bride  
 whose husband is dead.'  
 ዘኸሉ : ደእኅዘ : እግዚአብሔር : *za-kuëllô ië'ehëz 'ëgzia-*  
*bhêr* 'God who holds all things.'
- Arab. المدينة التي ظهرت له *al-madînatu allatî ṣaharat*  
*lahu* 'the city which appeared to him.'
- Meh. *uzir di-shât habuniye* 'the vizier who killed my  
 children.'
- Ta. ሰብ : ዘወደ : እንዲመቃበር : *sab zë-yaçê 'enkâm-maqâbar*  
 'a man who came out of the graves.'
- Te. ወለት : ... ማርያ : ለትትበህል : *walat ... mâriâ la-tëtbahal*  
 'a maiden who was called Mary.'  
 ኣና : ለእስትያ : ጽጥእ : 'anâ la-'ësatejâ çëuâ 'the cup  
 which I will drink.'
- Amh. የክበረች : የገር : *ja-kabbaraç nagar* 'a matter which  
 is honorable.'  
 አንድ : ሰው ም : ነበረ : የታመመ : 'and say-ëm nabbara  
*ja-tâ mama* 'and there was a man who was sick.'  
 መዐዛው : ደማረ : ሸቶ : *ma'azâ-u jâmâra šët-û* 'spices  
 whose odor is pleasant.'  
 አማኑኤል : ... ትርጉሙ : እግዚአብሔር : ከኛ : ጋራ : የሆነ :  
*'amânû'êl ... tērguâmê-u 'ëgzî'abhêr kañâ gârâ jahônu*  
 'Emanuel... whose interpretation is "God with us".'
- Heb. הַנָּהָן בֶּן־נָשָׁא שֶׁבָּא הֵנָּה 'the man who came here.'
- Bib. Aram. מַלְאָכָא דְּמַלְאָכָא דְּמַלְאָכָא 'the image that the king had  
 erected.'
- Syr. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'the word of God  
 which he had received.'  
 ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'there was no one who  
 thought.'
- Man. דהוא דהוא דהוא 'that image which he saw.'  
 ואיתליא דייא עצמלא 'and brought me a garment  
 which was beautiful.'

A relative clause has in many cases, especially if it is short,

<sup>1</sup> The relative pronoun in Mineo-Sabean is practically always a compound relative including its antecedent, cf. Homm. *Süd-arab. Chr.* p. 15.

become simply an adjective; this is particularly true in Ethiopic, Tigrīna, Tigre, and Amharic;<sup>1</sup> when the noun depends on a preposition the preposition may stand before the relative clause, the relative pronoun being omitted in Amharic (cf. below). e. g.,

Eth. ዘየዐለ : ብርሃን : *za-ia'abî bër'hân* 'the great light (light that is great).'

በእነተ : ነበረተ : ሌሊት : *ba-ënta ḥalafat lēlīt* 'in the night which has passed.'

Ta. እንክብ : እትመጽእ : ምግት : *'ēnkâb 'ēt-maçē' mē'ât* 'from the wrath to come.'

The relative clause may stand after the noun without relative pronoun<sup>2</sup> in Assyrian, Arabic, Mehri, Hebrew, Samaritan, and Modern Syriac, and less frequently in Biblical Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian, Syriac, and Mandaic. In Arabic no relative is employed when the noun is indefinite: in Mehri the relative is regularly omitted in this case, but also at times when the antecedent is definite: in Hebrew the use of the relative clause without relative pronoun is more common in poetry: in Modern Syriac this omission is very common in relative sentences whose subject is a noun with suffix, and whose predicate is an adjective; in such relative clauses the copula is also omitted. e. g.,

Ass. *bītu epušu* 'the house that I built.'

Arab. رجل يقال له زيد *rajulu" iṣqālu lahu za'idu* 'a man who was called Zaid.'

Meh. *rīšīt tetūj hābū* 'a snake that eats men.'

Heb. הַנָּכַר הַחֶסֶד-בּוֹ *'the man that trusts in him'* (Ps. 34, 9).

Bib. Aram. צֶלֶם דִּידְהָב רֹמֵם אֲמִין שְׁתִּין *'a golden image whose height was 60 cubits.'*

Sam. בארעא לית לון *'in a land which is not theirs.'*

Syr. *ܐܢܫܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܫܡܗ ܐܠܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܡܥܡܐ* 'a man whose name was Job.'

Man.<sup>3</sup> נאברא ראם שומה *'a man whose name was Ram.'*

<sup>1</sup> Coptic forms similar adjectives, cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 81, 219.

<sup>2</sup> The relative may be omitted in both Egyptian and Coptic, in the latter as in Arabic; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 281; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 219—221. Omission of the relative is also common in English.

<sup>3</sup> The omission of the relative is specially frequent in Mandaic in clauses which give the name of a person as here; cf. Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 460.

Mod. Syr. **ܠܗܐ ܢܐܫܐ ܡܬܬܐܒܐ ܠܗܐ** *hâ 'nâšâ pāt-û šâpîrtâ*  
 'a man with a handsome face.'

In Amharic the relative particle የ (the *yo* of የም is retained) introducing a preceding relative clause, is omitted like the sign of the genitive (cf. p. 228 above) whenever the modified noun is governed by a preposition or the sign of the genitive; e. g.,

**ወደ ከበረ** : (for የክ-) **ሰው** : *uada kabbara* (for *ia-ka-*) *sayu*  
 'towards a man who is honorable.'

**ከበረ የሚመቹ** : (for የየሚ-) **ደስታ** : *kabrô iâ-mîmatû* (for *ia-ia-mî-*) *dastâ* 'the joy of those who beat drums.'

**ኃጢአት** : **በሚሰሩ** : (for በየየሚ-) **ረድኤት** : **ላይ** : *hâfi'at ba-mîsarû*  
 (for *ba-ia-ia-mî-*) *rad'et lâi* 'against the help of those who do iniquity.'

**በተቀመጠበት** : (for በየየተ-) **እጅ** : *ba-taqammafa-bat* (for *ba-ia-ia-ta-*) 'ēj 'in the hand of the one who sat upon him.'

In Amharic the relative clause is treated as a unit and may take the sign of determination (*û*, *ው*; or after *û*, *ት* or *ቱ*) and the accusative ት, just like the genitive phrase (cf. p. 229 above), e. g.,

**ያረፈው** : **አባትህ** : *iârrafa-u 'abâtêh* 'your deceased (who has died) father.'

**የተገደሉት** : **ሰዎች** : *ia-tagaddalû-t šayuðc* 'the who-were-killed men'.

**ያዘዘውን** : **ቀርባኑን** : *iâzzaza-u-ën quërbân-û-n* 'the sacrifice (acc.) which he ordered.'

In Tigre a relative clause modifying a noun with article either stands after the noun or (rarely) is placed between the article and the noun, e. g.,

**ለእኩን** : **ላደባ** : **ከረዎ** : (or **ደባ** : **ላከረዎ** :) *la-'akân la-dîb-â kara-u-ô*  
 (*dîb-â lâ-kara-u-ô*) 'the place in which they laid him.'

**ምስላ** : **ስኩበእቱ** : **ሰፃላ** : **ዐራት** : *mës-lâ* (article) *sakëb-'êtû la-'âlâ*  
 (relative + auxil. verb) 'arât 'with the which-he-was-lying-upon-it bed.'

Examples in which a sentence depending on a noun stands as *nomen rectum* after the construct state are found in Arabic, Ethiopic, Hebrew, and Mineo-Sabean. In the first three languages they are comparatively rare, being most frequent when the modified noun denotes a division of time, but in Mineo-Sabean this construction takes the place of the relative clause introduced by relative pronoun.<sup>1</sup> e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. H. Müller, *Der status constructus im Hîmyarischen*, ZDMG. 30, pp. 117—124.

Arab. *ilâ iaymi iub'athûna* 'till the day  
when they shall be raised up.'

amir zaman 'l-hajâju 'amîru' 'at the  
time when Hajaj was emir.'

Eth. ለማዶ፡ ይበልዑ፡ ብሉ፡ *lēmāda jēbalē'u jēbūra* 'the custom of eating together.'

መዋዕለ:17ሠ:፳፫ት: *manā'la naḡša dāwūt* 'the days  
when David reigned.'

Heb. תְּשַׁלֵּחַ בְּיָד 'by the hand (of him) thou wilt send'  
(Ex. 4, 13).

אֶל־מֹשֶׁה 'at the time when JHWH spoke to Moses' (Ex. 6, 28).

Min. بن محفد بنی *bn mħfd bnī* 'from the tower (that) he built.'  
 بعد حادثة حدثت *b'd ħdħt ħdħt* 'after the accident  
 (that) happened.'

'*lm r*' 'the token (that) he saw.' علم را

In Hebrew a sentence in this construction is often introduced by a relative pronoun; in Arabic, sometimes by a subordinate conjunction. In Hebrew this is especially frequent after the noun **מָקוֹם** 'place.' e. g.,

Heb. בֹּזֶזְתָּ בּוֹ 'all the time that the plague is upon him' (Lev. 13, 46).

‘the place where the king’s captives were imprisoned’ (Gen. 39, 20).

Arab. *استتر* وقت ان *yaqta 'an-i 'statara* 'at the time that  
he hid himself.'

### Nominal Coordination.

Two or more coordinated nouns may in some languages be joined together without conjunction;<sup>1</sup> so in Assyrian, Amharic, Tigrîna, Babylonian Talmudic, Modern Egyptian Arabic, and Modern Syriac: e. g.,

Ass. *šamē erṣiti*<sup>m</sup> 'of heaven and earth.'

*biltu mandattu* 'tribute and offering.'

*Nabû Marduk* 'Nebo and Marduk.'

<sup>1</sup> Asyndeton is found also in Egyptian (cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 113): in Indo-European it also occurs in a number of languages, viz., Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, and Russian; cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 181–194. In Sanskrit two such nouns often form a compound (*dvandva*), cf. *op. cit.* pp. 190–192.

Amh. ጉግሻጉ፡አሊሊ፡ *guëgšâ-n 'alûlâ-n* (acc.) 'Guegsa and Alula.'

ቅጥር፡ሳንቃ፡ቀልፍ፡ *qëṭr sângâ quëlf* 'wall, door, and bolt.'

Ta. አዕት፡ነቢዮት፡ 'ôrît nabîyât 'the law and the prophets.'

መንገደ፡አነት፡ሕይወት፡ *mangadî 'ûnat hëyuat* 'the way, the truth, and the life.'

Bab.Tal. במסכתא בפורי'א באושפ'יא 'with regard to the treatise, the couch, and the lodgings.'

Eg.Arab. رحنا برېسى لندن برلين فئنه استمبول اسکندريه  
*ruhñâ barîs lundera barlîn fî'enna istambûl, iskenderîye* 'we journeyed to Paris, London, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, Alexandria.'

Mod. Syr. ساعيا فريسا *sâperê perîšê* 'the Scribes and Pharisees.'

Ordinarily, however, they are joined together by a conjunction meaning 'and'. In all the languages except Amharic and Tigrîna<sup>1</sup> the construction is simple, and consists in joining the different words together by some form of the conjunction *ya*. If there are three or more words so connected, the conjunction may be omitted before all but the last two; so in Ethiopic, Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic (here apparently the regular construction), and Mandaic. e. g.,

Ass. *ša šamê u erçiti*<sup>m</sup> 'of heaven and earth.'

*ardu u amtu* 'manservant and maid.'

*Nabû u Marduk* 'Nebo and Marduk.'

Arab. أبوه وامه 'abûhu ya-'ummuhu 'his father and his mother.'

كل شيء من الشاء والنعم والنخل والزرع *kullu šay'în minâ 'š-šâ'i ya-'n-na'ami ya-'n-naḥli ya-'z-zar'i* 'all kinds of flocks and camels and palms and grains.'

Eth. ጥብስ፡ወይን፡ *hëbëst ya-yaïn* 'bread and wine.'

ሶሞስ፡ወአቡሁ፡ወእሙ፡ *sômsôn ya-abûhû ya-'ëmmû* 'Samson, his father and his mother.'

መንገሥት፡ገደል፡ወሰብሐት፡ *mangëšt ḥaïl ya-sëbhat* 'the kingdom, the power, and the glory.'

<sup>1</sup> What the construction is in Tigre does not appear, as Littmann in his two articles on Tigre discusses only the pronouns and the verb.

Heb. הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ 'heaven and earth.'  
צֶאֱן וּבָקָר וְעֶבְדִּים וְשִׁפְחוֹת 'sheep, cattle, men-servants,  
and maid-servants.'

בַּמִּקְנֶה בַּכֶּסֶף וּבַזָּהָב 'in cattle, silver and gold.'

Bib. Aram. חֲלֵמָא וּפְשָׁרָה 'the dream and its interpretation.'  
מִתְּנָן וּנְבוּזָה וְיָקָר שְׁנֵי 'gifts and a reward and great  
honor.'

מַלְכוּתָא וְרִבּוּתָא וְיָקָר וְהִדְרָא 'the kingdom, power,  
glory, and honor.'

לְחַנְנִיָּה מִישָׂאֵל וְעַזְרִיָּה 'to Hananiah, Mishael and  
Azariah.'

Syr. שָׁמַיָּא וְאַרְעָא ܡܥܠܐ ܥܠܐ 'heaven and earth.'

אַרְעָא קֶרְמָא וְוִינָא ܐܬܝܠܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܥܠܐ 'the land, the vine  
and the olive.'

Bab. Tal. תְּרֻנּוּלָא חֲמָא וְשֵׂרָא 'a cock, an ass, and a candle.'

Man. מִן קוּלָאִילֵי וּפִירוּנֵי וּשׁוּשְׁלָתָא 'from snares, punish-  
ments, and chains.'

בְּחִירְבָא נֹרָא וְעִשְׁתָּא 'with sword, fire, and burning.'

Mod. Syr. ܒܗܪܐ ܘܐ-ܫܗܘܢܝܐ ܡܥܠܐ ܥܠܐ *bahrâ ʔa-šehûniâ* 'light and warmth.'

Sometimes with groups of more than three nouns the conjunction is used in more than one case, tho not in all. This is due ordinarily to the fact that all the elements are not coordinate, but that some are more closely connected than others; it may in some cases be due to textual corruption. This phenomenon is probably found in most if not all of the languages. Examples are available in Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Mandaic, and Egyptian Arabic, e. g.,

Heb. לַבַּעַל לְשֶׁשֶׁשׁ וְלַיָּרֵךְ וְלַמְּזֹלוֹת וְלִכְלֵל הַשָּׁמַיִם 'to Baal,  
to the sun, moon, constellations, and all the  
host of heaven.'

חֹדֶשׁ וְשַׁבָּת קָרָא מִקְרָא 'new moon and sabbath, the  
calling of an assembly.'

מֵר-וַאֲהֻלוֹת קַצְיֹעוֹת 'myrrh, aloes, and cassia.'<sup>1</sup>

אֵלִיפָאז הַתִּימָנִי וּבִלְדָד הַשְּׁחִיטִי וְצֹפָר הַנַּעֲמָתִי 'Eliphaz the  
Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar  
the Naamathite.'

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the first two are to be considered as more closely connected with one another than with the third element. This is indicated by the fact that in three of the four passages in which the word for 'aloes' occurs it is preceded by מֵר as here (Ps. 45, 9). It is not impossible, however, that the order of the words is wrong, and that the reading should be קַצְיֹעוֹת וַאֲהֻלוֹת מֵר (so Haupt).



Bib. Aram. מֶלֶךָ וְרָבָנָהוּי שְׁנֵלְתָהּ וְלִחְנָתָה 'the king and his councillors, his queens and his concubines.'

סָרְכֵי מַלְכוּתָא סִנְיָא נְאֻחֵשְׁדִין פְּנִיָּא הִדְבָּרִיא וּפְחֻתָּא 'the ministers of the kingdom, the governors and the princes, the councillors and the satraps.'

לְאֵלֵהִי דְהָבָא וְכֶסֶף אֶחָד פְּרוּזָא אֶחָד וְאֶבְנָא 'to gods of gold and silver, of bronze, iron, wood and stone.'

מַלְכוּתָא חֲסָנָא וְתַקְפָּא וְיָקָרָא 'the kingdom, power and strength, and glory.'

בְּסַרְבְּלֵיהוֹן פִּטְשִׁיהוֹן וְכַרְבְּלֵיהוֹן וְלְבוּשֵׁיהוֹן 'in their mantels (?), their cloaks (?), and their hats, (and their clothes)'<sup>1</sup> [Dan. 3, 21].

Man. מֵאנָא סֵאדָא הֵלֵאנָא וּמִצָּרָא וּפִכָּרָא וּנְגָרָא 'the instrument, the foot-block, the torture and the twisting, and the fettering and racking.'

הַיּוֹאֲנִיָּא בִּירִיאָתָא וְנוֹנִיא וְצִפָּר נֶאֱדָפָא 'wild animals, cattle, and fish and birds.'

הַיִּדְרָא וִיוֹא וְנִהוּרָא וְעֻקָּרָא 'magnificence, splendor, and light and honor.'

Eg. Arab. واحد قميص وواحد لباس عربي وواحد طربوش  
 uâhid qamis u-e-uâhid libâs uâhid 'irîe u-e-  
 uâhid ṭarbûš 'a shirt and a pair of drawers,  
 a cloak and a fez.'

In Amharic and Tigrîna, when a copulative conjunction is used to connect the nouns, the construction is somewhat more complicated than in the other languages. In Amharic —**ከ** is employed like *et* between the words to be connected: —**ከ** is ordinarily added to a word which is to be connected with a preceding word, tho it is sometimes employed also with the first of two nouns; when the element to be connected by —**ከ** consists of two or more words, the conjunction is not necessarily added to the first element, but may be taken by one of the others. When more than two words are to be connected they may be placed together without connective (cf. above), or one or more pairs may be connected by one or the other of the conjunctions —**ከ**, —**ከ**; these conjunctions may be used together in the same chain of coordinated nouns, but not to connect the same pair of words. e. g.,

<sup>1</sup> The last element is probably a gloss, explaining the unusual terms preceding.

ሰማይና፡ምድር፡ *samâi-nâ mēdr* 'heaven and earth.'

መፍረስ፡መሰበርም፡ *mafras masabar-m* 'destruction and devastation.'

መፍረስ፡ታላቅ፡መሰበርም፡ *mafras tâlâq masabar-m* 'destruction and great devastation.'

የጋለምተች፡እናት፡የምድርም፡ርድሰት፡ሁሉ፡ *ia-gâlamôtôč 'ênât ia-mēdr-ēm rēkuēsāt hūlū* 'the mother of harlots and of all wickedness of the earth.'

እፊትም፡ነቢዮትም፡ *'ôrît-ēm nabîiât-ēm* 'the law and the prophets.'

የሥጋ፡መመኛት፡የጻይነም፡መመኛት፡የሰውም፡ትምክሕት፡ *ia-šegâ mamañât ia-'âin-ēm mamañât ia-say-m tēm-kēht* 'lust of the flesh and lust of the eye and pride of life.'

እልጋ፡ማዕድ፡ወንበርና፡መቅረዝ፡ *'algâ mâ'd uanbar-nâ magraz* 'bed, table, chair, and candlestick.'

In Tigrîna each element to be connected, including the first, is ordinarily followed by enclitic —ወን or —ን; in any one chain of nouns the connectives may be all the same, or both may be used. Sometimes —ወን or —ን<sup>1</sup> is used like Amharic —ም only after the element to be connected, especially if it consists of more than one word. e. g.,

እቦውን፡እዓውን፡ *'abô-üēn 'ênô-üēn* 'father and mother.'

ደምን፡ማይን፡ *dam-ēn mâi-n* 'blood and water.'

መንገደውን፡ሕትውን፡ሕይወትን፡(ሕይወትውን)፡ *mangadî-üēn 'ūnat-üēn hēiüat-ēn (or hēiüat-üēn)* 'the way, the truth, and the life.'

ነይሁዳውን፡ንገዮቹን፡ *nē-iēhūdâ-üēn nē-hayūât-û-n<sup>2</sup>* 'to Judah and his brethren.'

ንቁልሕን፡ንዮኡውን፡ *nē-qual'â-n nēnô-'û-üēn<sup>2</sup>* 'to the child and its mother.'

የሱስ፡ደቀ፡መዛሙርቱውን፡ *iasûs daqa mazâmûrt-û-üēn* 'Jesus and his disciples.'

### Conclusion.

The various qualifications of the noun in Semitic, then, are expressed in general as follows.

<sup>1</sup> No example of —ን in this use is available, but the rule in all probability applies to it as well as to —ወን.

<sup>2</sup> The preposition on which the first noun depends is almost always repeated as here, cf. *Praet. Tig. Spr.* p. 340 f.

Both simple determination and simple indetermination are often without special means of expression. Generally speaking the Semitic languages have developed two ways of indicating simple determination, viz., by article and by possessive suffix. Simple indetermination is expressed by indefinite articles derived in some languages from an indefinite enclitic particle *ma*, but more frequently by the numeral 'one'.

Simple qualification is expressed by the descriptive adjective, which agrees with its noun in general in case, gender, number, and determination; sometimes the two are joined together in a construct chain.

The demonstrative pronouns used as adjectives express demonstrative qualification; they have rules of concord similar to those of the descriptive adjective, but tho they require their noun to be in the definite state, it is only in Hebrew that the demonstrative itself takes the definite article.

The interrogative 'which' is ordinarily expressed by an adjective; 'whose', by the genitive of 'who'; 'how much', in most cases by a word formed of a preposition meaning 'as, like' + the neuter interrogative 'what'.

Indefinite pronominal ideas are expressed sometimes by adjectives, sometimes by substantives followed by the genitive or a prepositional phrase, sometimes in other ways; at times they are expressed simply by the construction itself.

Numeral qualification is expressed by the cardinal and ordinal numerals. The cardinals may stand as adjectives or appositives, or they may take their noun in the genitive or accusative. The numbers from 'three' to 'ten' have what might be called a reversed concord of gender. The noun is sometimes singular, sometimes plural, the number depending in some cases on the numeral, in others on the noun. The ordinals may be expressed either by the ordinals proper, or by cardinals in the ordinal construction or after the noun in the genitive.

Case relation between two nouns may be expressed by the construct chain, by joining the two nouns by a preposition, by a combination of these two methods, or by using instead of a simple preposition, a combination of relative pronoun and preposition. The construct chain is the oldest method, the others become more common in the later development of the individual languages, in some of them completely replacing the construct chain.

Personal pronominal qualification is expressed by possessive pronominal suffixes added to the noun.

Appositives are of two kinds, viz., (a) a common noun denoting class, measure, content, etc., standing as appositive to another common noun; (b) a common noun used as an appositive to a proper.

Adverbial qualification is expressed by an appositive in accusative or nominative, or by certain adverbial and pronominal particles.

A noun may be modified by a relative clause either with or without relative pronoun, or it may stand in the construct before a following sentence which takes the place of a genitive.

Nouns may be coordinated by asyndeton, by using connectives between each two, or by using the connective only with certain pairs.

The most characteristically Semitic of these constructions are, viz., the use of the possessive suffix to express determination; the use of the article with both adjective and noun, and not once with the combination; the use of the article with noun modified by a demonstrative; the reversed concord of the cardinals from 'three' to 'ten'; the use of the cardinals in the genitive in the sense of ordinals; the construct chain; prepositional phrases derived from elliptical relative clauses; appositives denoting measure, content, and the like; the use of a whole sentence as a genitive after the construct of a noun. Generally speaking the more modern languages have, as was to be expected, given up many characteristic old Semitic constructions and adopted many new ones. To judge from the constructions treated in the present paper, the members of the Abyssinian group have departed farthest from the ancient Semitic norm, Amharic being the most extreme example of this phenomenon, while in Arabic and Hebrew, we have, all things considered, perhaps the truest picture of the syntactical conditions of the primitive Semitic speech.

#### Addenda.

#### References.

C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Gram. der semitischen Sprachen*, Bd. II. Syntax (Lief. 1. u. 2, 1911) [Brock. *Syn.*]

The statements with regard to Modern Hebrew are made

on the authority of Dr. Aaron Ember of Johns Hopkins University.

### *Transliteration.*

In the modern Abyssinian languages, the transliteration is not meant to give an absolutely accurate representation of the pronunciation, but is intended chiefly to show what characters are employed; it is the same as in Ethiopic for the characters which these languages have in common with Ethiopic, e. g., **ሠ** is transliterated *š* (not *s* as pronounced), and the vowel written *ê* appears as *ê* (pronounced *iê* in Amharic).

Add the modern Aramaic dialect of Tur-Abdin to the list of languages appearing only in transliteration, cf. p. 138.

### *Determination.*

The determinative construction with pleonastic suffix described on pp. 145—148<sup>1</sup> is found also in Tigre, at least when the determining word is a noun or verb; the preposition **እገል** : is used here just as **ለ** is in Ethiopic (cf. Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 225, n. at end): e. g.,

**ወልደ : እገል : ደኅራ** : *wald-û 'ëgël-lâ dakhârâ* 'the son of the praised-one.'

**እገል : እማ : ቲል** : *'ëgël 'ëmm-â têt-â* 'to her mother she spoke.'

In Ethiopic a suffix after a preposition is sometimes resumed by the same preposition, just as in Syriac [cf. pp. 146, 151], instead of by **ለ**, e. g.,

**ሶቶ : በንጽሕናሁ** : *bôtû ba-nëçḥnâ-hû* 'in (it in) his purity.'

On page 149 in the second paragraph, South Arabic is to be understood as meaning Mineo-Sabean, Mehri, of course, having no article.

### *Simple Qualification.*

Sometimes an adjective is separated from its noun by other words, cf. Brock. *Syn.* p. 201 f. [cf. p. 158 f.].

An adjective of praise or blame may precede its noun in Classical and Modern Egyptian Arabic; the Assyrian adjectives that precede the noun seem also to belong to this class, cf.

<sup>1</sup> In Coptic a pleonastic suffix is sometimes employed, as in Semitic to specially determine a dependent noun. When one of the few nouns which still take possessive suffixes is followed by a genitive, the noun usually takes a pleonastic suffix, cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 40, 80.

Brock. *Syn.* p. 203 [cf. p. 159]. For cases in which the Assyrian adjective precedes its noun, see, besides p. 159, pp. 223 f., 240.

Certain classes of adjectives in Arabic, Classical and Modern Egyptian, and foreign adjectives in Modern Syriac are without inflection for gender and number, cf. Brock. *Syn.* pp. 204, 208 [cf. pp. 160—164].

For cases in Classical Arabic in which the determination of noun + adjective is apparently indicated by the article with the adjective alone, cf. Brock. *Syn.* pp. 208, 209 [cf. pp. 165, 167].

In Tigre the article is sometimes employed with both noun and adjective, sometimes only with the second of the two [cf. p. 166], e. g.,

ለእኑስ : ለገመድ : *la-’ēnās la-gēmûç* ‘the poor man.’

ካልእ : ለሐርሶም : *kālē la-ḥars-ôm* ‘their second ploughing.’

In Biblical Aramaic as in Hebrew and Modern Arabic an adjective modifying a dual stands in the plural [cf. p. 164], e. g.,

וְשִׁנָּי דִּי-פִּרְזָל לָהּ רַב־רַבָּן ‘and it had great iron teeth’ (Dan. 7, 7).

#### *Demonstrative Qualification.*

A demonstrative adjective in Mehri sometimes precedes its noun, e. g., *dime rehejmet* ‘this pretty girl’ (cf. pp. 169, 180).

#### *Indefinite Qualification.*

In Mehri the word for ‘all’ seems to stand after the noun with or without suffix. In Tigre it stands with suffix before or after the noun. e. g.,

Meh. *habanthe kall* ‘all his daughters.’

*hâbû kallhem* ‘all people.’

Te. ሳለ : ክለ : *lâli kēlla* ‘all night.’

ክሉ : ሱይይ : መጥቆል : *kūllû lôhaiḡ mayâqēl* ‘all the hillocks there.’

In the dialect of Tlemsen *el-kull* may stand before the definite noun, as well as after it [cf. p. 185], e. g.,

الكل الناس *el-kull en-nās* ‘all the people.’

With this construction is to be compared the Biblical Aramaic כָּלָא שְׁלֵמָא ‘all hail’ (Ez. 5, 7).

In Biblical Hebrew the pleonastic Mishnic construction [cf. p. 185] occurs in at least one passage, viz.,

כָּל-מְלָכֵי נְוִים כָּלָם ‘all the kings of the Gentiles’ (Is. 14, 18).

In Hebrew the idea of 'self' may be indicated by a personal pronoun in apposition to a preceding noun, e. g.,

לְכֵן יִתֵּן אֲדֹנָי הוּא לָכֶם אוֹת 'therefore my Lord himself will give you a sign' (Is. 7, 14).

In Modern Hebrew the idea of 'various' is indicated by the participle שְׁוִיִּים, e. g.,

דְּבָרִים שְׁוִיִּים 'various things.'

### Numeral Qualification.

In Modern Hebrew a noun modified by the cardinals from ten' (inclusive) upward, stands in the singular [cf. pp. 205, 206].

To examples of the omission of the article with ordinals (cf. p. 215), add,

Bibl. Aram. מַלְכוּת תְּלִיתִי 'a third kingdom.'

### Nominal Qualification.

In Tigre, as in Ethiopic, it is possible to insert a modifier of the *nomen rectum* between the *regens* and the *rectum* [cf. p. 221]. It is also possible for a construct governing a definite noun to take an article itself [cf. pp. 218, 219, 220]. e. g.,

እት : አፈት : ለመርዓት : ለሀሌት : እታ : ቤት : 'ēt 'affêt la (article)-mar'ât la(relative)-hallêt 'ëttâ bêt 'at the door of the-in-which-the-bride-is house.'

ለሰሌት : ለወእት : la-selêt la-ua'at 'the placenta of the cow.'

In Amharic an adjective modifying a noun with preceding genitive may stand before the genitive or between genitive and noun (cf. p. 227), e. g.,

ታላቅ : የደንጊድ : ክምር : tâlâq iâ-dangîîâ këmr } 'a great heap  
የደንጊድ : ታላቅ : ክምር : iâ-dangîîâ tâlâq këmr } of stone.'

In the Modern Arabic of Hadramaut a noun modified by a determinate genitive is not necessarily determinate, and may take the indefinite article, e. g.,

uḥdah bit š-šēbah 'a daughter of the old man' (cf. Brock. Syn. p. 236) [cf. the Mod. Syr. construction, p. 240].

In the genitive combination in Syriac, ܠܐ + suffix may be used instead of, or in addition to the pleonastic suffix on the *regens*; in this case the *rectum* has usually the added meaning of 'the well known,' 'already mentioned.' e. g.,

ܠܐܬܝ ܕܝܠܐ ܕܕܝܪܐ ܠܐܬܝ ܕܝܠܐ 'the brethren of the cloister itself.'

ܕܕܝܠܐ ܕܕܝܠܐ ܕܕܝܠܐ 'the court of the (already mentioned) temple.'

In addition to the ways of expressing nominal qualification already enumerated, viz., the construct chain, various kinds of prepositional phrases, and combinations of these constructions, a noun may be modified by another noun standing in the accusative. The accusative form is apparent only in Arabic, but there are a number of passages in Hebrew which are probably to be classed here, tho they are hardly to be distinguished from cases of apposition, e. g.,

Arab. البدر ليلة تمامه *al-badru laïlata tamâmihi* 'the moon on the night of its fullness.'

جبتك خزا *jubbatuka hazza* "thy jocket of silk."

رافود خلا *râqûdu* "halla" 'a vessel of vinegar.'

Heb. על־דרך תִּמְנָתָה 'on the way to Timnath' (Gen. 38, 14).

הַכְּרוּבִּים זָהָב 'the cherubim of gold' (1 Chr. 28, 18).

שָׁלֹשׁ סָאִים קֶמַח 'three *seahs* of meal' (Gen. 18, 6).

#### *Personal Pronominal Qualification.*

In the Aramaic dialect of Tur Abdin a noun with suffix may take the article as in Tigre and Maltese, cf. Brock. *Syn.* p. 259 [cf. p. 239].

#### *Nominal Apposition.*

For examples illustrating the agreement of the appositive with its noun in case, especially in Arabic and Amharic, cf. Brock. *Syn.* pp. 217, 219. For additional examples of the repetition of the preposition governing the modified noun, cf. Brock. *Syn.* pp. 220, 221. [cf. p. 247; to the languages there given are to be added Arabic, Tigre, and Syriac].

An appositive does not necessarily agree with its noun in determination, e. g.,

Arab. عن سليمان ... رجل من اهل مكة *an sulaïmâna... rajuli* "min 'ahli makkata" 'from Suleiman ... a man of the people of Mecca.'

الى صراط مستقيم صراط الله *'ilâ çirâti* "mustaqîmi" *çirâti 'ulâhi* 'to a straight path, the path of God.'

#### *Adverbial Qualification.*

In addition to the adverbial ideas described above, a noun in Semitic is sometimes modified by an adverb of place, e. g.,

Arab. على تل عال هناك *'alâ talli* "âli" *hunâka* 'on a high hill there.'



*Das Sendschreiben des Patriarchen Barschuschan an den Catholicus der Armenier.*<sup>1</sup> By OTTO LICHTI, Ph. D., Ansonia, Conn.

Die vorliegende Handschrift ist der erste Teil der sogenannten *Handschrift Sachau 60* der Handschriften-Abteilung der Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin. Durch die Freundlichkeit der Herren Direktoren Harnack und Stern genannter Bibliothek wurde es mir ermöglicht, die Handschrift zu kopieren und schließlich auch zu übersetzen. Inwiefern mir letzteres gelungen ist, mögen die geneigten Leser selbst entscheiden.

Unsere Handschrift ist ein Sendschreiben eines auch sonst in der syrischen Literatur bekannten Patriarchen Johannes, oder Jäschū', Barschūschan (Susanna), an den Catholicus der Armenier, mit einem Begleitschreiben des unterzeichneten Patriarchen, Ignatius von Antiochien, genannt Matthäus aus Mardin. Die Sachlage ist wohl die, daß Ignatius den Brief des Bar Schuschan mit einem Zusatz von sich selbst an den Catholicus geschickt hat.

Nach Wright (*A short History of Syriac Literature*, p. 225—227) wurde Johannes Barschuschan von den Bischöfen des Ostens zum Gegenpatriarchen des Hāyē, oder Athanasius VI, unter dem Namen Johann X, gewählt im Jahre 1058 (Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.* I. 437 ff., B. O. II. 141. 354). Er dankte jedoch bald ab, und zog sich zurück in ein Kloster und widmete sich dem Studium. Beim Tode des Athanasius wurde er wieder erwählt zum Patriarchen 1064 und wirkte nun in dieser Kapazität bis zu seinem Tode im Jahre 1073. Wie uns Bar-Hebraeus berichtet, hat Johannes Barschuschan mit dem Patriarchen von Alexandrien, Christodulus, längere Auseinandersetzungen wegen der Mischung von Salz und Öl mit dem eucharistischen Brote nach syrischer Weise gehabt. Er

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<sup>1</sup> An investigation which was completed in May 1911, at Yale University.

scheint überhaupt ein sehr schreibseliger Mann gewesen zu sein, da er eine Unmasse von Schriften, alle kontroversioneller Natur, hinterließ.

Durch Herausgabe der Werke Ephraems und des Isaak von Antiochien suchte Johannes Barschuschān die syrische National-literatur wieder zu beleben. Er trat selbst als Dichter auf und besang in ergreifender Weise das Schicksal der Stadt Melitene, das dieselbe im Jahre 1058 bei ihrer Erstürmung und Plünderung durch die Türken erlitt, in vier Gedichten (Bar Heb., *Chron. Syr.* p. 252).

Am Schlusse unseres Sendschreibens ist der Abdruck von dem Siegel eines Jakobitischen Patriarchen eingeklebt. Die Unterschrift lautet: Ignatius, Patriarch von Antiochien genannt Matthäus (der Rest ist verwischt), nach der Liste der 33. der Jakobitischen Patriarchen, Matthäus aus Mardin. Aus dieser Unterschrift, die ganz verschieden von der Überschrift ist, erhellt natürlich, daß wir zwei Briefe in einen zusammen geschweißt vor uns haben: einen von Johannes bar Schuschān, den ersten Teil der Handschrift bildend, und einen von Ignatius von Antiochien.<sup>1</sup> So wie die Handschrift heute vorliegt, ist sie von einem Diakonus 'Abd-Elwāhid zu Mosul nach 1859 abgeschrieben worden, wie Prof. Sachau glaubt.

An dieser Stelle möchte ich auch meinem verehrten Lehrer, Prof. C. C. Torrey, für seine freundlichen Winke, womit er mich von Zeit zu Zeit bedachte und für seine Bereitwilligkeit, mir allezeit mit Rat und Tat beizustehen und über die schwierigsten Klippen hinwegzuhelfen, meinen herzlichsten Dank aussprechen.

### Einleitung.

Wir haben zunächst die Überschrift, die nicht vom Verfasser des Briefes stammt, sondern jedenfalls von dem Abschreiber.

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<sup>1</sup> Ignatius (Lazarus) war Maphrian zu Matthäi und wird im dritten Teil des Chronicon des Barhebräus angeführt als der 33. Maphrian der Chaldäer. Es war der Sohn des Presbyters Hasan und seit 1142 Mönch im Kloster Sergii. Gestorben ist er 1163 (v. *Jos. S. Assemanus Orientalische Bibliothek, in einem Auszug gebracht* von A. F. Pfeiffer, Erlangen 1776. p. 305). Dieser Ignatius ist ohne Zweifel identisch mit unserem Sender des Briefes von Barschuschān, der dazu seinen Kommentar gemacht hat. Die Titel Maphrian, Metropolit, Catholicus, sind wohl zu verschiedenen Zeiten identisch gewesen, obwohl der Maphrian ursprünglich ein untergeordneter Kleriker war (siehe dazu Pfeiffer).

Sie lautet: „Sendschreiben des hl. Patriarchen, Mar Johanan, Barschuschān, an den Katholikus der Armenier.“ Hierauf folgt der eigentliche Anfang des Briefes, welcher in den üblichen, biblischen (möchte man sagen) Einführungsworten besteht: „Johannes, ein Knecht Jesu Christ und durch die Gnade Gottes Oberhirte.“ Dem folgt ein ehrerbietiger Gruß: „Ein hl. Gruß an Eure Reinheit.“ Hierauf folgt ein inniges Gebet, worin der Patriarch seine Freude ausdrückt, daß er mit dem Katholikus auf so freundschaftlichem Fuße steht. Hierauf folgt in farbenreicher Sprache eine Darstellung der herzlichen Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Herren, gewürzt mit etlichen Schmeicheleien.

1<sup>b</sup> bringt dann eine Auseinandersetzung über die hl. Dreieinigkeit, die mit dem Schlagwort zusammengefaßt wird:

„Eins in Drei und Drei Eins.“ Dabei warnt der Verfasser fleißig vor Sabellianismus, Arianismus und Judaismus, welche alle drei die hl. Trinität leugnen, wie er sie versteht. Auf Paulus und das Nicänum, wie auf Gregor den Theologen begründet er seine Lehre. Er bediente sich dabei der sonderbarsten Bilder. Die Trinität wird erklärt, wie schon von andern vor und nach ihm, durch Bilder, die uns heute kindlich (um nicht kindisch sagen zu müssen) vorkommen, wie dies: Es sind drei Personen, wie z. B. Adam, Seth und Eva; oder die Sonne, ihr Licht und ihre Hitze; oder Verstand, Vernunft und Geist; oder die Pflanze, ihr Duft und ihre Farbe. (1<sup>b</sup>).

2<sup>a</sup> folgt dann ein Bekenntnis über die Menschwerdung Christi und über die Naturen in der Trinität und in Christo. Das Stichwort hier ist erstens **ܬܪܝܢܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܥܝܢ ܥܝܢ** „Eine Natur in drei Personen“, und zweitens: **ܬܪܝܢܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܥܝܢ ܥܝܢ** „Darüber daß bekannt werden soll eine Natur des Gotteslogos, welcher Fleisch wurde“, (*μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον σεσαρκωμένον*). Nachdem Barschuschān den heidnischen Wahn des Sabellius abgewehrt und den Ketzler Arius abgefertigt hat, beruft er sich auf den Theologen Gregorius als Autorität für seine Glaubenslehre. Es gibt nur eine Gottheit, aber drei Personen (Qnōmi) oder Hypostasen. Die nächsten Sätze bilden den Übergang zum eigentlichen Thema des Briefes — „den hassenswerten Gebräuchen“ der Armenier, das im großen und ganzen maßvoll behandelt wird.

3<sup>b</sup> wird zuerst die Benützung von Salz und Öl und dann

auch von Sauerteig in der Eucharistie (Abendmahl) behandelt. Diese Erläuterungen erstrecken sich bis 8<sup>b</sup>. Barschuschan ist der Überzeugung, daß diese Dinge zur Seligkeit nützlich sind. Adam wurde von Wasser, Luft, Feuer, Erde und Geist gebildet, also von 5 Substanzen. Jesus muß daher in der Eucharistie auch vollkommen, als aus 5 Elementen bestehend, dargestellt werden unter Mehl, Wasser, Sauerteig, Salz und Öl. Jesus ist eine besondere Spezies (Art) zwischen Gott und Menschen, die mit seinem Tod am Kreuze wieder erloschen ist. Der Gegner seiner Dogmen gedenkt unser Autor fleißig. Nestorius und Theodor von Mopsueste werden der Gottlosigkeit bezichtigt, ebenso Leo und die Räubersynode, Chalcedon. Cyrill dagegen ist ihm ein rechtgläubiger Vater. Gregor Thaumaturgus ist er nicht abhold, obwohl dieser den Ausspruch tat: „Gott hat gelitten, aber ohne das Leiden zu empfinden, auf unsterbliche und leidensunfähige Weise.“

8<sup>b</sup> folgt dann eine Notiz über das Wasser, das wir im Weinbecher mischen.

9—10 wendet sich dann gegen die Unsitte des Taufes der Kreuze und Nakuschen, oder Schallbretter-Klingel weihen, wie andere übersetzen. 10 spricht vom Sündenbekenntnis, das bei den Armeniern nicht richtig geübt wird.

Sodann wird darüber gehandelt, ob man den Tag am Abend oder am Morgen beginnen sollte. Die Syrer, wie die Juden, rechnen vom Abend, deshalb fasten sie auch schon Donnerstags; die Armenier dagegen fasten nur Freitags, da sie den Tag am Morgen beginnen, was nach Barschuschan's Ansicht zu verwerfen ist. 11<sup>b</sup>—13<sup>b</sup> ist nach Ansicht von Ter-Minassiantz, (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur*, Bd. 26: „Die Armenische Kirche“, von E. Ter-Minassiantz p. 100, 4) das letzte Stück des Briefes des Patriarchen Barschuschan an den Catholicus; dem ich auch gerne beistimme, da, wie auch er bemerkt, die nun folgenden Beschuldigungen nicht unbeantwortet geblieben wären, wenn der Catholicus sie gelesen hätte, d. h. wenn sie im Briefe des Barschuschan gestanden hätten.

Es ist nämlich ein Brief eines armenischen Catholicus Georg vorhanden, der scheinbar eine Antwort ist auf unsern Brief. Dieser Brief ist in dem sogenannten „Buch der Briefe“ (vgl. Girk T'chtoz, *Buch der Briefe*. S. 335—357) enthalten. Die Überschrift lautet: „Des Herrn Georg, des Oberaufsehers der

Armenier und des geistesbegnadeten Philosophen, Antwort auf den Brief des syrischen Patriarchen Johannes.“ Daß dieser Brief eine Antwort auf unsern Brief ist, hat Ter-Minassiantz bewiesen durch seine Parallelstellen aus beiden Briefen, von welchen ich hier nur zwei folgen lasse.

*a Johannes X. Barschusch.*  
Ihr fragt wegen des Sauerteigs, den wir wie alle christlichen Völker gebrauchen (in der Eucharistie), was das bedeuten solle, und auch das Salz und das Öl . . . So nehmen wir Wasser als Zeichen des ursprünglichen Wassers; Mehl als Zeichen des Staubes; Sauerteig als Zeichen der Luft; und Salz als Zeichen des Feuers.

*β Georg, Catholicus der Armenier.* Denn Ihr habt geschrieben wegen des Sauerteigs, des Salzes und des Öls (in der Eucharistie), und nach Schaffung Adams aus vier Materien sagt Ihr, daß Ihr den Leib Christi vollkommen macht, und nehmt als Zeichen des Wassers, Wasser; als Zeichen des Staubes (Erde) Mehl; als Zeichen der Luft, Sauerteig; und als Zeichen des Feuers, Salz.

11<sup>b</sup>—13<sup>b</sup> handelt „von dem Fest der Geburt Christi, welches die Armenier nicht so feiern, wie alle Völker der Welt.“ Der Verfasser versucht zu beweisen, daß die Sitte, das Fest der Geburt am 25. Dezember und Epiphaniën am 6. Januar zu feiern, die einzig richtige ist, und daß die Armenier keine Argumente aufbringen können für ihre Sitte, die beiden Feste an einem Tag, am 6. Januar, zu feiern.

Wie oben bemerkt, hat hier wohl der Brief des Barschusch geschlossen. Was nun noch folgt, ist jedenfalls Zusatz von Isaak von Antiochien, dessen Unterschrift unser Schreiben trägt. Außerdem ist es ja auch aus dem Schreiben selbst ersichtlich, wie auch schon T. M. bemerkt hat, daß der letzte Teil nicht von Barschusch stammt. Da heißt es nämlich auf Blatt 20<sup>a</sup>: „Wie wir durch das Sendschreiben des Patriarchen Mar Johanan oben gezeigt haben“ (siehe S. 295, 15).

Wie auch schon T. M. bemerkte, wird nun die ganze Schreibweise anders. Barschusch war ein gemäßigter Apologet, dagegen tadelt der nach Blatt 13 schreibende Verfasser, wo er nur etwas zu tadeln weiß; sucht scheinbar nach Mißbräuchen in der armenischen Kirche, um dagegen losziehen zu können. So ähnlich meint wenigstens Ter-Minassiantz. Ich kann mich der Ansicht nicht so ohne weiteres anschließen. Lassen doch

die Mißbräuche, die in den Schriften verschiedener Patriarchen, Lehrer und Väter gerügt werden, nicht den Schluß zu, daß die Unsitten wirklich nicht in der armenischen Kirche Eingang gefunden hatten. Daß ganz haarsträubende Dinge zu gewissen Zeiten, die nur durch obige Schriftstücke näher bestimmt werden können, in der armenischen Kirche verübt wurden, ist wohl Tatsache.

Für die Zusammenstellung der syrischen Dokumente dieser Art darf ich jedoch keinen Kredit beanspruchen, da sie von Professor Brockelmann gesammelt wurden, welcher sie mir vorletzten Winter (1910) nach Berlin schickte. Ich habe sie nur übersetzt und auf die freundliche Aufforderung von Professor Brockelmann hin nun veröffentlicht, was ich von Herzen gern getan, und Professor Brockelmann hiermit gebührend danken möchte.

So wirft Mar Ja'qob von Edessa († 708) den Armeniern vor, daß sie noch im alten Judentum stecken und animalische Opfer darbringen.<sup>1</sup> Wie sollte Mar Ja'qob auf diesen Gedanken gekommen sein, wenn die Armenier nicht wirklich blutige Opfer gebracht haben? „Jeder der erlöst ist mit dem Opfer des Sohnes Gottes, wird nicht einführen Opfer, damit er nicht verdammt werde von der Justitia“ (v. p. 299, 1 f.). „Wer aber heute noch vorsätzlich Opfer bringt, der ist ein Jude“ (v. p. 299, 17). „Am besten ist es für den, der heute noch Opfer bringt, daß er auch den Sohn verleugnet und hält sich gut mit den Juden“. „Verflucht ist, wer nach diesem (Opfer Christi) noch Opfer bringt“ (v. p. 300, 14 f., 17).

Ja'qob von Edessa wirft den Armeniern vor, daß sie von Anfang an sittenlos dahinlebten (v. p. 303). „Einige ihrer Lehrer sind einerseits Juden, andre andererseits Phantasten. Deswegen folgen sie den Juden darin, daß sie Lamm, Unge-säuertes und reinen (nicht mit Wasser gemischten) Wein opfern . . .“ (v. p. 303, 16 ff.).

Aus diesen Zitaten und den übrigen Zeugnissen dieser Patriarchen und Lehrer geht doch wohl hervor, daß die Beschuldigungen nicht so ohne Grund gewesen sein können, wenn man vielleicht als guter Armenier auch nichts davon weiß! Man kann doch kaum annehmen, daß diese sonst ehrenwerten Patriarchen und Lehrer sich in leeren Phrasen ergangen haben.

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<sup>1</sup> Siehe Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, p. 146, unten.

Ich meine, die von Professor Brockelmann mir überlassenen Zeugnisse beweisen aufs klarste, daß der Verfasser des zweiten Teiles unseres Briefes nicht ins Blaue geredet hat, und daß wirklich Tieropfer bei den christlichen Armeniern stattfanden, um die besagte Zeit.

Von 13<sup>b</sup> bis zum Schluß unseres Schreibens haben wir jedenfalls den Zusatz des unterzeichneten Ignatius von Antiochien, dem 133. Jakobitischen Patriarchen der Syrer vor uns, welcher den Brief des Barschusch an den Catholicus der Armenier sandte mit seinen eignen Ansichten über die Mißbräuche in der armenischen Kirche. Ignatius ist viel schärfer als Barschusch, doch ist auch er nicht so verdammungstüchtig, wie manche seiner würdigen Vorgänger, die ihre Adressaten als „dickköpfige und hartnäckige Leute“ bezeichnen (siehe T. M. p. 118).

Von 13<sup>b</sup>—15<sup>b</sup> ist die Rede davon, „wie die Alten den Palmsonntag, das Passah und die Taufe nicht jedes Jahr, sondern alle 30 Jahre feierten.“

Nun geht der Verfasser auf ausserkirchliche Sitten über, die er scharf tadelt. 15<sup>b</sup>—16<sup>a</sup> „darüber, daß der Priester den Bischof segnet, obgleich dieser doch höher steht, als jener.“ Es ist bei ihnen auch ein andrer häßlicher Gebrauch; d. i. „wenn ein Bischof und ein Priester sich treffen und der Priester vom Bischof gesegnet wird, so wendet sich sogleich der Priester, segnet den Bischof und legt die Hand auf seinen Kopf.“ Diese Sitte wird natürlich von Ignatius verworfen, denn nach den Kanones kann ein Bischof wohl einen Priester ordinieren, aber ein Bischof darf jedoch nur ordinirt werden, wenn ein Patriarch oder Metropolit mit zwei Bischöfen zugegen ist. Darf aber ein Priester nicht helfen, einen Bischof zu ordinieren, so hat er kein Recht, ihm die unheiligen Hände aufs würdige Haupt zu legen. Nach Ter-Minassiantz ist dieser Bericht recht eigentümlich; seines Wissens haben wir in der armenischen Literatur kein Zeugnis für die genannte Sitte. T. M. fragt, ob dieser Vorwurf vielleicht ein Irrtum sei? Ich glaube nicht. Jedenfalls hat diese Sitte bestanden, sonst würde Ignatius sie nicht so scharf angegriffen haben. Übrigens wird man auch über manche der übrigen, genannten Gebräuche unter den Armeniern kein Zeugnis finden; um so mehr aber bei den syrischen Patriarchen und Lehrern, wie Professor Brockelmanns Zeugnisse zur Genüge beweisen. Ter-Minassiantz wird

schwerlich zugestehen, daß in der armenischen Kirche auch Tieropfer gebracht wurden, und doch liegt das klar auf der Hand, wenn man die oben genannten Sätze liest (v. p. 273). Ein argumentum e silentio hat wenig Wert, einen Beweis zu liefern, oder Hypothesen aufzubauschen. Hierauf wird die Disziplin in der armenischen Kirche gerügt, die sehr disziplinlos gewesen sein muß. T. M. meint hierzu, „wenn man dem Verfasser Glauben schenken wollte, so müßte der Zustand der armenischen Kirche damals trostlos gewesen sein. Es ist zwar nicht zu leugnen, daß die noch zu nennenden Mißbräuche vorkamen (Also doch!), bedingt durch die unstäte und unruhige Lage des Landes und der armenischen Catholici; wir können aber doch den syrischen Schriftsteller von Übertreibungen nicht freisprechen.“ Wie steht's damit? Zuerst gibt T. M. zu, daß die Mißbräuche wirklich gang und gäbe waren, und dann meinte er, er könne doch den Verfasser nicht freisprechen von Übertreibungen. Also bestanden diese Unsitten doch! Und wenn man alles wüßte, dann wäre die Sachlage jedenfalls noch viel trauriger und trüber darzustellen, als dies schon so der Fall ist. Die Intriguen, die damals in der Kirche gespielt wurden, und auch heute noch gebraucht werden, würden jedenfalls noch ein viel schiefes Licht auf die Kirche werfen, wenn sie alle bekannt wären.

16<sup>a</sup>—17<sup>a</sup> bespricht zunächst die Zustände, die unter den Bischöfen herrschend waren: „Darüber, daß ihre Bischöfe durch Geld und Bestechung eingesetzt werden, und die Gemeinden von einander an sich reißen.“ Nicht besser sieht es in den Klöstern aus. Wer Abt sein will, bezahlt dem Ortsbeamten einfach den höchsten Preis, und er bekommt die Stelle. Kommt dann ein anderer und bietet dem Bürgermeister mehr, so wird ersterer verjagt, und der Herzugelaufene bekommt die Abtei. „In diesen Schilderungen liegt ein Körnchen Wahrheit, sie sind aber natürlich stark übertrieben, wie es eben in den polemischen Schriften gar nicht anders zu erwarten ist“ (Ter-Min. p. 110).

17<sup>af</sup> wird dann die erbliche Succession der Catholici in Armenien getadelt, weil diese Sitte bei keinem andern Volk der Erde gefunden wird, außer bei den Arabern, deren Kalife auch erblich aufeinander folgen.

Ter-Minassiantz meint hierzu folgendes: Zur Zeit des Johannes Barschuschān (1064—1073) war erst der erste Pahlawani,



Wahram, der Sohn des Gregor Magistros, auf den Catholicus-thron erhoben worden, und er regierte bis 1105, nach der gewöhnlichen Annahme, die freilich nicht ganz einwandfrei ist. Sicher ist dagegen, daß zur Zeit Johannes X. (Barschuschan) noch kein zweiter aus dem Geschlechte Gregors des Erleuchters (die Pahlawanier ließen sich von ihm ableiten) auf den Thron erhoben worden ist. Die Art und Weise aber, wie der Syrer diese Sitte tadelt zeigt uns, daß mindestens 2—3 auf einander gefolgt sein müssen aus demselben Geschlecht. Ist dem so, dann kann dies Stück erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts geschrieben worden sein.

So weit T. M. Ich möchte nur darauf erwidern, daß (1) Barschuschan hier gar nicht in Betracht kommt, da ja Ignatius von Antiochien dies geschrieben hat, wie T. M. auch schon früher zugestanden hat; und (2) hat jedenfalls Ignatius die Verhältnisse besser gekannt, als wir.

17<sup>b</sup> handelt von dem Mißbrauch, „daß Priester ordiniert werden, ohne daß sie eine Stelle haben.“ Von diesen wird auch Bestechung genommen.

18<sup>a</sup> handelt von dem Sündenbekenntnis der Armenier, siehe allda (p. 293).

19<sup>a</sup> wird die Heuchelei der Armenier gerügt, die hauptsächlich in Selbstgerechtigkeit besteht. Die Armenier beteiligen sich nicht am Abendmahl, wenn sie Mönche werden. Das Mönchtum wird auch scharf mitgenommen. „Vollkommene Mönche, bei ihnen ist unter tausend nicht einer zu finden ...“ Das Patenamnt bei der Taufsalbung wird von den Armeniern nicht gebührend beachtet, usw.

19<sup>a</sup>—20<sup>b</sup> wird noch einmal klar dargelegt, daß nur die Armenier unter allen Völkern das Weihnachtsfest und Epiphanien am 6. Januar feiern. Selbst wenn man früher das Weihnachtsfest am 6. Januar gefeiert hat, so haben die hl. Väter dieses Datum, wie so viele Dinge, geändert: z. B. durften die Bischöfe früher heiraten, wie auch „euer“ Gregorius, jetzt nicht mehr, usw. 20<sup>b</sup>—23<sup>a</sup> wird die Bewahrung jüdischer Gesetze behandelt. Noch einmal kommt Weihnachten und Epiphanien aufs Tapet. Christus ist wirklich am 25. Dezember geboren und 30 Jahre später am 6. Januar getauft worden.

Damit schließt unser Schriftstück. Man sieht, daß um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts in Armenien und Syrien die Gemüter erregt waren. Bar Hebräus berichtet aus dieser Zeit

eine Rede Gregors, des Catholicus der Armenier, die ich folgen lasse. Assemani BO. 11, S. 360<sup>b</sup>: „In jener Zeit verfaßte Gregor, der Catholicus der Armenier, eine Rede und schmähte darin die Syrer, weil sie mit einem Finger das Kreuz schlugen, und wegen des gesäuerten Brotes, und weil sie den Wein und den Honig und das Öl, nachdem eine Maus in dieselben gefallen war, doch segneten und dann aßen und tranken. Und diese Rede wurde dem Kloster der Armenier in Cilicien, welches Drasark hieß, übergeben. Als aber Barandreas hörte, daß die armenischen Mönche sie zu jeder Zeit lasen und die Syrer verspotteten, da wurde er von Eifer erfaßt, wechselte seine Gewänder und ging in das genannte Kloster der Armenier und ließ sich dort nieder, wie einer von ihnen, und verhöhnte die Armenier, daß sie sich auf jüdische Weise benähmen. Und er legte die Abhandlung in ihrer Bibliothek nieder. Nach einiger Zeit aber fanden sie den Traktat, und sie schickten ihn dem Catholicus und taten ihm kund die Hinterlistigkeit, die jener Syrer mit ihnen getrieben hatte. Der Catholicus aber ließ jene beiden Traktate verbrennen, den seinen so wohl, wie den des Barandreas“<sup>41</sup> usw. Man sieht daraus, daß wirklich Mißbräuche in beiden Kirchen Armeniens sowohl, wie auch Syriens bestanden.

## Syrische Texte

A. *Sendschreiben des Barschüschän* (Cod. Berlin. Sachau 60)

[illegible]

§ I.

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Siehe darüber Ter-Minnassiantz, p. 113 f., in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur*, Bd. 26.







[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Ms. ~~London~~ No.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. B.9.



[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Ms. **هو لا يمشي ولا يعلو**.

<sup>2</sup> Randglosse: **قوله المساء** معناه **المساء** **ح.** **الاحياء**  
**قلت حقه**, **المسا** **جمله:**























§ XVI.

حالا که می بینیم

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 ۴۷۹  
 ۴۸۰  
 ۴۸۱  
 ۴۸۲

fol.  
18<sup>a</sup>

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Ms. A. 9.







[illegible]

§ XXII.

الحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله

[illegible]

٥٤٠ لا انا معكم في هذا صعدا ههنا وبجدة.  
صلى الله عليه وسلم رحل. ههنا مع دارا؟ فريلا ومع حلا فنهى روم

<sup>1</sup> Ms. **محمّد**.

<sup>2</sup> Irrtümliche Wiederholung im Ms.



١٥٥ مع؟ قبل؟ ولا بعد؟ مع؟ ما بعد؟ ...  
 لا أنت؟ بعد؟ مع؟ أنت؟ بعد؟ مع؟ ...  
 ١٥٦ أنت؟ قبل؟ أنت؟ بعد؟ ...  
 ١٥٧ مع؟ مع؟ بعد؟ مع؟ ...  
 ١٥٨ أنت؟ مع؟ أنت؟ مع؟ ...  
 ١٥٩ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ ...  
 ١٦٠ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ ...  
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 ١٦٢ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ ...  
 ١٦٣ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ ...  
 ١٦٤ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ ...  
 ١٦٥ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ ...  
 ١٦٦ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ ...  
 ١٦٧ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ ...  
 ١٦٨ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ ...  
 ١٦٩ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ ...  
 ١٧٠ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ مع؟ ...

<sup>1</sup> Kodex hat da **محم**.

<sup>1</sup> v. b. beginnt nun.

<sup>3</sup> Im Kodex steht **Λαλ.**

<sup>4</sup> Im Original **مستلزم**.

<sup>5</sup> Im Original **എലക്ട്ര**.





3. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 r. b.*)

١. مدح ابيهم.

۱. حسا حسا لا طاسا لاسا ؟؟ صعه صعهسا . لا؟؟ حسا  
 ۲. صعه صعه حسا حسا لا حسا لاسا صعه صعهسا .  
 ۳. حسا حسا لا طاسا لاسا ؟ صعه صعهسا . حسا  
 ۴. صعه حسا لا صعه صعه . . . حسا حسا لا  
 ۵. حسا حسا لا طاسا لاسا ؟ صعه صعهسا . حسا  
 ۶. صعه حسا لا طاسا لاسا ؟ صعه صعهسا . حسا

4. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 r. b.*)

<sup>2</sup> مذنب محمد حمود ملا فیل

صع مع سفل مع ؛ صمذت امذا مع. اه فلتا فلتا  
صمذ<sup>3</sup> صمذ صمذ ؛ صمذ امذا مع اه فلتا ؛  
مع ذه حاط ؛ صمذ حذو ؛ صمذ ؛ صمذ ؛

5. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Pulat. fol. 140 v. a.*)

اسماء بنت ابی بکرؓ ۴

لَهْنِبِ حَلَا ؟ اَنْحَلْ مَهْلَا ؟ دِه اُوْر مَنِي حَفْتَسَا مَهْلَا  
 سَعِه سَلَا رَحِه مَح حَمَلَا . — سَهْنِبِ حَلَا ؟ دِه سَلَا مَهْلَا  
 دِه اَلْحَصِ مَنِي مَح سَلَا حَلَا فَدِه مَح حَبَا ؟ دِه  
 حَبَا . سَفَفَنِه حَلَا اَهْلَهَا . سَهْنِبِ حَلَا ؟ مَهْلَا مَهْلَا  
 دِه لَو سَلَا حَلَوِه بَقَعَا ؟ خَنِبَا ؟ دِه سَلَا حَمَلَا اِه  
 مَنِي ؟ حَمَلَا سَلَا .

6. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 v. a.*)

٥. مِنْهُمْ هَؤُلَاءِ الَّذِينَ

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Überschrift ist in Rot geschrieben.

<sup>2</sup> Überschrift ist in Rot geschrieben.

<sup>3</sup> Fol. 140 v. a. beginnt hier.

‡ Ebenfalls rot.

<sup>5</sup> Ebenfalls rot.

6 Kod. **الامم**.



10. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 141 r.*)

فَحَمَلًا وَهَامًا<sup>١</sup>

[illegible]

11. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 141. r.*)

<sup>3</sup> محمد و زهرا .

حملًا وَاَوْتَمَسَا مِنْ عَهْدِهِ وَحَلَمَا بِالْاَمْنَةِ سَه. هَا لَعَمْرُكَ مَدِينَةٍ  
 لَا مَحْصِلَ لَهَا سَبِيلًا وَلَا اَنْفَ بِهَا<sup>4</sup>. حَالًا هَا اَعْلَاهُ دِينُ  
 مُلْكِهِ لَا يَنْتَهِي. هَفِزَعَهُ اَنْفَ مِنْ اَمْرٍ هَفِزَا. هَمْدُوهُ وَتَحْفِضُوهُ  
 مِنْ عَقْلِ اَلْمَدِينَةِ<sup>5</sup>. هَمْدُوهُ مِنْ اَمْرٍ هَا. مَحْذُوبٌ عِلْمُ  
 اَنْتَهِي. دَوْبٌ وَمِنْ حَيْثُ اَمْنًا هَفِزَا سَمْعًا سَلَا. مَحْذُوبٌ  
 مَدِينَا. مَهْمَلَةٌ<sup>6</sup> لَلْاَمْنِ اَمْعَ دَنَا مَدِينٌ هَفِزَا. . حَبْ هَا  
 اَمْنٌ بِحَبْ مَدِينٌ وَحَالًا لَعَمْرُكَ مَهْمَلَةٌ حَزَنًا هَفِزَا<sup>7</sup>.  
 مَحْذُوبٌ سَلَا عِلْمُ. دَوْبٌ وَمِنْ حَيْثُ حَزَنًا هَا<sup>8</sup>. \* هَمْدُوهُ  
 اَنْفَ حَالًا حَبْ لَا بِحَبْ<sup>9</sup>. مَحْذُوبَةٌ قَدَا<sup>10</sup> عِلْمُ دَوْبٌ وَحَلَمَا  
 اَنْفَ مَحْذُوبٌ مِنْ عِلْمِ اَلْمَدِينَةِ. مَحْذُوبٌ عِلْمُ دَوْبٌ هَفِزَا  
 اَلْمَدِينَةِ حَزَنًا اَلْمَدِينَةِ اَمْعَ وَمِنْ حَيْثُ هَفِزَا. \* هَا سَمْعًا  
 وَصَفِيٍّ مِنْ اَمْلٍ حَبْ<sup>11</sup>. مَحْذُوبٌ عِلْمُ<sup>12</sup> دَوْبٌ وَمِنْ حَالًا

<sup>1</sup> Rot.

<sup>2</sup> Im Kodex loc.

3 Rot.

<sup>4</sup> K. Kayser, *Die Kanones des Jacob von Edessa*, hat hier: **ⲁⲓ, ⲁⲓ**  
**ⲁⲓ**. Kod. fügt hinzu **ⲁⲓⲁⲓ**. <sup>5</sup> Kod: **ⲁⲓⲁⲓ**.

<sup>6</sup> Im Kodex **مصحف**.

<sup>7</sup> Fehlt im Kcd; dafür: **و. اسبىدا، جى مع ولىم علفم له، تا**

<sup>8</sup> Kod: .      <sup>9</sup> Fehlt im Kod.

<sup>10</sup> Kod: **உ**—.

<sup>11</sup> Fehlt im Kcd.

<sup>12</sup> Kod: **دستور علم**.



[illegible][illegible]

<sup>1</sup> Kodex hat **بالمقتضى**.

<sup>2</sup> Gewöhnlich **അലക്ഷ്യം**.

<sup>3</sup> Kodex ~~11~~.

<sup>4</sup> Kodex ~~manuscr.~~.

<sup>5</sup> Kodex 100.

<sup>6</sup> Sonst Aristakes genannt.

<sup>7</sup> Rot geschrieben.

## Übersetzung

fol. A. *Sendschreiben des Patriarchen, Johannes Barschusch, an*  
 1<sup>a</sup> *den Catholicus der Armenier über einige hassenswerte, den*  
*Kanones der Kirche widersprechende Gebräuche, welche unter*  
*den Armeniern aufgekommen waren.*

## § I.

*Erstens, über den Glauben des orthodoxen Volkes der Syrer.*

Johannes, ein Knecht Jesu Christi, durch die Gnade Gottes Oberhirte und Herr der Gemeinde, das heißt, durch das erlösende Blut Patriarch geworden, sendet Eurer Heiligkeit einen heiligen Gruß.

Gesegnet sei Gott, der Vater unseres Herrn Jesu Christi, der uns allzeit labt mit seiner Liebe und uns offeubart den Glanz seiner Erkenntnis in unsern Herzen; welcher uns tröstet in unsern Nöten. Wie das Licht die Augen, so einigt Er uns mit Seiner geistlichen Liebe; und wie die Seele in den Gliedern, so verbindet Er uns mit Liebe. Gleich dem magnetischen Stein zieht er uns zum freudigen Verkehr mit Euch, daß wir, wie in Seele und Leib, so auch in wirklichen Worten, durch Papier und Tinte, mit Eurer Heiligkeit verbunden werden, und unsere Augen uns erleuchtet werden von Eurer Gelehrsamkeit, und erhöhet werde das Horn unsrer Armut durch die Demut dessen, dem da sei Ehre und Preis jetzt und in Ewigkeit, Amen.

Es ist ein Gott, der überall und in uns allen ist, o geistlicher und heiliger Vater! und ein Herr, Jesus Christus, in welchem alles beschlossen ist, nach den Apostolischen Definitionen des göttlichen Paulus und der heiligen Väter des *Nicaenums*<sup>1</sup>; und ein Heiliger Geist, der überall ist. Einer und einer und einer, also drei<sup>2</sup>; nicht in allem; wohl in Namen und Hypostasen, in den Prosopen, in charakteristischen Eigenschaften der heiligen Personen; aber eins dem Wesen (*οὐσία*) nach. Nicht von gleichem Wesen in allem, damit nicht ein-

<sup>1</sup> Konzil von Nicäa (325).

<sup>2</sup> Wir haben hier jedenfalls eine Anspielung auf Gregor des Großen Wort: Wenn Gott und Gott und Gott ist, sagen sie (die Arianer und die Eunomianer), sind dann nicht drei Götter? Und verehren wir nicht eine göttliche Vielherrschaft? (Orat. XXXI. 13<sup>o</sup>, 14).

dringe bei uns der heidnische Wahn des Sabellius<sup>1</sup>), und wir am Ende gar tun nach Art der Juden. Auch nicht drei nach dem Schisma des Arius<sup>2</sup>; oder nach Stufe und Maß von groß, größer, am größten. Das Böse ist gleich frevelhaft, und Gedanke und Wille sind gottlos. Also ziemt es sich zu bekennen: Eins in drei, und drei sind Eins, wie Gregorius der Theologe fol. 2<sup>a</sup> lehrte.

Der Vater ist Vater ohne Anfang, das heißt ohne Zeugung. Der Sohn ist Sohn und nicht ohne Anfang; denn er ist vom Vater gezeugt worden. Der Heilige Geist ist ausgegangen vom Vater und mit dem Sohne. Ein Wesen, eine Gottheit, ein Reich, eine Obrigkeit, ein Wille, (und) eine Macht und eine Tätigkeit.<sup>3</sup> Nicht drei Substanzen, oder drei Götter, oder drei leitende Prinzipien, oder gar verschiedene und sich gegenüberstehende; sondern es ist ein Gott nach Natur und Wesen<sup>4</sup>; aber drei *Qnomi*, i. e. getrennte Eigenschaften der heiligen Persönlichkeiten; wie ja auch Adam und Seth und Eva, zum Beispiel; und die Sonne, ihr Licht und ihre Hitze; und Verstand und Vernunft und Geist<sup>5</sup>; und die Pflanze, ihr Duft und ihre Farbe usw.; obwohl es gibt nichts in den natürlichen Beispielen, das dem Herrn ähnlich wäre oder sich vergleichen

<sup>1</sup> Sabellius (ca. 225).

<sup>2</sup> Arius (256—336).

<sup>3</sup> Eigentlich sagt Gregor so: Die Eigenschaften (Gottes) sind: des Vaters, daß er ohne Prinzip und Anfang ist und heißt Prinzip als das Ursächliche, als die Quelle, als das ewige Licht; des Sohnes, daß er zwar keineswegs ohne Prinzip, aber doch das schöpferische Prinzip des Weltalls ist. (Orat. XX. 8 p. 380.)

Bezüglich des Heiligen Geistes lehrte Gregor, indem er Johannes 1 : 9 auf die drei Hypostasen der Gottheit anwandte, und sagte: Es war Licht und Licht und Licht, aber ein Licht, nämlich ein Gott. Was auch dem David vorschwebte, wenn er sagt: In deinem Lichte sehen wir das Licht. Denn jetzt schauen und verkündigen wir es auch, indem wir aus dem Lichte, dem Vater, das Licht, den Sohn in dem Lichte, dem Heiligen Geist erkennen. (Ullmann, Gregorius von Nazianz; Orat. XXXI. 3 p. 557.)

<sup>4</sup> Gregors Definition hierzu ist folgende: *μίαν φύσιν ἐν τρισὶν ὑπόθεσι, νοεραῖς, τελείαις, καθ' ἑαυτὰς ὑφεστῶσαι, ἀριθμῷ διαπεραῖς, καὶ οὐ διαπεραῖς θεότητι*, in welcher zugleich der Ausdruck *ὑπόθεσις* durch die Worte *καθ' ἑαυτὰς ὑφεστῶσαι* seine beste Erklärung findet. (Orat. XXXIII. 16 p. 614.)

<sup>5</sup> Einen ähnlichen Ausdruck finden wir in Gregors Reden: „Wir wollen eine und dieselbe Natur der Gottheit festhalten, welche in dem Hervorgehenden erkannt wird, wie unser Inneres in dem Verstande, der Vernunft und dem Geiste“. (Orat. XXIII. 11 p. 431.)



ließe, unter den Söhnen der Engel, wie der Prophet David sagt.<sup>1</sup> Dies sind in kurzen Worten die charakteristischen Merkmale, wie die herrliche Trinität beschaffen ist.

## § II.

Einer aber von dieser heiligen Dreieinigkeit<sup>2</sup> kam vom Himmel herab, unverändert, nämlich der Sohn, der vom Vater gezeugt war im geistlichen Sinne. Er ward Mensch<sup>3</sup>, gleich wie wir, um unsertwillen ohne Unterschied, da er seiner Natur nach Gott blieb und bewahrte so die Jungfrau jungfräulich, wenn er auch von ihr an sich nahm menschliches Fleisch. Er, der auch die Gestalt unserer Leiden annahm, nach den prophetischen und den apostolischen Zeugnissen, da er litt und gekreuzigt wurde, und starb in derselben Weise, wie er gezeugt worden war. Auch ist er auferstanden und aufgefahren in die Herrlichkeit zum Himmel; und mit diesem selben Leib wird er wiederkommen, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten, wie die Stimme des Engels den heiligen Aposteln verkündigte; wie dies ja in der Schrift der Acta Apostolorum geschrieben steht.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Psalm 89:7 heißt es: „Denn wer in den Wolken ist mit Jehovah zu vergleichen? Wer ist Jehovah gleich unter den Söhnen der Starken?“

<sup>2</sup> Randglosse: „Darüber, daß eine Natur in 3 *Qnōmen* ist; eine Herrschaft; aber einer in dreien und die 3 sind eins.“

<sup>3</sup> Über die Menschwerdung sagt Sahak III, nach Ter-Minassiantz p. 137: Er (Christus) stieg hinab in den Mutterleib der unverderbten Jungfrau, und von ihr menschlichen Leib und Seele und Verstand annehmend, mischte und vereinigte er sie mit dem Feuer seiner Gottheit UND MACHTE SIE VOLLKOMMEN ZU GOTT UND ZUR GÖTTLICHEN NATUR. Nicht, indem er ihn (den Leib) aufhob oder vernichtet und nicht, indem er ihn in Unleiblichkeit verwandelte, sondern er ließ den Leib in seinem Wesen, so daß die Apostel ihn betasten konnten; aber er machte ihn im Mutterleibe der Heiligen Jungfrau vollständig nach der Natur seiner Göttlichkeit, und er ließ den Leib nicht nach seinem Wesen bleiben in der Mischung und Vereinigung, in ihr schwach und kraftlos, wie manche in falscher Meinung glauben, sondern in unverständlicher und unaussprechlicher Eiligkeit verwandelte er ihn von den irdischen zum feurigen, von den menschlichen zum göttlichen, von dem geschaffenen zum schöpferischen . . ., von dem sündigen zum sündlosen, und von dem verderblichen zum unverderblichen . . . (Buch der Briefe, p. 421.)

<sup>4</sup> Acta 10:42.

## § III.

*Darüber, daß bekannt werden soll eine Natur des göttlichen Logos, welcher Fleisch geworden ist.* fol.  
2<sup>b</sup>

Nicht zwei Naturen und Personen, nach dem Frevel des Nestorius,<sup>1</sup> des Theodorus,<sup>2</sup> und ihrer Konsorten; die nämlich Gott und Mensch vereinigen in einer zufälligen Union und zwei Naturen einführen; verehren das Geschöpf mit dem, Schöpfer, und den Knecht mit dem Herrn; und achten den Menschen, Gott zu sein; machen also die Trinität zu einer Quarternität, und erneuern damit die jüdische und heidnische Religion. Noch bekennen wir eine Person des einen Christus mit zwei Naturen, zwei Willen und zwei Funktionen, wie die gottlose Schrift Leo's<sup>3</sup> lehrt, und die verbrecherische Synode von Chalcedon<sup>4</sup> bestimmte; noch akzeptieren wir eine Person und eine Natur in Wesensgleichheit und Vermischung, wie der ruchlose Eutyches<sup>5</sup> sagt und eine Schar fanatischer Gotteslästerer.

Aber es gibt nur einen Christus, einen eingebornen Sohn, einen Logos, der Fleisch geworden ist, eine zusammengesetzte Natur und Person (Qnōm), in welcher bewahrt wurde das Merkmal der natürlichen Verschiedenheit der Personen, die ungeteilt und unberechenbar, unvermischt, und unverflüchtigt waren; ebenso wie auch die Seele und dieser unser Menschenleib; wie der heilige Cyrill<sup>6</sup> lehrt, und ebenso alle die heiligen und rechtgläubigen Väter. Denn die Union<sup>7</sup> des Logos mit

<sup>1</sup> Nestorius, † 451.

<sup>2</sup> Theodor von Mopsueste (350—428 o. 429).

<sup>3</sup> Papst Leo I. (440—461).

<sup>4</sup> Konzil zu Chalcedon (451).

<sup>5</sup> Eutyches, † 458.

<sup>6</sup> Cyrill † 444.

<sup>7</sup> Auch hier ist unser Autor wieder Gregor gefolgt, der an zwei verschiedenen Stellen ungefähr dasselbe sagt: „Der LOGOS Gottes, der ewige, unsichtbare, unbegreifliche, unkörperliche, das Grundwesen aus dem Grundwesen, das Licht aus dem Licht, die Quelle des Lebens und der Unsterblichkeit, der Abdruck der urbildlichen Schönheit, das feste Siegel, das unwandelbare Bild, die Begrenzung und das Wort des Vaters — ER läßt sich herab zu seinem eigenem Bilde, nimmt das Fleisch an sich nm des Fleisches willen, das Gleiche durch das Gleiche reinigend, und wird Mensch in jeder Beziehung, ausgenommen die Sünde; er ward empfangen von einer Jungfrau, nachdem die Seele und der Körper derselben vorher gereinigt war durch den Geist; denn auch die Geburt mußte geehrt, die Jungfrauschaft aber höher geehrt werden; und so ging er Gott hervor mit dem Angenommenen: Eines aus zwei Entgegengesetzten, dem Fleische

dem Fleische der Heiligen Jungfrau ist nicht eine der Majestät und Macht, sodaß man an ihm zählt die Naturen und Personen, die Willen und Funktionen, sondern es ist eine persönliche und natürliche Verbindung, da ja auch Seele und Leib nicht vor der Vereinigung zwei und nicht nach der Vereinigung zwei waren; aber der Logos ist nicht Fleisch geworden, wenn man zwei Naturen an ihm bekennt nach der Verbindung. Denn nicht vier verehren wir, sagt der heilige Gregorius Thaumaturgus<sup>1</sup>: Gott und den Sohn Gottes, den Heiligen Geist und den Menschen von der Heiligen Jungfrau; sondern wir verdammen jene, die so gottlos reden und den Menschen zu göttlicher Ehre erheben. Dies denn ist für uns Syrer die Definition des christlichen Glaubens.

fol.  
3<sup>a</sup>

O, du Heiliger Gottes! Wir schreiben in wenigen Worten an Eure große Weisheit, als an den Lehrer des geistlichen Israels, und unterbreiten Argument und Begründung Eurem theoretischen Wissen. Durch Eure, von dem Heiligen Geiste angehauchten, Schriften wurden wir erleuchtet, und wir bringen Euch von dem Eurigen dar. Von der Menge von Argumenten vieler Lehrer haben wir uns abgewandt. Weil aber, wie der Himmel mit Strahlen, und die Erde mit schönen Blumen, Euer verehrtes Schreiben mit Fragen, die nicht notwendig, sondern gewohnheitsmäßig sind, geschmückt ist, so bezahlen wir die Schuld in der brüderlichen Liebe, welche die Erfüllung des Gesetzes und der Propheten ist.

Aber ich bitte Eure Weisheit, wir dürfen nicht unsern Willen als Gesetz der Wahrheit gegenüberstellen und nicht Gegner werden in der Leidenschaft des Stolzes, und uns nicht einreden lassen, den halsstarrigen Juden ähnlich zu werden.

#### § IV.

fol.  
3<sup>b</sup>

*Über den Sauerteig, Salz und Öl, welche wir in der Eucharistie verwenden.*

Ihr fragt, was das gesäuerte Brot<sup>2</sup> symbolisiere, welches wir, wie alle christlichen Nationen, machen; und das Salz und

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und dem Geiste, von denen das Eine vergöttlichte, das Andere vergöttlicht wurde. O der neuen Verbindung, o der wunderbaren Vermischung!“ (Orat. XXXVIII 13. p. 671; XLV. 9 p. 851.)

<sup>1</sup> Gregorius Thaumaturgus (210—270).

<sup>2</sup> Bei den Armeniern wird beim Abendmahl Ungesäuertes (Brot) genossen. Man gebraucht meistens kleine, runde Cakes, mit der Figur

Öl, welches wir beim Opfer verwenden d. h. in der Eucharistie; und die andern Fragen, welche unten angegeben sind.

Wir sagen also zu Eurer mathematischen Weisheit, daß, wie das Alte das Neue symbolisiert; ich meine, wie das Volk der Juden die christlichen Völker; der Sabbat den Sonntag; die Beschneidung die Taufe; süßes Brot das gesäuerte; das Passah-lamm Christum, und der Rest des Gesetzes Mosis; und wie auch der erste irdische Adam, welcher von Erde ist, den zweiten Adam symbolisiert, welcher der Herr vom Himmel ist, sagt Paulus<sup>1</sup>; aus diesem Grund ist der Logos Fleisch geworden, d. h. Mensch, wie Adam, damit er im Leibe Adams rettete den Adam, der gesündigt hatte. Und weil Adam aus vier Substanzen oder Elementen (ich meine: Erde, Wasser, Feuer und Luft) und einer vernünftigen Seele bestand, so, daß seine ursprünglichen Bestandteile fünf waren, so auch Christus, der ein Mensch war wie Adam, wurde notwendigerweise und wahrhaftiglich erfunden als einer, der aus fünf Bestandteilen zusammengesetzt war, wie Adam; damit Christus nichts fehlte von dem, was Adam hatte. Wenn jeder Leib aus vier Substanzen besteht, wie ist es dann möglich, daß Adam aus vier Substanzen vollkommen war? Da er doch an der vernünftigen Seele allein anderen Wesen, den lebendigen und den nicht lebendigen, überlegen war. Also bringt die Kirche den Leib und das Blut Christi dar zum Gedächtnis seines Todes, wie er im Obergemach zeigte, und seinen Jüngern offenbarte.<sup>2</sup> Wohl und geziemend also nehmen wir Sauerteig, Salz und Öl in Mehl und Wasser, damit nicht der Leib Christi der Vollendung ermangele, und wir Mangel hätten am Heil Christi; denn Wasser und Mehl bilden noch nicht den Leib Christi in der Vollständigkeit. Auch nicht die beiden Elemente, Staub und Wasser, konnten oder können den Leib Adams dar-

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Christi aufgestempelt, die vom Priester am frühen Morgen gebacken werden. Dafür ist ein kleiner Ofen an die Kirche angebaut. Wenn der Bischof die Eucharistie feiert, backt die Cakes einer der Diakonen.

Der Wein, der beim Abendmahl gebraucht wird, ist der persische Schiraz-Wein, der reiner, vergorener Traubensaft (nicht mit Wasser gemischt) ist.

Die Eucharistie wird nicht am Nachmittag oder Abend gefeiert, sondern am Vormittag; außer am Weihnachts- und Ostersonntagsabend und am Gründonnerstag Nachmittag.

<sup>1</sup> I Kor. 15 : 47; Röm. 5 : 12 f.

<sup>2</sup> Mat. 26 : 26.

stellen. Denn sie sind defekt, aber am Leibe Christi ist kein Mangel. Adam wurde von vier Substanzen (Elementen) geschaffen, d. h. so wurde er hergestellt am Anfang seiner Schöpfung. Auch der Messias ist von vier Elementen gebildet worden im Schoß der Jungfrau als Neuschöpfung Adams. Also ungesäuertes Brot ist mangelhaft, aber gesäuertes Brot von Salz, Sauerteig und Öl ist vollkommen. Weil nun auch die heiligen Lehrer dies befahlen, und die Apostel lehrten dasselbe alle Völker, uns befreiend von der Ausübung des jüdischen Gesetzes und von dem Fluch, der auf ihnen (lag), deshalb nehmen wir Wasser als Symbol vom ursprünglichen Wasser; Mehl als Symbol für Staub; Sauerteig für Luft; Salz für Feuer. Öl wiederum ist ein Typus der Liebe Gottes, in welcher Er den ersten Menschen gemacht hat. Endlich sagt auch der heilige Ephräm,<sup>1</sup> und der heilige Cyrill, in der Erklärung der Schöpfung: Sauerteig bedeutet den Glauben an die heilige Dreieinigkeit; denn wie der Sauerteig schnell die ganze Masse des Teiges bringt zu seinem eigenen Wohlgeruch und Geschmack, und sie würzt, so zieht auch Christus, durch den von ihm angenommenen Leib, in welchem er Schmerzen, Kreuz und den Tod erlitt, jedermann zum Glauben an sich, seinen Vater und den Heiligen Geist; wie er sagt: „Ich aber, wenn ich erhöht worden bin von der Erde, will ich sie alle zu mir ziehen.“<sup>2</sup> Daß aber Sauerteig Christus bedeutet, siehe im Evangelium heißt es: „Welche Hausfrau“, usw.<sup>3</sup> Also ziemt es sich, Sauerteig zu nehmen in Eucharistie. Salz wiederum ist das Symbol der Liebe Gottes zu uns. Denn es steht geschrieben:<sup>4</sup> „Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt, daß Er seinen eingeborenen Sohn an seiner Statt dahingegeben hat“.<sup>5</sup> „Ihr seid das Salz der Erde“ sagt Christus zu seinen Jüngern.<sup>6</sup> „Jedes Opfer soll mit Salz gesalzen werden“, befahl Gott Mose im Levitikus<sup>7</sup>, und Markus, der Evangelist, in seinem Evangelium<sup>8</sup>. Also ist es notwendig, daß im Leib Christi, dem

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<sup>1</sup> Ephräm Syrus (306—373 o. 379).

<sup>2</sup> Joh. 12 : 32.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. 13 : 33, usw.

<sup>4</sup> Joh. 3 : 16.

<sup>5</sup> Sonderbar ist das an seiner Statt. Ich weiß nicht, in welchem Texte das zu finden wäre.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. 5 : 13.

<sup>7</sup> Lev. 2 : 13.

<sup>8</sup> Mk. 9 : 50.

lebendigen und lebengebenden Opfer, das Salz, das Vorbild seiner Liebe, hineingesetzt sei; mehr als bei den unvernünftigen Opfern vom Gesetz Mosis, welche überhaupt nicht die Opfernden sühnen (entsündigen) konnten. So sind auch diejenigen töricht, die ein Opfer ohne Salz darbringen, und fern sind ihre Opfergaben von der Liebe Christi und von dem Vorbild der heiligen Apostel. Denn nicht soll man unschmackhaft, ohne Salz essen, sagt Hiob.<sup>1</sup> Ich aber sage: Kein gekochtes Essen ohne Salz ist angenehm, ebenso kein Wein ohne Wasser; ebensowenig ist ein Opfer ohne Salz annehmbar; nicht im alten Gesetz Mosis, welche die heilige Eucharistie symbolisiert, und auch nicht in diesem neuen (Gesetz), das Christus seiner Kirche überliefert hat. Denn sie erlaubt nicht, daß wir verlassen irgend etwas von dem, was er bestimmt hat, — es sei denn, daß derjenige, der opfert, Jude sei und kein Christ. Denn in den Bestimmungen der heidnischen Weisen und Philosophen gebraucht man hier den Terminus: „*definita affirmativa*“ (προσδιοριστικά καταφατικά) universell einschließend.<sup>2</sup> Denn *kull* und *lā kull* sind große Definitiones, allgemein und einander entgegengesetzt, gerade wie auch *had* und *lā had* partiell sind. Also sagt Christus unser Herr zu seinen Jüngern: „Sagt und lehrt *alles*, was ich euch befohlen habe.“<sup>3</sup> Da er nun „alles“ sagt, so schließt er damit all die Kanones und Gebote ein. Dies ist alles, was er sagte über das Opfer, das gebracht wird. Es gibt also keine geschmacklosere Opfergabe (Oblate), als die, woran kein erfrischendes Salz ist. Diese Worte nun — wenig anstatt viel — über diesen Gegenstand mögen genug sein.

### *Über Olivenöl.*

Wir gebrauchen Olivenöl auf den Oblaten als Symbol der <sup>fol.</sup> Barmherzigkeit Gottes zu uns Sündern; denn so meint (tut) <sup>6a</sup> es auch das alttestamentliche Gesetz mit den ungesäuerten Broten, welche mit Öl bestrichen wurden, und mit den Leuchtern und den Lichtern.<sup>4</sup> Ebenso war das Olivenblatt, welches die Taube<sup>5</sup> dem gerechten Noah zur Abendzeit brachte, ein Zeichen des Endes der Flut. Die Kinder<sup>6</sup>, welche ihm

<sup>1</sup> Hiob 6 : 6.

<sup>2</sup> Nämlich in der Terminologie der Logik.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. 28 : 19.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. 29 : 2.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 8 : 3.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. 21 : 15.

zugejauchzt haben mit Ölzweigen, symbolisierten die Barmherzigkeit Gottes und das Heil, das er selbst brachte von der Flut der Sünde. Auch der Samariter<sup>1</sup>, welcher sich des unter die Räuber Gefallenen erbarmte, als dieser hinabging von Jerusalem nach Jericho, ist Christus, welcher die Menschen rettete mit seinem Blute. Mit Wein und Öl verband er seine Wunden und beilte ihn.<sup>2</sup> Aber auch der Menschensohn wurde gesalbt für uns, von seiner Mutter<sup>3</sup> und den andern Weibern, dreimal; da der Evangelist Lukas<sup>4</sup> bezeugt über eine, und die andern Evangelisten (bezeugen) über eine andere, welche ihn salbte.<sup>5</sup> Also dürfen wir auch Öl darbringen beim lebendigen Opfer, dem Abendmahl Christi; wie auch Salz ein Symbol der Liebe und Barmherzigkeit Gottes für die Menschheit ist. Aber wenn einem Priester an Glauben mangelt, und er dabei unbarmherzig ist, so ist er kein Priester. Auch der Laie, der eins von diesen Dingen nicht hat, ist kein Christ. Also Glaube, Liebe und Barmherzigkeit sind die Erfüllung des Christentums; und Sauerteig, Salz und Öl sind die Vollendung des Leibes Christi denen, welchen das Evangelium Christi nicht fol. verborgen ist. Wer aber eins von diesen entbehrt, des Herz<sup>7a</sup> ist mit Unwissenheit verfinstert.

*Über das alttestamentliche Ungesäuerte, welches unser Herr aß und abschaffte und mit einem neuen Sauerteig begann.*

Über das ungesäuerte Brot, welches Christus am Abend der Eucharistie<sup>6</sup> aß; wie Ihr gewiß glaubt, O, du Heiliger Gottes. Daß er am Abend davon gegessen und es in jenem Moment abgeschafft hat: „Geht, den Ort uns zu bereiten, damit ich mit euch das Passahlamm esse, ehe ich leide,“<sup>7</sup> sagt Christus zu seinen Jüngern. Und nachdem sie gegangen waren und zubereitet hatten, kam Jesus und legte sich zu Tische; und als er gegessen hatte Lamm und ungesäuertes Brot und die bitteren Kräuter, wie das Gesetz Mosis befiehlt, sagte er: „Seht, es ist vollbracht“;<sup>8</sup> und damit besiegelte er vollständig

<sup>1</sup> Luk. 10 : 33.

<sup>2</sup> Luk. 10 : 34.

<sup>3</sup> Joh. 12 : 3? Daß Maria, die Mutter Jesu, ihn salbte, nimmt unser Autor jedenfalls aus obiger Stelle, wo Jesus im Hause der Martha ist, und es nun heißt: Da nahm Maria ein Pfund Salbe von echter, sehr kostbarer Narde und salbte die Füße Jesu und trocknete sie mit ihren Haaren.

<sup>4</sup> Luk. 4 : 37—38.

<sup>5</sup> Mk. 17 : 3; Matt. 26 : 7 f.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. 26 : 26.

<sup>7</sup> Luk. 22 : 8.

<sup>8</sup> Luk. 22 : 16, 37.

das alte Bündnis. Darauf nahm er das Brot in seine Hände, und nachdem er gedankt hatte, brach er es, aß, und gab seinen Jüngern auch zu essen. Siehe, er nennt es „Brot“ (*lahmā*), nicht „Ungesäuertes“ (*pattirā*); denn wie es geschrieben steht, also ziemt uns zu glauben, damit wir ohne Falsch erscheinen. „Brot“, sagen die Heiligen, die Evangelisten, die Apostel und Paulus, nicht „Ungesäuertes.“<sup>1</sup> Brot (*hammīā*) wird nicht Ungesäuertes genannt, und das Ungesäuerte nicht Brot. Ich habe nicht ausgeschrieben das Zeugnis der heiligen Lehrer, um die Sache nicht zu sehr in die Länge zu ziehen. Wenn Ihr aber sagt, daß unser Herr Ungesäuertes gegessen und das A. T. erfüllt hat, und daß er dann, Ungesäuertes essend, mit dem N. T. angefangen hat, so geht das nicht an. Ungesäuertes im A. T. und ebenso im N. T.? Wo ist also das Neue in Christo? Da er aber „*alles*“ sagte, so ließ er nichts ohne es in dem Wort einzuschließen. Wie entkommt dies Ungesäuerte, welches in Christo nicht erneuert worden ist? Das alttestamentliche Lamm ist abgeschafft worden darin,<sup>2</sup> daß wir fortan keine Tiere mehr opfern, nachdem das Lamm Gottes selbst abgeschafft hat alle Opfer mit seinem Opfer, welches für die Welt ist. Wenn Moses abgeschafft ist mit Christo, und die Torah mit dem Evangelium, und der Sabbat mit dem heiligen Sonntag, so ist notwendigerweise auch Ungesäuertes abgeschafft worden. Wenn Ungesäuertes besteht, und das Lamm noch Berechtigung<sup>3</sup> hat, so ist also bis jetzt der Gesalbte Gottes noch nicht getötet worden, und redet Paulus falsch, wenn er sagt: „Unser Passahlamm ist Christus, geschlachtet und geopfert für uns.“<sup>4</sup> Wenn jetzt noch das jüdische Ungesäuerte besteht, so ist unser A. T. nicht erneuert worden, und der erste Adam ist noch in seiner Sünde. Und wahr würde das schriftliche Wort der Juden, Töter Gottes, daß bis jetzt Christus noch nicht gekommen ist. Für Christen ziemt es sich, einem zu folgen: entweder Mose mit Opferlamm und alttestamentlichem Ungesäuerten, oder Paulus mit Brot und Wein im N. T. Wenn Ihr nun sagen solltet: Woher hatten sie gesäuertes

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. auch die Argumente p. 116 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Randglosse: „Diese wurden erneuert, Und Verheißung auf Verheißung wurde uns gegeben. ‚Abgeschafft‘ steht geschrieben an der Stelle wo: ‚Erneuert ist das Alte‘.“

<sup>3</sup> Dies deutet doch wohl auf Lammopfer hin.

<sup>4</sup> Kor. 5 : 7.



Brôt damals in Jerusalem? Wegen Zeit, Ruf und Personen. Einerseits, die Zeit; da ihre Herrschaft ein Ende hatte, und sie nicht mehr Autorität hatten, ihre Feste frei zu feiern, wie vormals. Andererseits, Ruf und die Personen; daß Herodes und Pilatus und die andren Tetrarche, welche in Jerusalem regierten, und in Judäa und in Galiläa, wie sagt der Evangelist Lukas, ließen nicht zu, daß sie ihre Feste feierten, wie ihnen befohlen war, weder mit Anbetung, noch mit dem Opfer, noch mit Ungesäuertem. Die Römer und die fremden Völker, die da wohnten, aßen nicht Ungesäuertes, da das Volk der Juden verachtet war. Für sieben Tage war ihnen befohlen, Ungesäuertes zu essen,<sup>1</sup> zum Gedächtnis des Auszugs aus der Knechtschaft Ägyptens. Wir aber, die wir von dem Agypten der Sünde, dem eisernen Feuerofen, durch Christum befreit worden sind zur Freiheit des neuen Lebens, warum sollten wir's denn noch nötig haben, zum ungläubigen Ungesäuerten der Juden zurückzukehren; von der Jugend, welche wir in Christo erhalten haben, zum Greisenalter des Mosaismus, den wir verlassen haben? Denn Paulus sagt den Galatern, die sich wollten beschneiden lassen nach der Taufe: Siehe, ich Paulus sage euch: „Wenn ihr beschnitten werdet, wird euch Christus nichts nützen.“<sup>2</sup> Also auch jeder, der Ungesäuertes ißt und den Sabbat hält, usw., des Dienst und Hoffnung ist nichtig in bezug auf Christum. Dies bis hierher, genügt vollständig.

### § V.

fol.  
8<sup>a</sup>

#### *Über das Wasser, das wir im Kelch mischen.*

Über das Wasser, das wir im Kelch des Blutes mischen. Also lehrte uns Christus, und der Apostel Johannes,<sup>3</sup> der Theologe, daß aus des Herrn Seite Blut und Wasser floß. Blut bedeutet sein Leben, Wasser aber seinen Tod. Wenn wir also durch seinen Tod erlöst worden sind, und die gläubige Gemeinde das Gedächtnis seines Todes in der Eucharistie feiert, wie er auch sagte: „Dies tut zum Gedächtnis meines Todes“;<sup>4</sup> dann verleugnen diejenigen, welche nur reinen Wein machen und auf dem Altar darbringen, seine Leiden und seinen stellvertretenden Tod, da sie ja nur sein Leben predigen. Denn die Heiden Harans und die Juden allenthalben opfern reinen

<sup>1</sup> Dtn. 16 : 3.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. 5 : 2.

<sup>3</sup> Joh. 19 : 34.

<sup>4</sup> Meines Todes steht nicht dabei.

Wein bei ihren Opfern, welche ausgeschlossen sind vom christlichen Glauben. Auch sind sie ausgeschlossen vom wahren Leben, welches die Christen haben durch seinen Tod. Also ziemt es sich, Wein und Wasser zu opfern im Geist des Glaubens nach dem Apostel. Denn der heilige Mar Ephräm sagt:<sup>1</sup> „Wasser schreit ‚Gott ist getötet worden‘ und Blut verkündet, daß er lebt in seiner Natur“. Dies Wenige über diese Sache genügt uns.

## § VI.

### *Wegen der Taufe von Kreuzen und Nakuschen.<sup>2</sup>*

Wegen der Taufe von Kreuzen und Nakuschen, welche ihr vollzieht. Die Apostel lehrten solches nicht, die Lehrer taten es auch nicht, und in der Schrift steht es auch nicht; in den Kanones wird es auch nicht genannt. „Geht und lehrt alle Völker“ sagt Christus,<sup>3</sup> „und taufet sie auf den Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes, und des Heiligen Geistes“. Das ist die wahre Regel des (rechtgläubigen) orthodoxen Glaubens, welchen uns die Apostel und die heiligen Väter überlieferten. Und darin unterscheiden sich die Gläubigen von den Ungläubigen und die Kinder von den Fremden. „Ihr aber, die ihr auf Christum getauft seid, habt Christum angezogen“, sagt Paulus.<sup>4</sup> Also Kreuze und Schallbretter, oder Steine und Holz, haben Christum in der heiligen Taufe angezogen? das ist der Wahrheit fremd und verdammungswürdig. „Wer nämlich nicht geboren ist aus Wasser und Geist“, sagt Christus, „geht nicht ein ins Himmelreich“.<sup>5</sup> Also sind Kreuze und Klingeln, welche sie taufen, Kinder des Himmelreichs!<sup>6</sup> Das ist eine heidnische Lehre! Wir aber werden angenommen an Kindesstatt durch die heilige Taufe, durch welche wir rufen: Abba, unser Vater. Also sind nach ihnen Kreuz, Steine und Holz, und der Rest der Dinge, die sie taufen, Kinder des himmlischen Vaters. Das ist dem Glauben der wahren Christen ganz fremd. Durch die Taufe werden wir Brüder Christi in

<sup>1</sup> Sancti Ephraem Syri Opera Tom. I. p. 13 f.

<sup>2</sup> Das Nakuscha ist ein dickes Brett mit Löchern, das mit einem Schlegel geschlagen wird um die Leute zum Gebet zu rufen. (Miss. Herald, 1848 Dez. p. 416.)

<sup>3</sup> Mat. 28 : 19.

<sup>4</sup> Gal. 3 : 27.

<sup>5</sup> Joh. 3 : 5.

<sup>6</sup> Auch wieder so eine rabbinische Schlußfolgerung. Welche Spiegel-fechtere! doch die Polemik erzeugt!

der Gemeinschaft des Heiligen Geistes. Also jedes Kreuz, Schallbrett, Stein soll ein Bruder Christi in der Gemeinschaft des Heiligen Geistes sein. Das wird verworfen vom göttlichen Gesetz. Denn ein Kreuz Christi ist vollkommen und erfüllt alles. Wenn es aber mangelhaft ist, daß es vollendet werden sollte von einem andern, so ist es nicht ein Kreuz. Ein Kreuz gibt dem andern nichts, da nicht einmal ein Bischof dem andern was gibt, oder ein Priester dem andern, wegen der gleichen Gnade des Amtes und der Gleichheit des Priestertums. Denn wie der eine Leib, der ans Kreuz geschlagen wurde bei Jerusalem, alle geistlichen Opfer vollständig heiligte, so auch das *eine* Kreuz, welches mit seinem Zeichen lebendig macht, alle Kreuze irgendwelcher Art heiligt, ohne daß sie der Taufe bedürfen. Demnach ist es heidnisch, Steine und Holz und tote Dinge mit heiligem Chrisam<sup>1</sup> zu taufen, welcher dem Christus gehört, wie geschrieben steht. Soviel darüber!

fol.  
9<sup>a</sup>

## § VII.

### *Über das Bekenntnis der Sünde, d. h., ԽօսձօձՅՈՒՆ.*<sup>2</sup>

Ist es nicht schön, sogar sehr lieblich? Aber nur wenn es nach seiner Ordnung vollführt wird. Johannes der Täufer zeigte dies, wo er die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer taufte zur Buße.<sup>3</sup> „Bringet“, sagte er, „würdige Früchte der Buße“, usw. Denn wenn ein Mensch sündigt und sich bekehren, und aufstehen und fallen, und bauen und wieder einreißen, und sich vom Kot der Sünde baden und wieder zurückkehren sollte, so ist in ihm die Eigenschaft des Schweines, sagt die Heilige Schrift, und des Hundes, „der sich zu seinem Auswurf wendet“.<sup>4</sup> Wenn einer sich gereinigt hat von einem Toten und geht wieder zu ihm zurück, was nützt das?<sup>5</sup> Der Prophet David sündigte und bekehrte sich, und die Art seiner Buße zeigt er

<sup>1</sup> Die Salbung mit Chrisam (heiligem Öl) bedeutet, daß der Getaufte teil hat an der Salbung des gottmenschlichen Hauptes und zum auserwählten, priesterlichen Volke Gottes berufen ist. Diese Salbung soll gegen Verderbnis der Sünde schützen und Bewahrung der Taufgnade wirken.

<sup>2</sup> Armenisch für die Beichte.

<sup>3</sup> Mat. 3 : 8.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Petri 2 : 22 : „Der Hund kehrte um zu seinem eigenen Gespei, und die gewaschene Sau zum Wälzen im Kot“.

<sup>5</sup> Sirach 31 (34) : 30.

durch den Ernst des Gebetes, welches er darbrachte.<sup>1</sup> Simon Petrus verleugnete und bekehrte sich und ward wieder angenommen.<sup>2</sup> Und es heißt nicht, daß er nochmals sündigte. So die Zöllner und Huren und der Räuber;<sup>3</sup> der sich am Kreuze bekehrte, siehe das sind Vorbilder und Exempla für den, der sich in Wahrheit bekehrt. Verlaß dich nicht auf die Vergebung,<sup>4</sup> sagt die Schrift, welche nur im Wort ist, damit du nicht Sünde auf Sünde häufst. Also ist die Beichte nicht schön, welche nicht aus der Wahrheit, sondern aus der Falschheit ist. Diese ziemt sich weder den Priestern, noch den Diakonen, noch den Laien. Dies genügt uns soweit.

fol.  
10<sup>b</sup>

## § VIII.

*Über den Abend des Mittwoch und Freitag.*

Wegen des Abends vom Mittwoch und Freitag. Das ist eine törichte, in der Schrift nicht vorgeschriebene, Gewohnheit. Denn alle Tage sind gleich geachtet in Berechnung und Herrlichkeit der Schöpfung, und keiner von ihnen ist herrlicher, als der heilige Sonntag. Wenn auch Heiden ihn verehren wegen des Zeichens der Sonne<sup>5</sup>, so doch die Christen ob des Glaubens. Denn an ihm war alles im Anfang geschaffen, und an ihm war alles erneuert in der Vollendung, da er auferstand aus dem Grabe.<sup>6</sup> Daß einer faste an diesen Abenden, oder esse, ist Sache der Gewohnheit, nichts mehr, und nicht der klugen Berechnung. Denn Speise erhebt uns nicht zu Gott, sagt der Apostel. Wir profitieren nichts, wenn wir essen, und verlieren nichts, wenn wir nicht essen.<sup>7</sup> Darüber nun, daß wir daran festhalten, daß der Anfang des Tages vom Abend und nicht vom Morgen ist. Es ist zu ersehen aus dem, das

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. 12 : 16.<sup>2</sup> Mat. 26 : 70.<sup>3</sup> Luk. 23 : 42.<sup>4</sup> Sir. 34 : 23; Röm. 6 : 2 f.

<sup>5</sup> Randglosse: „Die Magier aber achten, der Sonntag sei genannt nach der Sonne, welche über die ganze Schöpfung ist; der Montag nach dem Mond; der Dienstag nach dem Mars; der Mittwoch nach Merkur; der Donnerstag nach Jupiter; der Freitag nach Venus; und der Samstag nach Saturn. Diese Notiz ist von fremden Weisen.“

<sup>6</sup> Luk. 24 : 1 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Paulus sagt etwas anders: „Speise aber empfiehlt uns Gott nicht; weder sind wir, wenn wir nicht essen, geringer, noch sind wir, wenn wir essen, vorzüglicher.“ (1 Kor. 8 : 8).

Christus sagte denen, die ein Zeichen forderten: „Wie Jonas drei Tage und drei Nächte im Bauch des Fisches war, so wird auch der Menschensohn drei Tage und drei Nächte im Busen der Erde sein“. <sup>1</sup> Wenn du rechnest vom Morgen nach dem Freitag, in deinem Zählen, so geht deine Berechnung aus auf den Montag, welcher auf den Sonntag folgt. In dieser Nacht ist aber Christus nicht auferstanden. Denn er ist auferstanden in der frühesten Morgendämmerung des Sonntags, sagt der heilige Mar Ephräm. <sup>2</sup> Der Sonntag wird der (Tag) der Auferstehung genannt. Sehr richtig rechnest du deine Zahlen von der Zeit, da unser Herr seinen Leib brach im Obergemach; so geht die Rechnung richtig und genau aus. Wie durch ein Geheimnis und Wunder ist unser Herr gestorben von der Zeit, als er seinen Jüngern seinen Leib verteilte. So haben uns die heiligen Väter überliefert. Also geht der Abend dem Morgen voraus, und die Nacht dem Tage. Unsere Rechnung ist genau, daß wir vom Abend ab wachen und am Mittwoch und Freitag fasten. Aber man muß den Unterschied kennen zwischen Tag und Tageszeit. Denn Tageszeit sagt man (natürlich) vom Aufgang der Sonne bis zu ihrem Untergang; Tag aber ist Nacht- und Tageszeit zusammen, oder 24 Stunden, und mit den Zunahmen und Abnahmen der vier Jahreszeiten. Dies ist das Argument über den Abend des Mittwoch und Freitag; während es viele Wahrheiten gibt, für den, der über dies und andere Dinge schreibt.

fol.  
11<sup>b</sup>

### § IX.

*Über das Fest der Geburt, welches sie nicht feiern wie alle Völker der ganzen Erde.* <sup>3</sup>

Über das heilige Weihnachtsfest und Epiphanien, welches Ihr an einem Tage feiert, nach alter Gewohnheit. Wisse,

<sup>1</sup> Mat. 12 : 40.

<sup>2</sup> Sancti Ephraem Syri Opera Tom I. p. 13 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Das Weihnachtsfest. Dionysius Barsalibi sagt über das armenische Weihnachtsfest: „In den orientalischen Ländern und im Norden feierte man dieses Fest bis auf die Zeiten des Königs Arkadius und des Mar Johannes am 6. Januar und nannte es Geburtstagsfest, das ist auch Epiphanias, wie der heilige Theolog in der Rede über die Geburt es nannte. Doch wird aber in den römischen Provinzen und in ganz Italien und in Palästina von der Zeit der Apostel bis auf den heutigen Tag am 25. Dezember das Geburtsfest gefeiert. Und jene Ordnung und jene genaue

Herr, daß alles, worüber Ungewißheit ist, entweder von der Natur der Sache, oder von der Gewohnheit, oder von der Schrift festgestellt wird. 1. Von der Natur: die Empfängnis, Geburt und Erziehung; 2. von der Gewohnheit: die Lehre der Grammatik, oder Zimmermannskunst, oder Schmiedekunst; 3. von der Schrift, endlich: die Beschreibung der Geburt Jesu Christi, usw. Zu der Natur und der Gewohnheit gesellt sich einerseits die durch die Sinnen gewonnene Erkenntnis; aber dem Wort der Schrift ist andererseits der Glaube erforderlich. So war es Sitte der Nationen vormals einerseits am 25. Dezember das Fest der Geburt zu feiern, andererseits am 6. Januar das Fest der Erscheinung unseres Herrn. Nicht zufällig oder in Unwissenheit ist dieser Gebrauch festgestellt worden, in der Kirche der Römer und Griechen, der Ägypter und unsrer Syrer, usw.; sondern die frühern Gelehrten haben es erstens vom Gesetz der Natur abgeleitet, daß die Geburt des Menschen zuerst geschieht, und er dann getauft wird. Von der Schrift dann lernten sie dieses, daß zuerst Christus am 25. Dezember geboren wurde, aber getauft am 6. Januar. Denn der Evangelist Lukas sagt wirklich also: „Aber im sechsten Monat erschien der Engel Gabriel“,<sup>1</sup> usw. Der sechste Monat verkündet aber die Empfängnis des Johannis; denn also sagte der Engel zur heiligen Jungfrau Maria, Gebälerin Gottes, als sie wegen der Empfängnis zweifelte: „Siehe, Elisabeth deine Verwandte ist auch schwanger, im Alter, und dies ist der sechste Monat für sie“, usw.<sup>2</sup> Denn die Empfängnis Johannis geschah

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Sitte beobachten das ganze Morgenland und der Norden, mit Ausnahme der Armenier, jener dickköpfigen und hartnäckigen Leute, die nicht zur Wahrheit überredet werden; so daß sie nach der alten Sitte am 6. Januar die beiden Feste begehen“. (Assemani, BO, II, S. 163 f.)

Dazu hat ein Unbekannter die Armenier in Schutz nehmend an den Rand geschrieben: „Am 6. Januar ist der Herr geboren, an demselben Tage, an welchen wir Epiphanien feiern. Deshalb begingen die Alten an einem und demselben Tage das Fest der Geburt und der Epiphanien. Denn an dem Tage, an dem er geboren wurde, wurde er auch getauft. Darum feiern die Armenier noch heute die beiden Feste an einem Tage.“ (Assemani, Bibl. Orient. II, S. 164.)

Die Armenier feierten nach alter Sitte, Geburt und Epiphanien am selben Tage. Der Vortrag ist der Verkündigung und Empfängnis gewidmet, die Nachtfeier der Geburt, der Haupttag der Taufe. (v. Usener: *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* I, 203 ff.)

<sup>1</sup> Luk. 1 : 26,

<sup>2</sup> Luk. 1 : 36.

im Monat Oktober (Tišrin), am elften; nachdem Zacharias, seinem Vater, die frohe Botschaft überbracht worden war, nach dem Sonnenjahre berechnet, am 23. September, an welchem Tage wir und die Griechen das Fest der Verkündigung des Zacharias feiern; und wenn du zählst und rechnest von da ab bis zum 25. März, wo wir die Verkündigung der Gottesgebärerin feiern, so wirst du sechs Monate finden. (Nach dem Monde berechnet aber ist es der Zehnte im Monat Nisan). Rechnest du nun von hier bis zum 25. Dezember, so erhältst du neun Monate. In dieser Zeit war die Geburt unseres Heilandes. Er erschien am 25. Dezember; nach dem Monde berechnet aber am 6. Januar; wie der heilige Mar Ephräm sagt: „Am Zehnten seine Empfängnis, am Sechsten seine Geburt“. Nach dem Monde berechnet, nämlich, weil die Juden in der Berechnung ihrer Monate und Feste sich des Mondes bedienten. Und wie es sechs Monate waren von der Empfängnis des Johannis bis zur Empfängnis unseres Heilandes, ebenso auch von der Geburt Johannis, am 24. Juni, bis zur Geburt unseres Herrn, welche geschah am 25. Dezember, findest du sechs Monate. Wiederum aber die Heiden, und die Magier, und die Chaldäer, die den Tierkreis messen, und sich der Gesetze der Sterne bedienen, feierten an diesem Tage, am 25. Dezember ein großes Fest, das Sonnenfest, weil da die Sonne wieder umkehrt zum Aufstieg auf die höchste Stufe. So war's ja auch prophezeit von der großen Sonne der Gerechtigkeit, welche an diesem herrlichen und heiligen Tag erschienen ist und gebracht hat das Geheimnis der Erlösung, und wiederum erhoben hat den Menschen auf die höchste Stufe und an seine frühere Stelle. Also, unser Herr wurde sicherlich am 25. Dezember geboren; nach dem Mond am Sechsten des Januar; im Jahr 309 nach griechischer Zeitrechnung, und im 41. Jahre des Augustus Caesar. Getauft wurde er im Jahr 339, nach dem griechischen Kalender, und im 15. Jahre des Kaisers Tiberias, am 6. Januar, nach der Sonne; und nach dem Monde fand seine Geburt ebenfalls am 6. Januar statt, wie auch für seine Geburt der Sechste bestimmt war im Monde des Januar. Aus diesem Grund also, nämlich der Berechnung nach dem Monde, da sie vorhanden war zur Zeit der Geburt, welche mit der Zeit der Taufe übereinstimmte, so entstand diese Gewohnheit in den Tagen unserer Vorfahren, und man feierte die zwei Feste zusammen, wie Ihr

sie feiert, bis zur Zeit des Königs Arkadius<sup>1</sup> und des Mar Johannes Chrysostomos,<sup>2</sup> welche zur selben Zeit lebten. Auf einmal nun wurde ein große Untersuchung darüber veranstaltet. Die heiligen Väter urteilten richtig, daß zuerst das Fest der heiligen Geburt, und dann das der Erscheinung sein sollte. Von damals bis heute wurden die heiligen Feste der Geburt und der Erscheinung festgestellt, jedes für sich, nach der schönen Sitte, welche die heiligen Väter bestimmten durch den Einfluß des Heiligen Geistes, welcher sie lehrte und weise machte, nach der Macht der Wahrheit und der Genauigkeit des Geheimnisses; wie ja auch bestimmt war die Zeit der Geburt unseres Heilandes, und die göttliche Erscheinung. Dies ist das Argument für das heilige Fest der Geburt und der Erscheinung (Weihnachten und Epiphanien),<sup>3</sup> welche wir feiern jedes für sich. Diese schöne Sitte ist wohl begründet und in der katholischen Kirche aller Völker akzeptiert.

#### § X.

*Darüber, daß die Väter viel Passendes an der kirchlichen Ordnung veränderten und in der Kirche ohne Verweis zur Geltung brachten.* fol. 13<sup>b</sup>

Darüber, daß sie früher nicht feierten das Fest Palmarum, und nicht das Osterfest in jedem Jahr, und die Taufe nur alle 30 Jahre; während das Fest Palmarum zu keiner Zeit gefeiert wurde. Deshalb verfaßte der heilige Gregorius, der Theologe, keine festliche Predigt darüber (Palmarum), wie er tat über Weihnachten und Epiphanien. Nicht einmal die heilige Charwoche und das Osterfest hielten sie zuerst, außer alle 30 Jahre einmal. Auf einmal verordneten es die Väter jedes Jahr am Ende des Fastens; das war sehr schön; ebenso das heilige Fasten von 40 Tagen, jedermann, wann er wollte, und in welcher Zeit er's gerade wünschte. Die Sache der Mehrheit siegt; und siehe, alle christlichen Völker feiern das

<sup>1</sup> Römischer Kaiser (383—408 A. D.).

<sup>2</sup> Chrysostomos (345. 347—407).

<sup>3</sup> Epiphanien wird zuerst von Clemens von Alexandrien genannt als das jährliche Gedächtnisfest der Geburt und Taufe Christi, welches am 6. Januar gefeiert wurde. Im Occident wurde es später ein Fest für verschiedene Ereignisse — Anbetung der Magier, Hochzeit zu Kana, Speisung der 5000 usw.



heilige Fest der Geburt, und sie gießen Wasser in den Abendmahlswein, indem sie den Kelch der Danksagung mischen; auch nehmen sie Wein und Salz in der Eucharistie. Eins von diesen tun jene nicht, mit vielen andern Dingen. Nicht nur feiern sie das Fest nicht an seinem Tage, sondern sie feiern es am Sonntag. Es ziemt sich aber gar nicht, daß an ihm noch ein Fest gefeiert werde, außer dem Gedächtnis der Auferstehung. Deswegen ist dieser Tag groß und namhaft, heilig und herrlich. Wenn aber an diesem Tag ein anderes Fest veranstaltet wird, so werde es gefeiert nach der Ordnung der Auferstehung; Dienst und Gedächtnis der Auferstehung sollen nicht aufhören an ihm. Wegen der großartigen und herrlichen Auferstehung ist es, daß wir ihn beobachten und feierlich und lobpreisend verehren. Also auch in diesem Stück sind sie nicht treu, daß sie das Fest am Sonntag feiern. Wenn wir aber die heilige Feier am Schluß des Mittwoch und Freitag anfangen, so haben wir dafür kräftige Beweise und wahrhaftige Zeugnisse. Erstens, daß das erste Volk, welches Gott kannte und sowohl nach der Ordnung, wie nach den Gesetzen wandelte, war das Volk der Kinder Israel. Vom Munde Gottes wurde ihnen anbefohlen durch Mose, daß sie am Abend anfangen sollten, ihr Fest zu feiern und ihre Sabbate zu halten, und so tun sie bis zum heutigen Tag. Zweitens aber, da der Sonntag der Tag der Auferstehung ist, und um 9 Uhr am Sabbat beginnt der Sonntag. Und das Licht, welches über Jerusalem herabfloß, zeugt und bestätigt es. Wiederum drittens, daß am Charfreitag der Kreuzigung, in der Nacht, in welcher der Freitag dämmt, alle Völker sehr früh aufstehen und Gebet und Andenken der heilbringenden Passion begehen; nicht in der Nacht, die den Freitag beschließt; weil die Nacht vor dem Sabbat die der Verkündigung heißt, wie die darauffolgende, vor dem Sonntag, die der Auferstehung. Also wahr ist es, daß wir vom Abend den nächstfolgenden Tag bestimmen. Viertens aber, daß alle Völker am Abend vor dem Fest, oder dem Sonntag anfangen, das Fest zu feiern und den Tag des Festes zu ehren. Also bestätigen wir, daß wir am Abend vor dem Freitag anfangen, den Tag der erlösenden Passion mit Fasten und Gebet zu feiern. Ebenso auch der König oder der Regent, wenn es gerade passiert, daß er in ein Dorf oder in eine Stadt einzieht, da ziehen die Leute aus ihm entgegen in feierlicher Prozession, mit Pomp und Pracht, und ehren so seinen Einzug.

Wenn er aber aufbricht, geht er ganz schlicht, nur wenige bemerken seine Abreise. Also tun wir wohl, daß wir zuerst den Einzug feiern, mehr als den Abschied. So wie wir auch die Geburt unseres Herrn sehr ehren und vorher fasten; sei es nun, daß man 40 Tage fastet, oder 30, oder zwei Wochen, oder 25 Tage; worüber eine Menge von Kanones, Lieder und Hymnen verfaßt sind, auch Predigten, und Homilien und Weissagungen, mehr als über den Tag der Himmelfahrt. Denn jener ist die Ankunft Gottes bei uns im Fleische; dieser ist der Abschied. Fünftens endlich, daß jeder vollkommene Tag aus Nachtzeit und Tageszeit besteht, und in 24 Stunden beendigt wird. Wir feiern also den heiligen Tag Freitag in der ganzen Nacht- und Tageszeit von 24 Stunden; von Sonnenuntergang vor dem Freitag bis zum folgenden Sonnenuntergang vor dem Sabbat. Doch gibt es noch viele Gründe dafür, daß der Tag oder das Fest bei seinem Eingang mehr als bei seinem Ausgang gefeiert wird. Also haben wir Recht darin, daß wir <sup>fol.</sup> die Feier des Freitags bei seinem Eintritt beginnen. <sup>15<sup>b</sup></sup>

## § XI.

*Darüber, daß ein Priester den Bischof segnet, obwohl der höher steht als jener.*

Es ist bei ihnen eine andere häßliche Sitte, nämlich, wenn ein Bischof zufällig einem Priester begegnet, sobald der Priester vom Bischof gesegnet worden ist, segnet der Priester wiederum den Bischof und legt die Hand auf sein Haupt. Sag mir: Woher hat der Priester die Autorität, daß er dem Bischof etwas geben sollte? Und wenn ein Priester noch mangelhaft und bedürftig ist, daß er von einem Priester den Segen und Handauflegung empfangen, wie denn weiht er Priester und Diakonen, und heiligt den Myron und den Altar und die Kirche? Das ist eine häßliche Sitte, und ganz fremd der priesterlichen Ordnung. Der Bischof mag wohl den Priester segnen, sagen die Kanones; aber es ziemt sich nicht, daß er vom Priester gesegnet wird: aber noch mehr: Nicht einmal von seinem bischöflichen Genossen, sondern nur von Patriarchen, welcher größer ist als er: weil ein Bischof einen andern Bischof nicht ordinieren kann: nicht einmal ein Patriarch kann allein ihn ordinieren, wenn nicht ein anderer Bischof, oder zwei mit ihm sein sollten, wie es in den Kanones befohlen ist. Ein

Bischof wird von drei Bischöfen ordinirt, oder von zweien, mit welchen entweder ein Patriarch, oder Metropolit sein soll. Ein Bischof kann viele Priester und Diakonén allein ordinieren, wenn kein anderer Bischof in seiner Nähe ist. Deswegen ist er befugt, Priester und Diakone usw. zu segnen und die Hände auf sie zu legen. Der Priester hat aber keine Befugnis, den Bischof zu segnen. Das ist häßlich und verkehrt.

fol.  
16<sup>a</sup>

## § XII.

*Darüber, daß ihre Bischöfe durch Geld und Bestechungen<sup>1</sup> eingesetzt werden und einer überbietet den andern, und sie jagen einander von der Herde weg.*

Wiederum haben sie was anderes, welches am aller schimpflichsten ist. Wenn ein Sprengel eines Bischofs bedarf und derjenige, der kandidiert, nicht viel Geld gibt, so wird er nicht erwählt. Derjenige, welcher Geld hat, wenn er auch schlecht ist in seinem Lebenswandel, wird berufen und erwählt eher, als der, welcher fromm und tugendhaft ist, aber kein Geld gibt. Nachdem jemand berufen und erwählt und zum Sprengel gegangen, legt man jedes Jahr eine beliebige Summe Tribut auf ihn; und nachdem er ein Jahr oder zwei oder ein wenig mehr in dem Sprengel gestanden ist, kommt ein anderer, und wenn er ihn 10 oder 20 Denare überbietet, wird der erste vertrieben und der andere eingesetzt. Und ebenso wird dieser über ein Weilchen vertrieben; ein anderer kommt, jagt ihn fort und nimmt seinen Sprengel. Und so geschieht es, ohne Hindernis, daß ein Sprengel eine Menge Bischöfe hat; und wenn einer den Sprengel erhält, da überlaufen die anderen andere Sprengel, damit sie andern ebenso tun.

## § XIII.

fol. Auch die Aufsicht der Klöster und Konvente ist ebenso be-  
17<sup>a</sup> schaffen.

Irgendein Mönch geht und gibt dem Ortsvorsteher Geld, ob der Machthaber ein Heide oder ein Christ ist, und reißt an sich das Archimandritenamt, das heißt, die Aufsicht des

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<sup>1</sup> Noch im 15. Jahrhundert wurden die Bischöfsstühle an den Höchstbietenden verkauft. Die Kleriker erpressten Geld vom Volk, um die

Klosters, was es auch sei, und ist fortan Herr des Platzes und Machthaber in allem. Er kauft und verkauft, baut und zerstört, und er macht zu seinem Erben, wen er will. Er unterwirft seine Mitbrüder wie Sklaven, so daß sie überhaupt keine Autorität mit ihm haben in der Leitung des Klosters. Aber jeden Tag wird jedem für seinen Bedarf Speise gegeben, einfach und kärglich. Der Abt behält, wen er will, und jagt fort, wen er will. Und die Brüder selbst, weil sie im Kloster nichts gelten, laufen beständig von einem Ort zum andern und wechseln von einem Kloster zum andern. Wenn aber über ein Weilchen ein andrer kommt, und dem Herrn des Ortes mehr Geld gibt, wirft er den vorigen hinaus und nimmt seine Stelle. Und so stecken sie in dieser Verwirrung ohne Ende.

#### § XIV.

*Über den Thron des Katholikats, welchen sie durch erbliche fol. Nachfolge einander übertragen, ebenso den erhabenen Thron ihres Pontifikats.* <sup>17b</sup>

Ich aber sage, daß das Katholikatum im Irrtum ist, insofern einer dem andern überliefert haben soll durch erbliche Nachfolge; nämlich, daß sie vom Geschlecht des heiligen Gregorius abstammen, welcher sie selbst belehrt habe durch leibliche Verwandtschaft. Dies findet man bei keinem christlichen Volke mehr, und steht vielmehr in Widerspruch zu den apostolischen Kanones,<sup>1</sup> welche befehlen, daß kein Bischof Autorität besitzt, seinen Stuhl einem andern zu vermachen, außer dem, der erwählt ist vom Heiligen Geist und von der Heiligen Synode gebilligt worden ist. Diese Sitte haben nur die Araber, daß bei ihnen ein Herrscher, nämlich ein Kalife, durch erbliche Nachfolge eingesetzt wird, von denen, die von der Familie des Muhammed stammen sollen. Bei Christen findet sich dies überhaupt nicht bei irgendeiner Nation. Sonst wäre es ganz in Ordnung, daß die Jerusalemiten beständig einen von der

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Gelder dafür aufzubringen. Darüber erfahren wir auch von Matthäus von Urhai, der die Zustände der armenischen Kirche am Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts als schlecht bezeichnet und auch speziell von der Bestechung und von den Unwürdigen redet. (Kronik Etschmiadzin, 1898, S. 229.)

<sup>1</sup> In den apostolischen Kanones war es nämlich verboten, daß ein Bischof seinen Stuhl irgend jemand vermachen kann.

Familie des Jakobus, des Bruders unseres Herrn, als Oberhaupt einsetzte (jener Jakobus war dort der erste Patriarch); oder von der Familie des Matthäus, welcher ihnen das Evangelium verkündigte und auch ganz Palästina. Und ebenso den Antiochenern und Aramäern geziert einer von der Familie des Petrus; den Ephesern, von Johannes; den Edessenern, von Addai; den Bewohnern von Indien, von Thomas; und den übrigen Völkern, welche das Evangelium gelehrt wurden, von der Familie dessen, der sie zuerst belehrte. Das ist gar nicht möglich, noch ist es abzuleiten vom apostolischen Gebrauch.

### § XV.

*Über Priester, welche ordinirt werden, ohne daß sie eine Stelle haben.*

Ebenso, wenn sie einen Priester einsetzen, nehmen sie von ihm große Bestechung und entlassen ihn, daß er umherirre und diene, wo er will. Sie ordinieren ihn also nicht über ein bestimmtes Heiligtum, wie es in den Kanones befohlen ist; auch ist seine Stelle ganz unbekannt.

### § XVI.

fol. 18<sup>a</sup> *Über die Art des Bekenntnisses bei ihnen, welche nicht schön ist.*

Wiederum aber bezüglich des Bekenntnisses, dessen sie sich nicht bedienen, wie es ordnungsgemäß ist. Aber es stehen da niedergeschrieben alle Arten der Sünde, welche in der Welt getan und auch nicht getan werden. Wenn jemand seine Sünden bekennen und sich bekehren will, so sitzt der Priester da und verliest ihm alle, die er je getan und auch nie getan hat, ja sogar solche, wovon er nie gehört und welche nie in seinen Sinn gekommen wären; und dabei kämpft mit ihm der böse Gedanke von diesen Dingen, welche er hörte, welche nun existierten und geschrieben standen, und die er auch lernte zu tun. Wiederum aber auch der Priester, der solch schändliche Arten von Sünden verliest, der überhaupt auch niemanden hat, der sie anhört, so kommen sie in seinen Sinn und Schaden ihm viel, indem sie seinen Sinn verstören, und beständig halten sie sich auf in seinen Gedanken.

Wiederum hat ihr Bekenntnis und ihre Lehre viel Ähnliches

mit der Häresie der Novatianer,<sup>1</sup> welche nicht annehmen die Bekehrung von der Sünde. Und wenn irgendein Kleriker in Hurerei, im Betrug, oder in Begierde und Wollust des Leibes gefallen ist, wenn er, wie David und Manasse,<sup>2</sup> Buße tut durchs ganze Leben, wird er doch nie wieder aufgenommen in das Amt, worin er einst stand. Wie (sagen sie) ein gläsernes Gefäß, wenn es zerbrochen ist, nicht wieder zusammengefügt und ineinander gepaßt wird, wie es einmal war, so ist's mit dem Menschen, der seinen Leib verunreinigt hat, er kann nicht wieder sein, was er war. So sagen sie. Es widerlegt sie die Sünderin, welche angenommen wurde, begleitete beständig den, der alles heiligt, und im Evangelium gerühmt wurde als Predigerin des Evangeliums.<sup>3</sup> Und der Zöllner, welcher gerechtfertigt wurde, ward ein Apostel, und stieg auf und wurde erhöht zum Rang der Zwölfe, und schrieb das heilige Evangelium. Wiederum auch David, nach seiner unreinen Begierde, und seinem Ehebruch und verbrecherischen Mordtat, wurde durch die Buße erhöht zur höchsten Stufe der Prophetie, und er wurde genannt: Herz Gottes und Vater Christi. Und so auch die anderen Sünder, welche sich bekehrten und angenommen wurden, die wieder aufstiegen und ihren Rang und ihren Dienst einnahmen.

Aber eine Menge von ihnen erlauben nicht, daß solche (bekehrte Sünder) am Mysterion Christi teilnehmen. Also kommt es vor, daß einer eine Zeit von 20, 30, 40 und 50 Jahren bleibt, ohne überhaupt je teilzunehmen am heiligen Kelch. Auch von der Ordnung der Priester und Mönche, bleiben ebenso manche jahrelang, ohne daß sie teilnehmen; dazu viele der Bischöfe. Wiederum gibt es viele Bischöfe, welche kein Opfer bringen, oder teilnehmen an den heiligen Sakramenten; jedoch ordiniert man Priester, Kirchen und Altäre weihet man ein, man tauft, und segnet und auch das übrige. Diese große Dummheit ist doch wunderbar. Wer nicht wert ist, Gaben zu opfern, wie sollte der würdig sein, einen Priester zu ordinieren, daß er opfern kann? Oder einen Altar (einzuweihen), worauf das sühnende Opfer dargebracht und vollendet wird?

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<sup>1</sup> Novatian (c. 200—255).

<sup>2</sup> Manasse 2 Chr. 33 : 13.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. 26 : 13.

## § XVII.

fol.  
19<sup>a</sup>*Über die Heuchelei.*

Wiederum ist bei ihnen ein Anderes, daß all ihr Verkehr, ihr Lebenswandel und ihre Tätigkeit mit Gepränge und Ostentation, nicht in Wahrheit und Aufrichtigkeit ist. Außerlich und vor den Leuten zeigen sie sich gerecht, Abstinenzler, Naziräer, keusch und heilig; aber inwendig ist ihre Lebensweise liederlich. Über sie ist vollbracht die Beschuldigung, die im heiligen Evangelium steht.

## § XVIII.

*Darüber, daß sie nicht teilnehmen am heiligen Abendmahl, wenn sie (Mönche) werden, wie wir tun.*

Diese scheinbaren Mönche, in ihren Gewändern, sind eigentlich keine Mönche; man hält nicht einmal geistlichen Gesang und Gebet über sie. Aber jeder einzelne, wenn es ihm paßt, legt das Mönchsgewand an, und ißt Fleisch zu jeder Zeit ohne Hindernis oder Maß. Aber vollkommene Mönche, nicht einer unter tausend ist bei ihnen zu finden; der den Talar genommen hätte mit Gebeten und geistlichen Lobgesängen nach der Ordnung der Tonsur.

## § XIX.

fol.  
19<sup>b</sup>

*Darüber, daß sie nicht achten auf das Patenamnt bei der heiligen Taufsalmung.*

Über die Sache des Patenamntes bei der heiligen Taufe Vieles verwirren sie und achten nicht die Ehre des heiligen Myron. Wer (den) Täufling annimmt, nimmt ihn im heiligen Vertrag als seinen Sohn, oder seinen Bruder, usw. Sie wahren überhaupt nicht die Ordnung. Jedermann nimmt von der Taufe weg den Sohn seines Bruders, oder den Sohn seiner Schwester, und die übrigen seiner Verwandten.

## § XX.

*Über das Fest der Geburt.*

Über das Fest der heiligen Geburt, welches sie nicht gleichwie jedermann feiern, sondern dabei ihre eigentümliche Sitte halten, apart von allen Völkern, welche den Gekreuzigten

verehren. Sie waren nicht die ersten, die das Evangelium akzeptierten, daß sie nun wünschen, ihr Eigenes aufzurichten, und die Gewohnheit, welche sie empfangen von den Aposteln, preiszugeben. Sie waren im Gegentheil die allerletzten, die an das Evangelium glaubten, durch den heiligen Gregorius im Jahre 863 des Alexander. Nachdem sie Christen geworden waren, kamen viele Synoden zustande in der Welt; und alles was sie beschlossen und überlieferten, wurde angenommen und angeordnet in der Kirche der Syrer, Griechen, Römer, Ägypter Nubier, Äthiopier und Inder, der fernen Länder; wie auch bei den Anbaren, welche im Innern des Laudes und ihre Nachbarn sind; und bei den Alanen, welche im Norden von diesen wohnen; bei den Chazaren und Russen (welche Skythen sind), und bei den Ungarn, Bulgaren und Balkern, und den übrigen Völkern und Nationen, welche glaubten an die evangelische Botschaft. All diese feiern das Fest der Geburt (Weihnachtsfest) am selben Tag, am 25. Dezember, und Epiphaniien am selben Tage, am 6. Januar. Wie kommt es nun, daß jene (die Armenier) so verschieden sind von allen anderen? Nur sie feiern die Geburt und Erscheinung am selben Tag; und wenn sie behaupten, daß das eine alte Sitte ist, so auch die Altvordern gepflegt haben, so behaupten wir: viele von den früheren Gebräuchen sind von den Vätern und Lehrern geändert worden, wie wir oben zeigten im Briefe des Patriarchen, des Mar Johannes.<sup>1</sup> Vieles ist abgeschafft worden, und vieles wurde erneuert. So hat man abgeschafft, daß man sich taufen läßt 30 Jahre alt. Auch dies, daß Bischöfe Weiber und Kinder hatten, als sie in der Welt (Laien) waren; späterhin schickten sie die Frauen weg und wurden Bischöfe, wie auch euer Gregor und viele. Und dies, daß sie dienende Frauen ordinierten, welche salbten die Frauen, welche mit uns waren. Und vieles wie dieses hat man auch erneuert. Zum Beispiel das, daß sie junge Kinder taufen; und das, daß sie jedes Jahr die Passion und Ostern (Passah) feiern; und dies, daß alle Menschen, welche das heilige Kreuz verehren, fasten sollen 40 Tage zusammen vor Ostern; da früher jeder 40 Tage fastete, wann es ihm beliebte im Jahr. Sie erneuerten auch Palmamm, welches überhaupt nicht mehr gefeiert wurde, und das Laub-

fol.  
20<sup>a</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hier steht also ausdrücklich, daß nicht das ganze Schreiben von Joh. Barschuschān ist. Siehe Vorwort, p. 2.



fol. hüttenfest auf dem Berg Tabor. Auch das heilige Weihnachts-  
 20<sup>b</sup> fest ordneten sie in seiner Zeit, mit vielem Examinieren, und  
 Forschen von vielen, und Berechnungen, welche mit größter  
 Genauigkeit und mit Erlaubnis des heiligen Geistes ausgeführt  
 wurden.

### § XXI.

#### *Über die Wahrung des jüdischen Gesetzes.*

Darüber, daß die ersten Christen viele Gebräuche der jüdi-  
 schen Gesetzesbeobachtung hielten, welche die heiligen Apostel  
 und ihre Jünger aufhoben und entfernten sich von ihnen;  
 obwohl sie die Sitte dieses Festes, nach Berechnung des Mondes,  
 festhielten nach Ordnung der Juden, welche Mondmonate  
 haben. Sie akzeptieren durch Tradition, daß unser Herr ge-  
 boren wurde am Sechsten im Monat Januar; und ebenso getauft  
 wurde am Sechsten des Monats Januar. Und sie feierten das Fest  
 jedes Jahr am Sechsten des Monats. Am Abend zwar feierten sie  
 das Fest in Bethlehem; und gleich darauf brachen sie auf von  
 Bethlehem und stiegen hinab zum Jordan, und die ganze  
 Nacht quälten sie sich mit Kälte und Regen und Schnee, wie  
 fol. es im Winter an der Tagesordnung ist. Am Morgen feierten  
 21<sup>a</sup> sie dann Tauffest am Jordan. So taten sie bis zur Zeit des  
 Mar Johannes Goldmund (Chrysostomus), in den Tagen des  
 Königs Arkadius, des Vaters Theodosius, des Jüngeren. Zu  
 der Zeit wurden einige in Jerusalem vom Heiligen Geiste ge-  
 trieben, daß sie eine Untersuchung und ein Diktum über die  
 Geschichte der Feste verlangten, welche nicht geziemend ver-  
 vollkommt seien; da man erstens das Fest der Geburt am  
 Abend in Bethlehem feierte, und dann in aller Eile und Er-  
 schöpfung aufbrach in derselben Nacht, bis zum Jordantluß  
 (ging), und am Morgen Tauffest feierte, ebenso in Eile; dann  
 eilte man zurück nach Jerusalem, um das Fest des Stephanus  
 zu feiern, da, wo er gesteinigt und begraben wurde; weil man  
 nach den herrlichen Festen der Geburt und Taufe das des  
 Stephanus feierte. Und sie forschten nach, und stellten Unter-  
 suchungen an, über die Sache. Sie schickten daher Schreiben  
 an die Patriarchen, welche damals in Rom, Konstantinopel,  
 Alexandrien, Antiochien und den übrigen berühmten Orten  
 standen; und überall hatte man deswegen Synoden, und die  
 Sache wurde genau untersucht und sorgfältig darüber nach-

geforscht von allen Weisen und Gelehrten, welche damals lebten und sich darauf verstanden, die Zeiten und die Geschichte zu berechnen. Und sie gingen zurück in der Berechnung der Monate und Jahre und fanden, daß das Jahr, in welchem unser Herr geboren wurde, das 309. Jahr der Griechen ist; und sie fanden, daß der Anfang des Monats Kānūn II. (Januar) am 20. Tag des Kānūn I. (Dezember) nach der Sonnenrechnung fiel; also am 25. in diesem (Sonnen-) Monat waren es sechs Tage im Monde, welcher als Mond des Januar gerechnet wurde. Sie bestätigten genau, daß am 25. Dezember nach der Sonne unser Herr geboren wurde in diesem Jahr. Am selben Tage nun feierten die Heiden das große Sonnenfest, weil gerade zu der Zeit, am 24. und 25. im Monat, die Jahreswende ist. Ich sage im Dezember, März, Juni und September. Die Wende des Kānūn, weil die Sonne gegen Süden fol.  
22<sup>a</sup> sinkt bis zum Rande des niedrigsten Grades, und dann vom 25. fängt sie wieder an, zu steigen. Da machen sie ein großes Freudenfest, genannt Fest der Sonne, welche bildlich vorstellt und symbolisiert die große Sonne der Gerechtigkeit, welche bereit war an diesem Tag zu erscheinen. Die Christen gingen zu diesem Fest der Heiden und verunreinigten sich bei ihren Opfern. Daraufhin ordneten die Väter an und bestimmten alle zusammen einmütig, daß am 25. Dezember, nach der Sonne, das heilige Fest der Geburt gefeiert werde, und abgeschafft werde die Berechnung nach dem Monde, da sie steigt und fällt, und ungenau ist; nämlich darin, daß die Summe der zwölf Mond-Monate etliche Tage weniger ist als die der zwölf Sonnenmonate des Jahres; weil der Mond immer wechselnd ab- und zunimmt, und nicht wie die Sonne beständig ist, welche überhaupt nicht wechselt, weder ab- noch zunimmt, damit sie die große Sonne, Christum, symbolisiere; welcher, obwohl er Fleisch an sich nahm und Mensch wurde und sich selbst entäußerte, dennoch sich nie veränderte, oder ab- oder zugenommen hätte. Soviel über die heilige Geburt.

## § XXII.

*Wiederum untersuchten und berechneten auch die heiligen Väter, fol. daß unser Herr im 30. Jahr getauft wurde, welches das 339. 22<sup>b</sup> der Griechen ist, und im 15. Jahr des Kaisers Tiberius, welcher die Stadt Tiberias am galiläischen Meer baute, wo der Jordan*

entspringt; darin hat er bildlich prophezeit über die feste Stadt der heiligen Taufe, welche zu jener Zeit gebaut und befestigt wurde am geistlichen Jordanflusse. Und sie fanden durch genaue Berechnung, daß in diesem Jahr der Anfang des Mond-Monats Januar mit dem des Sonnenmonats zusammen fällt, i. e., der Sechste nach dem Mond war gleich mit dem Sechsten nach dem Sonnenmonat. Da ordneten sie an, daß Epiphanien an dem Tag sein sollte, welcher der Sechste im Sonnenmonat Januar ist, und abgeschafft sei die Berechnung nach dem Monde (Mondkalender). Nachdem also festgelegt wurde, wie es sich gehört, genau und unübertrefflich, die Chronologie dieser heiligen Feste von den heiligen Vätern und den Patriarchen, welche versammelt waren mit Übereinstimmung des Heiligen Geistes, da schrieben sie und sandten nach Jerusalem und all den anderen Gegenden diese Bestimmungen, welche von ihnen unter der Mitwirkung des Heiligen Geistes verfaßt worden waren. Seitdem ist diese schöne Ordnung gefeiert worden in allen Kirchen aller Nationen und Zungen, fol. ebenso auch das heilige Fest, Palmarum; damals wurde es 23<sup>a</sup> festgesetzt, und angeordnet unter Mitwirkung des Heiligen Geistes.

Seit jener Zeit haben sich die Christen nie wieder des Mondkalenders bedient, um ein Fest zu bestimmen; das Osterfest ausgenommen, welches ohne Zweifel mit dem Passah der Juden übereinstimmen sollte; i. e. der 14. Tag im Monat Nisan, der Tag, an welchem man feierte das Gedächtnis des Auszugs aus Ägypten, und des Würgengels, welcher schonend vorbeifuhr, und an den Türen vorüberging, wo man ein Lamm geopfert hatte. Und man erinnert sich dieser Dinge am heiligen Sabbat des Passiou, weil an ihm, am Passah der Juden und am 14. Tage, an welchem das Lamm geopfert wurde, wurde geopfert das heilige Lamm Gottes am Querbalken des Kreuzes.

Es geschah aber im Sonnenmonat am 25. März, an dem Tage, an welchem seine Empfängnis verkündigt worden war, da gab er seinen Geist auf. Und auch bei Römern und Griechen wird diese Geschichte aufbewahrt und niedergeschrieben im Kodex der Feste.

#### *Unterschrift:*

Ignatius, Patriarch von Antiochien, genannt Matthäus, im Jahr 1111 nach der Liste der 133. der Jakobitischen Patriarchen, Matthäus aus Mardin.

B. *Zusätze aus verschiedenen Quellen.*

1.

*Wiederum eine Rede des Lehrers Mar Jaqob über Wasser.*

Die Lämmer verehren das lebendige Lamm Gottes, welches ein Opfer war, das sie von Opfern befreit. Gott hat vollendet das Sakrament (der Opfer) mit dem Opfer seines Sohnes, welches die Opfer und auch die Libationen der Völker symbolisierten. Nachdem er ein großes Opfer geworden ist für die Sünder, wird ein andres Opfer, von seiner Zeit bis jetzt, nicht angenommen.

Die heutige Kirche ist doch nicht jüdisch, daß sie Opfer brächte, außer das Opfer des Leibes und Blutes des Sohnes Gottes, wie sie belehrt wurde vom Eingebornen, der seinen Leib brach. Und nicht wird wiederum ein anderes Opfer verlangt außer diesem. Die Sakramente sind vollkommen, und nicht sind wiederum heute Opfer (nötig), da der Sohn Gottes geopfert wurde auf dem Altar, am Querbalken (Kreuz). Wer aber ein anderes Opfer vertritt, ist nicht vom Herrn, da heute nicht mehr animalische Opfer gebracht werden sollen. Wenn nun ein Mensch sich verirrt und ein Opfer bringt wie der Jude, so verleugnet er also all die Passion des Eingeborenen.

Jeder, der erlöst ist mit dem Opfer des Sohnes Gottes, wird nicht einführen Opfer, damit er nicht verurteilt werde von der Gerechtigkeit (justitia). Kein Mensch opfert heute ein Lamm für seine Übertretung, da Gott selbst abgeschafft hat die Opfer mit seinem Opfer. Christus zuerst opferte sich selbst auf Golgatha, und hat weggetan die Opfer und sühnte die Sünden der Opfernden. Wenn man nun opfert nach dem Tode des Sohnes Gottes, so ist das Verleugnung der Leiden des Sohnes. Fliehe fort vom Opfer, welches dich von Gott entfremdet, entledigt dich auch vom Zeichen der Taufe, wäscht von dir das Öl, mit welchem du gezeichnet bist, und vermengt dich mit den Juden, welche den Sohn getötet haben. Wenn du opferst, hast du Teil mit den Juden, die den Sohn gekreuzigt haben und brachten Opfer, welche ihn nicht anerkennen.

Der Jude wartet bis jetzt, daß der Messias komme, und bringt Opfer, um mit einem Bilde darzustellen, wie er kommt.

Wer aber heute noch Opfer bringt mit Vorsatz, der ist ein Jude und verläßt die Ordnung des Eingebornen. Wenn nun ein Priester Salz nimmt, um es zu segnen, damit er das Opfer essen kann vor der Zeit der Opferung, so wisse solcher Priester, daß er sich unter die Kreuziger mischt, der Elende; und auch das Priestertum des Sohnes Gottes wird von ihm genommen. Wer die Haut und auch das Fett des Lammes nimmt, verkauft damit den Sohn Gottes und mißbraucht seine Erlaubnis. Und der Elende schließt sich damit dem Gesetz des Judentums an; und der Herr des vermischten Opfers, sein Teil ist mit dem Satan. Der Sohn Gottes hat abgeschafft die Opfer, damit sie nie wieder gebracht werden; wer denn erkühnt sich, sie heute noch zu bringen? Wenn jemand wagt, ein Opfer zu bringen und verachtet das Gebot, so entfremdet er sich allen Geheimnissen des Eingebornen. Siehe zu, du Kluger, wenn ein Mensch irrt und bringt Opfer, daß du nicht issest von dem Geopferten und dich verunreinigst. Wenn du ein Opfer siehst, halte dich fern von seiner Verunreinigung, bekreuzige dich mit dem schimmernden Kreuze, und rühre es nicht an. Fern sei es dir, O Kirche, daß heute noch ein anderes Opfer in dir geschehe, außer dem Leibe und dem Blute des Sohnes auf deinem Altar. Das ist das Opfer, welches Jesus für dich bestimmte, als er dich erlöste. Siehe zu, daß du kein andres Opfer darbringst außer diesem. Er opferte sich auf Golgatha für die Sünder; wer also ein anderes Opfer bringt, wird nicht angenommen. Aber die Juden leugnen, daß der Sohn Gott sei. Deswegen bringen sie Opfer, da sie ihn nicht kennen. Die Gemeinde des Sohnes verwirft Opfer, da sie nicht in ihr sein sollen; da sie aufblickt zum Herrn, welcher ein Opfer wurde, damit er die Opfer abschaffte. Und sein Leib und sein Blut opfert er allezeit auf ihrem Altar, wie er sie auch lehrte als er seinen Leib brach und ihn seinen Jüngern gab. Am besten ist es für den, der heute Opfer bringt, daß er auch den Sohn verleugnet und hält sich gut mit den Juden. Es gibt nur ein Opfer, womit die ganze Welt gestühnt wurde. Verflucht ist der, der nach diesem ein Opfer bringt. Die Gemeinde verwirft den, der heute Opfer bringt, und nimmt ihn nicht auf, da er ihren Diensten fremd ist.

2.

*Von einer Anzahl von Lehrern und rechtgläubigen Vätern.*

*1. Mar Ephräm.*

Ein jeder, der heutzutage Opfer bringt für einen Verstorbenen; der Verstorbene wird damit verdammt, und die, welche es essen, werden dadurch verunreinigt. Der Priester, welcher Salz segnet und gibt es dem Opfernden, damit er es esse, und verlangt von ihm den Zehnten, ist ein zweiter Kaiphas, welcher unsern Herrn ans Kreuz schlug, damit die Zehnten nicht abgeschafft würden. — Jeder, der heute ein Lamm opfert, nach jenem ersten, hat keinen Anteil mehr an dem ersten, und leugnet den, welcher gekreuzigt wurde. Wer heute ein (geopfertes) Lamm ißt, schafft ab jenes Passahlamm. Wie ein toter Leib leer ist von der Seele, welche in ihm wohnte, so ist auch ungesäuertes Brot frei von dem Innewohnen des Heiligen Geistes. Nicht im toten Leibe ist die Seele, und im ungesäuerten Brot ist nicht der Heilige Geist. — Es ist den Genießenden besser, sie essen ein totes und ersticktes Lamm, als wie ein Lamm, in welchem die Leugnung der Juden versteckt ist. — Es ist besser, er esse todbringendes Gift, welches den Körper allein tötet, als daß er opfere Ungesäuertes und reinen Wein als eine Opfergabe.

3.

*Mar Ishaq.*

Ein totes Opfer ist nicht lebendig machend für diejenigen, die in Christo schlafen. Ochsen und Schafe, die am Todestage für die Toten geopfert werden, gereichen denen, die sie essen, zur Verdammnis, und den Verstorbenen bringen sie Qualen. — Ein totes Opfer macht nicht lebendig die, die in Sünden gestorben sind. Mit dem Blute der Tiere werden heute die Verstorbenen nicht erlöst. — Und mit dem Priester, welcher Salz segnet, sollst du nicht im Gebet stehen, damit nicht die Engel dich schelten, wenn sie ihn in Gehenna stürzen.

4.

*Von dem Lehrer Mar Ja'qob.*

Schlechter als ein Heide ist, wer heute ein Lamm opfert; oder Ungesäuertes als Hostie anfaucht am Opferheiligtum.

Jeder, der heute ein Lamm oder Ungesäuertes darbringt, verleugnet den Vater, welcher seinen Sohn opferte, damit er ein Opfer sei.

## 5.

*Der feurige Ignatius.*

Wir beobachten die Nacht des Mittwoch, weil in ihr unser Herr den Aposteln offenbarte betreffs seines Leidens, und sie gerieten in Aufregung vor Kummer. Wir beobachten die Nacht des Freitags, weil in ihr unser Herr von den Juden gefangen genommen wurde, und auf die Wange geschlagen von dem Knecht des Hohenpriesters; und sie fesselten ihn an die Säule. Wir geben frei die Nacht des Samstags, weil in ihr Erleichterung wurde allen Seelen der Verstorbenen, die im Totenreich waren, als unser Herr zu ihnen hinabstieg.

## 6.

*Gregorius Thaumaturgus.*

Nicht kann ein Christ die Nacht des Mittwoch und Freitag aufgeben, ohne verdammt zu werden mit denen, die unsern Herrn fesselten in der Nacht des Freitags und ihn Pilatus überlieferten. Und die, welche die Nacht des Samstags wachen, werden verdammt mit denen, welche die Beine der Räuber brachen, damit der Sabbat nicht geschändet würde, und sie vom Gesetz verdammt würden.

## 7.

*Johannes sagt:*

Solange die Welt tot war, opferte man Ungesäuertes, weil Ungesäuertes tot ist. Seitdem aber Christus gekommen ist, welcher das Leben ist, opfern wir gesäuert Brot, welches Leben ist, zum Beweis der Wiederkunft Christi.

## 8.

*Dionysius sagt:*

Es findet sich durchaus nicht, daß eins von den Sakramenten des Priestertums vollkommen wäre, außer wenn die göttliche

Eucharistie hinzu kommt. Und keine Priester sind mit Gott verbunden, wenn die Opfergabe nicht geopfert wird, durch welche die Ordination eigentlich vollzogen wird. An diesen Dingen also haben die Armenier keinen Anteil. Es findet sich nicht, daß seit der Kreuzigung unseres Herrn Ungesäuertes, oder ein Lamm geopfert wurde als Opfergabe; und jeder, der sie opfert, ist noch ein Jude und wartet auf das Kommen des Messias. Ein Christ, welcher 40 Tage vorbeigehen läßt, ohne Teilnahme der Eucharistie ohne Grund, ist nach seinem Tode nicht würdig, daß für ihn gebracht werde eine Opfergabe, da er im Leben sich selbst ausgeschlossen hat von der Gemeinschaft der Sakramente. Und wiederum sagt er: Nicht soll teilnehmen lassen ein Priester jemanden ohne Bekenntnis, ob er treu ist im Glauben, oder nicht.

9.

*Mar Severus.*

Hab Acht, o Christ, daß nicht dein Heil mit den Juden ist. Wenn du für einen Verstorbenen die Fäulnis der toten Tiere issest, bedenke, mein Lieber, was Basilius der Große tat, mit dem Manne, der Fleisch essen ließ für seinen toten Sohn. Auch den Priester, der von jenem Ochsenfleisch aß, setzte er vom Priestertum herab, und legte auf ihn ein siebenjähriges Fasten; und auf den Gläubigen, der das Opfer brachte, ein dreijähriges; und auf jeden, der davon gegessen hatte, ein einjähriges Fasten. Also, es soll überhaupt nicht geschehen, daß ein Christ für einen Verstorbenen Fleisch ißt.

10.

*Rabbula von Edessa.*

Nicht sollen die Geistlichen, nämlich die Priester und Diakonen und Gläubigen, beim Gedächtnis der Verstorbenen Fleisch essen, noch Wein trinken. Sonst, anstatt einer trauernden Seele, welche Gnade sucht für den Verstorbenen, lachen sie, scherzen und zürnen Gott. Anstatt, daß das Herz fleht, besitzen sie ein hartes und geiziges Herz, und werden Genossen der Juden, welche unsern Herrn gekreuzigt haben, damit er ihre Opfer nicht abschaffte. Denn die Juden, wie die Heiden,



nennen den Gedächtnisritus ihrer Toten „Opfer“; wir aber „Wachen“, weil beim Wachen kein Fleisch ist, sondern Speise, welche den Christen ziemt, wobei keine Fäulnis der toten Tiere ist. Und wie die Christen von den Juden und Heiden getrennt sind durch den Glauben, so ziemt es sich, daß bei ihren Gedächtnisfesten man sich trennt von ihnen; weil die Heiden und Juden Opfer, die Christen aber Vigilien und Opfergaben haben.

## 11.

*Ja'qob von Edessa.*

Das Volk der Armenier vom Anfang der Welt lebt ohne Gesetz. Von ihnen kommt weder ein Lehrer, noch ein Einsiedler, noch ein Gelehrter. Daher kommt es auch, daß fremde Lehrer über sie die Macht gehabt und sie vom Glauben der Wahrheit abgebracht haben. Einige ihrer Lehrer sind einerseits Juden, einige, andererseits, Phantasten. Deswegen folgen sie den Juden darin, daß sie Lamm und Ungesäuertes und reinen Wein opfern und Salz segnen; wodurch sie Gott für unrein erklären — als ob er Unreines geschaffen hätte! da er doch sagt: „Nichts, das zum Munde eingeht, verunreinigt den Menschen.“ Den Chalcedoniern folgen sie darin, daß sie mit ihren Fingern das Kreuz machen und bekennen zwei Naturen, ohne es zu wissen. Und den Nestorianern folgen sie darin, daß sie den ganzen Vorderarm von rechts nach links vorübergehen lassen. Den Arabern folgen sie darin, daß sie drei Kniebeugungen machen gegen Süden, wenn sie opfern, oder beschneiden; und andere Dinge noch schlimmer als diese tun sie. Und den Heiden folgen sie darin, daß sie jedenfalls, wenn jemand stirbt, Opfer für ihn darbringen; und sie beleidigen hauptsächlich darin Gott, weil es nicht dem Gläubigen von Gott erlaubt ist, für einen Toten zu opfern am Todestage, oder Fleisch zu essen am Tag seines Gedächtnisfestes. Deswegen ist dies ein heidnischer Brauch und der heiligen Kirche fremd.

## 12.

*Mar Johannes.*

In diesen acht Tagen der Passion unseres Herrn ist es nicht recht, für den Christen, daß er Ungesäuertes esse, (damit er

nicht mit den Juden verdammt werde), es sei denn aus Nothwendigkeit der Reise; weil, gerade wie das Essen von Gesäuertem quält die Juden am Sabbath des Ungesäuerten, welches die Juden am Tage der Passion machen, so betrübt es den Heiligen Geist und die Engel, (wenn wir Ungesäuertes essen). Denn nicht eine kleine Feindschaft ist zwischen uns und den Juden. Gott, unsern Herrn, haben sie gekreuzigt. Also jeder Gläubige, der eins der jüdischen Gesetze hält, oder an ihren Bräuchen theilnimmt (ausgenommen dies, das er in den Schriften der heiligen Propheten liest), wird bestraft von unserm Herrn. Nie wieder soll der Gläubige sich nähern den jüdischen Gebräuchen, ob klein oder groß, weil sie Gott getötet haben.

## 13.

*Gregorius, welcher die Armenier belehrte.*

Nachdem er Katholikus durch Leontius, Patriarch von Rom, geworden war, lehrte er viele Völker. Da nahm er Priester und Diakone von Sebaste in Kappadokien und ging in alle Gegenden und lehrte bis nach Tārūn und allen Städten der Armenier; und er kam nach Amid und Nisibis und Persien und Chorasān, bis zu den Grenzen der Alanen; und wenn immer er predigte, weissagte er über das Volk der Armenier, indem er sagte: „Nach kurzer Zeit werden zu ihnen kommen fremde Lehrer, die der Glaubenswahrheit abhold sind, und werden sie abwendig machen von der Predigt der Apostel; und, wegen ihrer Herzenshärte, da sie sich von der Wahrheit nicht überzeugen lassen, wird es zum letzten schlimmer mit ihnen als zum ersten“. Und siehe da, seine Weissagung war aus der Wahrheit; weil er je 40 Tage fastete, wie auch Moses und Elias, und auf ihm war die Gabe der Weissagung. Zu seiner Zeit wurde auch Koustantin gläubig, der siegreiche König, und eins wurde der Glaube an Christum allerorts. Deshalb rühmten sich die Armenier des Gregorius, welcher sie belehrt hatte, weil er von Eusebius in Caesarea gelehrt worden war; und die Handauflegung, welche er empfing von Leontius, dem Patriarchen, geschah in Rom. Der Sohn Gregors, Arystus, war auf der Synode der 318 Väter (Nicäa). Und er nahm von ihr die Kanones und die Glaubenssätze und kam, sie seinem Vater zu zeigen, und er freute sich über den wahren Glauben. Es steht aber nicht geschrieben, daß Gregor Lamm,

oder Ungesäuertes opferte, denn es kam keine Häresie in den wahren Glauben hinein; und an vielen Orten verbot er den Kongregationen seines Volkes, den Freitag und Mittwoch frei zu geben, bis am Abend; und nicht hielten sie die Nacht des Donnerstag und des Samstag, wie sie die Armenier halten in ihrem Wahnsinn, indem er vielen von den Kongregationen des Volkes verbot, sich in der Nacht des Mittwoch und Freitag mit Fisch und Wein zu verunreinigen. Dies tat er allezeit.

Wenn in einem Lamm oder im Ungesäuerten die Kraft läge, Sünden zu vergeben und dem Übel der Welt zu widerstehen, wozu wäre dann Christus gekommen? Aber weil er sah, daß die Sünde sich mehrte, und Geiz an den Priestern klebte und die Opfer und Opferspenden nutzlos geopfert wurden, da verließ er seine himmlische Wohnung, stieg herab, sein Geschöpf zu erlösen; und anstatt eines Lammes, opferte er sich selbst, anstatt Ungesäuertem nahm er in seine heiligen Hände gesäuertes Brot und stellte dar seinen Leib; nahm Wein und Wasser und mischte sie, machte sie zu seinem lebendigen Blut, und gab sie als Leben für die Welt. Er schaffte ab das Passahlamm, Ungesäuertes, und den ganzen Gestank der Opfer.

*The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Three.* — Edited,  
with critical notes, by LE ROY CARR BARRET, M. A.,  
Ph. D., Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut.

*Prefatory.* — This third book of the Kashmirian AV. is edited in the same manner as were the first and second books (see this Journal vol. 26 p. 197 and vol. 30 p. 187). The same freedom has been maintained in regard to the form of presenting the material, but as heretofore the transliteration is considered first in importance. An effort has been made to reduce commentary to the smallest limits; and this may have produced an appearance of assurance regarding the emended text offered, but it is rather more appearance than reality. The text as constituted is a product of textual criticism solely, and only rarely has a purely conjectural reading been suggested or a venture made towards the higher criticism. Mutilated passages might sometimes be made intelligible by free guesswork, but even moderate assurance about a reading can be felt only if similar phraseology can be cited from other Vedic Texts.

Inasmuch as this is really preliminary publication it seems proper to put it in print now rather than hold it back on account of some unsolved difficulties. A revision and republication which would have some finality may properly be undertaken when the whole, or at least half, shall have been published in this manner. The fourth book will follow this one as soon as possible.

The transliteration is given in lines which correspond to the lines of the ms.; the division of words is of course mine, based on the edited text. The abbreviations are the usual ones; except that Q. is used to refer to the AV. of the Çāunikiya School, and ms. (*sic*) is used for manuscript. The signs of punctuation used in the ms. are fairly represented by the vertical bar (= colon) and the "z" (= period): in the trans-

literation the Roman period stands for a *virāma*: daggers are used to indicate a corrupt reading as they are used in editions of classical texts.

### Introduction.

*Of the ms.* — This third book in the Kashmir ms. begins f. 49 a, l. 2 and ends f. 61 a, l. 3, — 12 folios: only one letter is illegible owing to peeling of the bark, on the last line of f. 52 a, and unclear signs are only four I think. It may be noted here that in this ms. a ligature which seems clearly ttr appears very frequently but not always for tr: and one ligature seems regularly to serve for nn and 'r n°. In this part of the ms. most of the pages have 18 or 19 lines of script.

*Punctuation and numbering.* — There are no stanza numbers, and only the most irregular punctuation to indicate the ends of stanzas or hemistichs: sometimes a visarga or anusvāra gives the hint. Except when a stanza is entirely rewritten I have not ordinarily mentioned corrections of punctuation. There are no accents marked in this book.

The grouping of the hymns in anuvākas is maintained in this book, eight anuvākas with five hymns in each; and all are correctly numbered except the first which is marked a 5, the 5 belonging to the fifth hymn which is not numbered. All the hymns save four are numbered correctly: for no. 5 and no. 11 the end is indicated but no number given, for no. 28 and no. 38 the end is not indicated.

*Colophons, glosses, &c.* — There are a few things of this sort that may well be recorded here. In the left margin opposite hymn 10 stands rakṣāmantram; in the left margin opposite hymn 34 stands somam rājānam açervacana (*sic*); cf. f. 63 b. In the text before hymn 11 stands atha rakṣāmantram; then after the six stanzas which appear also as Ç. 3. 23 there stands RV. 10. 87. 1 entire followed by the pratika of RV. 10. 87. 25 (its last stanza) and the direction japet sarvam; finally stands iti rakṣāmantram. This seems to be a clear case of intrusion of sūtra into our text. And I incline to think that a bit of commentary has gotten in between stt. 10 and 11 of hymn 25, taken in possibly from a bottom margin. In hymn 34 between stt. 1 and 2 there stand 3 pādas which seem to be pratikas, and not constituent pādas of a stanza. In hymn 31 only the pratika of st. 1 is given followed by ity

ekā to indicate previous occurrence in this ms.: the same practice is noted in Book 4. There are some corrections inserted between the lines and some in the margins: most of them are helpful, but self-evident.

*Extent of the book.* — This book contains 40 hymns of which 3 are prose; parts of 3 others are or seem to be prose. The normal number of stanzas in a hymn is 6, as it is in Ç. 3; 26 hymns have 6 stanzas each, and not one has less I believe. Assuming the correctness of the verse divisions as edited below we have the following table:

26 hymns have	6 stanzas each	=	156 stanzas
5 " "	7 " "	=	35 "
4 " "	8 " "	=	32 "
2 " "	9 " "	=	18 "
1 hymn has	10 stanzas	=	10 "
1 " "	11 " "	=	11 "
1 " "	12 " "	=	12 "
<hr/> 40 hymns have		=	<hr/> 274 stanzas.

*New and old material.* — Estimating by stanzas which are new in structure we have just over 80 new stanzas; estimating by pādas which are not in the *Concordance* the total is slightly less, because some few pādas which do appear in the *Concordance* are parts of stanzas which may properly be called new. There are 14 hymns which may be called new, though some of them contain stanzas already known.

Of the 31 hymns in Ç. 3 sixteen appear here in fairly close agreement: this is the practically the same proportion of correspondence that was found in Pāipp. Books 1 and 2. There are here also 2 hymns each of Ç. 2 and 7, and 3 hymns each of Ç. 4 and 19, and a few scattering stanzas or pādas of Ç. 5, 6, and 9. Of other Vedic texts there are only a few scattered stanzas of RV., VS., KS., Kāuṣika: one hymn here is partly parallel to some mantras of MS., and one appears in a form which is closer to the form given in TS. than to the form given in Ç.

ATHARVA-VEDA PĀIPPALĀDA-ÇĀKHĀ  
BOOK THREE.

1. [f. 49 a l. 2.]

Ç. 3. 4.

om̐ namo gaṇādhīpataye z z om̐ ā tvā gni rāṣṭraṁ saha  
varcasodhi  
ṣ prāg viçāṁ patir ekarāt tvam̐ vi rājā sarvās tvā rājan  
pradiço hvaya-  
ntūpasadyo namasyo bhaveha tvam̐ viço vṛṇutām rājyāya  
tvam̐ imāḥ pra-  
diçaṣ pañca devīḥ varṣma rāṣṭrasya kakudhi çrayasvāto  
vasūni vi bhajā-  
my agrāḥ açchi tvā yattu bhuvanasya jātāgnir dūto va  
jarase dadhāti jāyā-  
ṣ putrāḥ sumanaso bhavantu bahum̐ balim̐ prati paçyāma  
ugrā z z  
açnā tvāgre mitrāvaruṇobhā viçve devā marutas tvā hva-  
yantu | sajātā-  
nām madhyameṣṭheha ma syā sve kṣettre savite vi rāja |  
ā pa drava paramasyām  
parāvataç çive te dyāvāpṛthivī babhūtām | ud ayam̐ rājā  
varuṇas tathā-  
ha sa tvāyam̐ ahvat svenam̐ ehi | indro idam̐ manuṣya prehi  
sam̐ hi yajñiyā-  
s tvā varuṇena sam̐vidānaḥ sa tvāyam̐ ahvat sve sadhasthe  
sa devān yakṣa-  
t sāu kalpayād diçaḥ | pathyā revatir bahudhā virūpāḥ  
sarvā  
s saṅgatya varivas te akran. tās tvā sarvās sam̐vidānā  
hvayaṇtu daça-  
mīm ugras sumanā vaçeta | yadi jareṇa haviṣā da tvā  
gamayā-

masi | atrā ta indraṣ kevalīr viço balihr̥tas karat. z 1 z

Read: ā tvā gaṇ rāṣṭraṁ saha varcasodhi prāg viçāṁ patir  
ekarāt tvam̐ vi rāja | sarvās tvā rājan pradiço hvayantūpasadyo  
namasyo bhaveha z 1 z tvam̐ viço vṛṇutām rājyāya tvam̐ imāḥ  
pradiçaṣ pañca devīḥ | varṣman rāṣṭrasya kakudi çrayasvāto  
vasūni vi bhajāsy ugrāḥ z 2 z accha tvā yantu bhuvanasya

jātā agnir dūto 'va jarase dadhāti | jāyās putrāḥ sumanaso  
bhavantu bahum̐ baliṃ prati paçyāsā ugrāḥ z 3 z açvinā tvā-  
gre mitravarunobhā viçve devā marutas tvā hvayantu | sajātā-  
nām madhyameṣṭhā iha sa syāḥ sve kṣetre saviteva vi rāja z 4  
z ā pra drava paramasyāḥ parāvataç çive te dyāvāpṛthivi ba-  
bhūtām | tad ayaṃ rājā varuṇas tathāha sa tvāyam ahvat †sve-  
nam ehi z 5 z indra idaṃ manuṣyaḥ prehi saṃ hy ajñāsthā  
varuṇena saṃvidānaḥ | sa tvāyam ahvat sve sadhasthe sa devān  
yakṣat sa u kalpayād diçaḥ z 6 z pathyā revatīr bahudhā  
virūpāḥ sarvās sāṅgatya varīyas te akran | tās tvā sarvās saṃ-  
vidānā hvayantu daçamīm ugras sumanā vaçeha z 7 z yad  
ajareṇa haviṣādhi tvā gamayāmasi | atrā ta indraṣ kevalir viço  
balihṛtaṣ karat z 8 z 1 z

With the last stanza cf. RV. 10. 173. 6 and Q. 7. 94.

In st. 3b jarasi would suit the verb better and might be read. Pāda 4c appears in several forms; cf. no. 33. 5. A possible reading for st. 5d is ° sa enaṃ lokam ehi. The reading of st. 6a here is better than that of Q. but it is entirely possible that our ms. gives no real variant; in 6d viçaḥ as in Q. would be better. The emendations in st. 8 are tentative.

2. [f. 49 a, l. 17.]

C. 3. 7.

hariṇasya rahuṣyado dhi çirṣaṇi bheṣajam̐ su kṣettriyam̐  
viṣāṇa-

yād viṣucīman anīnaçat. | anu tvā hariṇo vṛṣā padbhiç catu-  
[f. 49 b.] rbhir akramīt. viṣāṇe vi çva çuṣpitaṃ yadi kiñ

cit kṣettriyam̐ hṛdi | a-

do yad avarocate catuspakṣam̐ iva çchatī | tena te sarvaṃ  
kṣettriyam̐ aṅgebhyo nā-

çayāmasi | ud agātām̐ bhagavatī vicṛtāu nāma tārake | vi  
kṣettriyam̐

tvābhy ānaçe | vedāham̐ tasmin bheṣajam̐ kṣettriyam̐ nāça-  
yāmi te | apa-

vāse nakṣattrāṇā apā statatoṣasām̐ apassat sarvaṃ āmayad  
apa kṣe-

ttriyam̐ akramīt. āpa id vā u bheṣajīr āpo amīvacātānīḥ ā-  
po viçvasya bheṣajīs tās tvā muñcantu kṣettriyāt. z 2 z

Read: hariṇasya raghuṣyado 'dhi çirṣaṇi bheṣajam̐ | sa kṣe-  
ttriyam̐ viṣāṇayā viṣucīnam anīnaçat z 1 z anu tvā hariṇo



vr̥ṣā padbhiḥ caturbhir akramīt | viṣāṇe vi śya guspitaṁ yat  
 kiṁ cit kṣetriyaṁ hr̥di z 2 z ado yad avarocate catuṣpakṣam  
 iva chadiḥ | tena te sarvaṁ kṣetriyaṁ āṅgebhyo nāçayāmasi  
 z 3 z ud agātāṁ bhagavati vicr̥tau nāma tārake | vi kṣetri-  
 yasya muñcatām adhamam pāçam uttamam z 4 z yad asuteṣ  
 kriyamāṇyāṣ kṣetriyaṁ tvābhy ānaçe | vedāham tasmin bheṣa-  
 jam kṣetriyaṁ nāçayāmi te z 5 z apavāse nakṣatrāṇām apavāsa  
 utoṣasām | apāsmat sarvaṁ āmayad apa kṣetriyaṁ akramīt z  
 6 z āpa id vā u bheṣajir āpo amivacātaniḥ | āpo viçvasya  
 bheṣajis tās tvā muñcantu kṣetriyāt z 7 z 2 z

From Ç. I have supplied the end of st. 4 and the first  
 hemistich of st. 5; the words supplied would occupy one line  
 of our ms.

3. [f. 49 b, l. 7.]

Ç. 3. 6.

pumān pum-  
 saṣ parijāto açvatthaḥ khadirād adhi | sa hattu çatṭṇ māma-  
 kān yān-

ç cāham dveṣmi ye ca mām |

In pāda c read hantu çatrūn, in d mām.

tān açvattha niṣṇīhi çatṭṇ mayi bādha todhata |  
 indreṇa vṛttragnā me mayād agnīnā varuṇena ca |

In pāda a read niç çṇīhi, in b çatrūn and dodhataḥ; and  
 I think we should read me bādha in b where Ç. has vāibādha,  
 tho mayi baddha seems to be possible. At the end of c  
 vṛttragnā medī as in Ç. is the only remedy that suggests  
 itself.

yathāçvattha  
 niṣṇāsi pūrvān jātān utāparān. evā pṛdanyatas tvam abhi  
 tiṣṭha saha-  
 sva tā |

In pāda b read niç çṇāsi; in c pṛtanyatas; and at the end  
 of d read ca. This stanza is not in Ç.

yathāçvattha vi bhinaçchaṇṭa haty arṇave | evā me  
 çattro cittāni

viçvag bhidhi mahasva tā z

In pādas ab we may read vi bhinatsy antar mahaty; this  
 is close to our ms. and certainly as good as the troublesome  
 Ç. nir abhanas. In c read çattroç, for d viçvag bhindhi sa-  
 hasva ca.

yas sahamānaç carati sāsahānāiva  
ṛṣabhā tenāçvāttha tvayā vayaṁ sapatnān saṁviśivahi |

For pāda b read sāsahāna iva ṛṣabhāḥ. It seems probable that at the end of d we must read sahiṣimahi as in Ç.

sinā

tv āinām nirṛtiṁ mṛtyoṣ pāçāir avimokyāir açvattha çatṛṇ  
māmākān yāñç cā-

haṁ dveṣmi ye ca mām

In pāda a read enān nirṛtir, in b avimokyāiḥ; in c read çatrūn, in d mām.

adharāñçca pra plavatām çchinnā nor iva bandhanān na  
nurbādhapraṇuttānaṁ punar asti nivartanaṁ

For pādas ab read adharāñcaḥ pra plavantām chinnā naur  
iva bandhanāt: in c nirbādhapraṇuttānām.

prāiṇān nadāmi manasā pra  
çṛtyena vrāhmaṇā prāiṇān vṛkṣasya çākhāyā açvatthasya  
nudāma-

[f. 50 a] si z 3 z

Read: prāiṇān nudāmi manasā praçṛtyāiṇān vrahmaṇā |  
prāiṇān vṛkṣasya çākhāyāçvatthasya nudāmasi z 8 z 3 z

In Ç. pāda b is pra cittenota brahmaṇā: I would not insist on the emendation suggested, and yet it is close to the ms.

4 [f. 50 a, l. 1]

Ç. 3. 13.

yad adas saṁpratir ahāv anadatā have tasmād a nu-  
dyo nāma stha tā vo nāmāni sindhavaḥ z

In a read saṁprayatir, in b hate: in c ā nadyo.

yat preṣitā varuṇenā  
t sībhaṁ samavalgataḥ tad āpunor id indro vo yatīḥ asmād āpo  
anu ṣṭhunā

In the first hemistich read varuṇenāc chībhaṁ samavalgata:  
in c it seems necessary to read āpnod indro vo yatir; in d ṣṭhana.

apakāmān sindamānā avevrata vo hi kam. indro  
vas saktabhir devāi tasmāra nāma vo hi kam

Read: apakāmān syandamānā avīvarata vo hi kam | indro  
vaç çaktibhir devis tasmād vār nāma vo hitam.

This is the version of Ç. (and other texts), and I think the  
Päipp. has no real variant.

eko na deva upātiṣṭha

t siṅdhamānā upenyaḥ | ud āniṣur mahīr iti tasmād udakam u-  
cyate |

Pāda a may stand, and for b we may read with KS. syan-  
damānā upetya.

āpo devīr ghṛtam itāpāhur agniṣomāu bibhraty āpa ityā  
tīvro raso madhupṛcām araṅgamā mā prāṇena sā varcasā  
grhaṁ |

The ms. corrects °pṛcā to °mṛcā and grhaṁ to gām.

In pāda a we may read id āpa āhur, tho āsur with TS.  
would seem better; in b ityā seems possible, but all the other  
texts have it tāḥ. In cd read madhupṛcām araṅgama ā mā  
prāṇena saha varcasā gan.

yād ik paçyāmy uta vā çṛṇomy ā mā ghoṣo gacchad vāsy  
āsām mene

bhejāno mṛtasya tarhi hiraṇyavarṇasyamaṁ yadā vā z 4 z

Read: ād it paçyāmy uta vā çṛṇomy ā mā ghoṣo gacchad  
vāçy āsām | mene bhejāno 'mṛtasya tarhi hiraṇyavarṇā asva-  
daṁ yadā vaḥ z 6 z 4 z

All the other texts have atṛpam in d. St. 7 of the Ç. ver-  
sion appears Pāipp. 2. 40. 5.

5. [f. 50 a, l. 11.]

Ç. 3. 2.

agnir no dūtaṣ praty eta çatṛṇ pratidahann abhiçastim arā-  
tiṁ sa ci-

ttām mohitu pareṣām nihastāç ca kṛṇavaj jātavedaḥ ayam  
agni

r amūmūhad yāni cittāni vo hṛdī vi vo dhamātv okasaḥ  
pra bo dhamā-

tu sarvatā indra cittāni vohayārvāg ākūdyādhi agner vātasya  
dhrā-

gyā tām viṣūco vi nāçaya vi ṣām ākūtuyathāto cittāni  
muhya-

tā | atho yad adreṣā hṛta tareṣām pari vir jahi | amiṣām  
cittāni

pratimodayantī grhāṇāṅgany apve parehi | abhi prehi nir  
daha

hṛtsu çokāir grāhyāmitrās tapasā vidhya çatṛṇ. | asū yā  
senā

[f. 50 b.] marutaḥ pareṣām asmān abhedy ojasā spardhamānā  
tām guhata tapasā-

pavratena athāiṣām anyo anyam vyarṇanām. z a 5 z

Read: agnir no dūtaḥ praty etu çatrūn pratidahann abhi-  
çastim arātim | sa cittā mohayatu pareṣām nirhastānç ca  
kṛṇavaj jātavedāḥ z 1 z ayam agnir amūmuhad yāni cittāni  
vo hr̥di | vi vo dhamatv okasaḥ pra vo dhamatu sarvataḥ z  
2 z indra cittāni mohayārvāg ākūtyā adhi | agner vātasya  
dhrājyā tān viṣūco vi nāçaya z 3 z vy eṣām ākūtaya itātho  
cittāni muhyata | atho yad adyāiṣām hr̥di tad eṣām pari nir  
jahi z 4 z amiṣām cittāni pratimohayanti gr̥hāpāṅgāny apve  
parehi | abhi prehi nir daha hr̥tsu çokāir grāhyāmitrāns tapasā  
vidhya çatrūn z 5 z asāu yā senā marutaḥ pareṣām asmān abhy  
ety ojasā spardhamānā | tām gūhata tamasāpavratena yathāi-  
ṣām anyo anyam na jānāt z 6 z 5 z a 1 z

Perhaps we should read jānan in 6d; VS. 17. 47 has yat-  
hāmī . . . jānan. The ms. gives mā above ṣā of pareṣām in  
f. 50 b, l. 1.

6. [f. 50 b, l. 2.]

Q. 3. 1.

agnir no vidvā  
n praty etu çatrūn pratidahann abhiçastim arātim sa me-  
nām mohitu pareṣām  
nirhastānç ca kṛṇavaj jātavedāḥ yūryam ugrā maruta idṛçe  
sthā-  
bhi prate mṛḍāta sahadhvaṁ amīmṛḍām vasavo nāthitebhyo  
agnir ye-  
ṣām vidvān praty etu çatṛṇ. amittrasenām maghavāny  
asmān. | ça  
tṛyatām abhi tam tvām indra vṛttrahan agniç ca dahatām  
prati | prasūta indra  
ṣ pravatā haribhyām pra te vajraḥ pramṛṇatyāhi çatṛṇ. | jahi  
pratī-  
co nūcaḥ parāco viçvaṁ viṣtam kṛṇuhi satyam eṣām | me-  
nāmohanam kṛ-  
ṇva indrāmittrebhyas tvām agner vātasya vrājyās tām vi-  
ṣuco vi nāçaya  
indrasyenān sohin maruto gnis tv ojasā | cakṣūṁṣy agnir ā  
dattām puna  
r etu parājitaḥ z 1 z

Read: agnir no vidvān praty etu çatrūn pratidahann abhi-  
 çastim arātim | sa senām mohayatu pareṣām nirhastāṅ ca  
 kṛṇavaj jātavedāḥ z 1 z yūyam ugrā maruta idr̥ce sthābhi  
 preta mṛdata sahadhvam | amīmṛdan vasavo nāthitebhyo agnir  
 yeṣām vidvān praty etu çatrūn z 2 z amitrasenām maghavann  
 asmān çatrūyatām abhi | tām tvam indra vṛtrahann agniḥ ca  
 dahataṁ prati z 3 z prasūta indra pravatā haribhyām pra te  
 vajraḥ pramṛṇan yāhi çatrūn | jahi pratīco 'nūcaḥ parāco vi-  
 vaṁ viṣtām kṛṇuhi satyam eṣām z 4 z senāmohanam kṛṇava  
 indramitrebhyas tvam | agner vātasya dhṛājyā tām viṣūco vi  
 nāçaya z 5 z indras senām mohayan maruto 'gnis tv ojasā |  
 cakṣūṣy agnir ā dattām punar etu parājitā z 6 z 1 z

The reading of our ms. in st. 2 supports Aufrecht's recon-  
 struction (KZ. 27. 219), yet I venture to print the above for  
 the Pāipp. In st. 6b it is entirely possible that we should  
 read ghnantv for 'gnis tv, in agreement with Ç.

7. [f. 50 b, l. 12.]

Ç. 3. 9.

ekaçataṁ viṣkandhāni viṣṭhitāṣ pṛthi  
 vīm anu teṣām ca sarveṣām idam asti viṣkandhadūṣaṇam

Read viṣṭhitā in b, and sarveṣām in c.

karṣabhasya vi-  
 ṣabhasya dyāuḥ pitā pṛthivī mātā yathācakra devas tathāpi  
 kṛṇu-

tā punaḥ

The forms in pāda a may be real variants of these uncer-  
 tain words, but it is doubtful; Ç. has karṣaphasya viçaphasya.  
 In c yathābhicakra as in Ç. would improve metre and sense;  
 in d read devās tathāpa.

açleṣamāṇo dhārayan tathā tan manunā kṛtam. | kṣaṇo-  
 mi vavri ca viṣkandham muṣkāvarho gavām iva

For a we may read açleṣmāṇo 'dhārayan. Probably we  
 should read kṛṇomi vadhri, but kṣaṇomi might stand if we  
 can take vadhri as proleptic: muṣkābarho in d.

sūtre piçuṅkhe khugilam ya-  
 d ā badhnantu vedhasaḥ sravasyam çuṣma kābabaṁ va-  
 dhriṁ kṛṇvantu bandhuraḥ.

Read piçañge khrgalam in a, badhnanti in b; çuṣmam kāba-  
 vam in c. Ç. has çravasyum in c.

yenā

sravasyo carata devāyavāsuraṁ māya | ṣunām kapir iva dūṣa-  
ṇam bandhu-  
rā kābhavasya ca |

In a read sravasyāṣ caratha, although sravasyo points toward the ṣravasyavaṣ of Q.; for b devā ivāsuraṁ māyā: in c dūṣaṇo, and in d kābhavasya.

juṣṭī tvā kāmṇchābhi joṣayitvābhavam uta

[f. 51 a] rāmavo rathāyava pathebbhis sariṣyata z 2 z

Read: duṣṭyāi hi tvā bhartsyāmi dūṣayiṣyāmi kābhavam |  
uttarāvanto rathā iva ṣapathebbhis sariṣyatha z 6 z 2 z

The very corrupt first hemistich seems to be only a corruption of Q. ab: uttarāvanto is suggested as a possibility, for which Q. has ud ācavo.

8. [f. 51 a, l. 1.]

Q. 19. 56.

yamasya lokād adhy ā

babhūyatha pramadā mantān pra yunnakṣa dhīraṇ ekājinā  
saratham yā-  
si vidvān svapna mimāno asurassa yonāu

Read babhūvitha in a, mantān (or martyān with Q.) and yunnakṣi in b: ekākinā in c, and asurasya in d.

bambhas tvāgre viṣvavathāva-  
paṣyan purā rātryā janitor eke hni tatas svapnenam adhy  
ā cabhūyatha bhi-  
ṣajña rūpam apigūhamānaḥ

The ms. corrects to (viṣvava) yā(va).

Read in a bandhas and viṣvavayā avapaṣyat, in b 'hni: in c svapnānam and babhūvitha, in d apagūh • and possibly bhīṣajyam.

vṛham grāvāsuresbhyo bhi devān upā-  
vabantu mahimānam ṛcchan tasmāi svapnādadhur ādhi-  
patyam trayastrinṇā-

sa svar āniṇāna |

It seems to me possible to read in a vṛhan grāvāsuresbhyo 'bhi devān, which is no worse than Q.; in b upāvavarta. Pāda c might stand as it is but probably the reading of Q. svapnāya dadhur should be followed: for d read trayastrinṇāsaḥ svar ānaṇāḥ.

nāitām viduṣ pitaro nota devā yeṣām jalpya  
 ç caranty antaredām trite svapnam arididṛhāprate narā  
 ādityāso varuṇe-

nānusiṣṭā

In c we will probably do well to adopt the reading of Ç. adadhur āptye nara; in d \*ānuṣiṣṭāh.

vy asya krūram abhijanta duṣkrṇe svapnena sukṛtaṣ puṇya  
 m āpuḥ svar asajasi paramēṇa vadvinā tapyamānasya manaso  
 dhi jajñiṣe

Read abhajanta in a, and duṣkrto as in Ç. seems almost forced on us; asvapnena would then follow in b. In c āsajasi would be good and bandhunā; in d 'dhi.

vidme ta sarvāḥ parijāḥ parastād vidma svapna yo dhi-  
 pā hyo te yaçasvino no yaçaso hi pāhy ārād viṣebhir apa yāhi  
 dūram z 3 z

Read: vidma te sarvāḥ parijāḥ parastād vidma svapna yo  
 'dhipā iha te | yaçasvino no yaçaseha pāhy ārād viṣebhir apa  
 yāhi dūram z 6 z 3 z.

9. [f. 51 a, l. 13.]

ambātma puṣāt sṛta padvat srjata satyayajñi-  
 yeyam srjāmi | haṇḍūtān asmāi viṣāya hantave | vār ugram a-  
 rasam viṣam āheyam arasam viṣam nirviṣam |

Out of the first five words, even if they are correctly divided, I can get nothing; satyayajñiyeyam srjāmi seems a possibility, and probably the colon should stand after haṇḍūtān, which might perhaps be emended to aham dūtān. The rest seems good. Ç. 10. 4. 3d, 4d has arasam viṣam vār ugram.

indram aham iyam hu-  
 ve somapā ubhayāvinam asmāi |

Read: indram aham iyam huve somapām ubhayāvinam | as-  
 mām ° ° z 2 z

It seems probable that somapām is to be read, although Ç. 5. 25. 9 d is somapā ubhayāvinam: but the context is very different. It is clear that the ms. intends the repetition of all that stands after asmāi in st. 1.

varuṇam ahām iyam huva | u-  
 gro rājanyo māmahi |

Read: varuṇam aham iyam huva ugro rājanyas sāsahiḥ |  
 asmām ° ° z 3 z

aditim aham iyaṁ huve çūraputrāṁ kanīni-  
kāṁ asmāi

Read çūraputrāṁ in b.

vṛhaspatim aham iyaṁ huve | yo devānām purohito a-  
[f. 51 b.] smāi z

Read: vṛhaspatim aham iyaṁ huve yo devānām purohitaḥ |  
asmāi • • z 5 z

āṇāc cāṇāç caṇḍām arkān asmāi viṣāya hantave | vār  
ugram ara-  
saṁ viṣām aheyam arasaṁ viṣaṁ nirviṣaṁ

Read: \* \* \* \* āṇāç caṇḍān arkān | asmāi viṣāya han-  
tave | vār ugram arasaṁ viṣaṁ aheyam arasaṁ viṣaṁ nirviṣaṁ  
z 6 z

The conjecture of a lacuna of ten syllables here (the letters  
āṇāç c seem to be dittography) is due to the feeling that this  
stanza ought to be symmetrical with the preceding four; but  
the proposed emendation of the last four syllables of pāda b  
does not favor this conjecture much.

navānām navatīnām viṣasya ropuṣiṇām  
sarvāsām agrabhaṁ nāma vītāpayatārasaṁ viṣaṁ z 4 z

Read: navānām navatīnām viṣasya ropuṣiṇām | sarvāsām  
agrabhaṁ nāma vītāpetārasaṁ viṣaṁ z 7 z 4 z

The first three pādas appear RV. 1. 191. 13 abc.

10. [f. 51 b, l. 3.]

mṛtyur eko

yama ekas sarveṣu çārur ud bhava | te naṣ kṛṇvantu bhe-  
sajaṁ devasenābhya

s pari | punar no yamaṣ piṭṛbhir dadātu punar mittrāvaruṇā  
vāto gñiḥ a-

ghamāno aghaçaṁsaṣ punar dāt punar no devī nirṛtir da-  
dhātu | yā devī

ṣ prahiteṣuṣ patāç tapase vā mahase vāvasṛṣṭas somas  
tvām a-

smad yāvayatu vidyān pitaro vā devahūtā nṛcākṣasas saha-  
srākṣo

martyāḥ punarūpa ihāvatu prakhyed ugram ahārṣaṁ saha-  
gus sahapāuruṣāḥ

yas te manyus sahasrākṣa viṣeṇa pariṣicyate | tena tvam  
asmabhyaṁ mṛ-



da çivo naç çastur ā cara mā te manyu sahasrākṣa bhā-  
metūr māmakaṁ ja-  
gat. | ye no dveṣṭi taṁ gaccha yaṁ dviṣmas taṁ jahi z z  
oṁ yaṁ dviṣma

s taṁ jahi z 5 z anu 2 zz

Read: mṛtyur eko yama ekas sarveṣu çarur ud bhava | te  
naṣ kṛṇvantu bheṣajāṁ devasenābhyas pari z 1 z punar no  
yamaṣ pitrbhir dadātu punar mitrāvaruṇā vato 'gniḥ | agha-  
māro aghaçaṇṣaṣ punar dāt punar no devī nirṭtir dadātu z 2 z  
yā devī prahiteṣuṣ patās tapase vā mahase vāvasṛṣṭā | somas  
tvām asmad yāvayatu vidvān pitaro vā devahūtā nṛcakṣasaḥ  
z 3 z sahasrākṣo 'martyaḥ punar †ūpa ihāvatu | †prakhyed ugram  
ahārṣaṁ sahaḡus sahapuruṣaḥ z 4 z yas te manyus sahasrākṣa  
viṣeṇa pariṣicyatu | tena tvam asmabhyāṁ mṛḍa çivo naç çam-  
bhur ā cara z 5 z mā te manyus sahasrākṣa bhāmet tan mā-  
makaṁ jagat | yo no dveṣṭi taṁ gaccha yaṁ vayaṁ dviṣmas  
taṁ jahi z 6 z 5 z

St. 3 has appeared Pāipp. 1. 95. 4, but was not rightly  
emended: the pādas 1c, 4a, and 5d appear the Concordance.  
In the margin opposite st. 4 the ms. has rakṣāmantram.

11. [f. 51 b, l. 13.]

Q. 3. 26.

atha rakṣāmantram zz zz  
oṁ rakṣa ye sthāsyāṁ prācyāṁ diçi hetayo nāma devāḥ  
teṣāṁ vo agni  
r iṣavaḥ te no mṛḍāta to no vrūta tebhyo namas tebhyas  
svāhā z rakṣa ye sthā-  
syāṁ dakṣiṇāyāṁ diçy aviçyavo nāma devās teṣāṁ vo pa  
iṣavaḥ |  
te no mṛḍāta te no dhi vrūta tebhya namas tebhyas svāhā  
z rakṣa ye sthāsyāṁ  
[f. 52 a] pratīcyāṁ diçi virājo nāma devās teṣāṁ vaṣ kāma  
iṣavaḥ te no mṛḍā-  
ta te no dhi vrūta tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z rakṣa ye  
sthāsyāṁ udīcyā diçi  
praviddhyanto nāma devās teṣāṁ vāta iṣavaḥ te no mṛḍāta  
te no dhi vrūta te-  
bhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z rakṣa ye sthāsyāṁ dhruvā-  
yaṁ diçi vilimpā nā-

ma devās teṣām vo nnam iṣavaḥ te no mṛdāta te no dhi  
 vrūta tebhyo namas tebhya  
 s svāhā z rakṣa ya sthāsyām ūrdhvāyām diḥ aviśyanto  
 nāma devās teṣām  
 vo varṣam iṣavaḥ te no mṛdāta te no dhi vrūta tebhyo  
 namas tebhyas svāhā z  
 rakṣoḥaṇam vājenam ā jiganmi mittram pratiṣṭham upa  
 yāmi ṇarma |  
 ṇeṣāno agniṣ kṛtubhis samiddhās sa no divas sa riṣā pātu  
 naktaḥ praty a-  
 gne haram iti japet sarvam. z z iti rakṣāmantram. z z

Read: rakṣa || ye sthāsyām prācyām diḥ hetayo nāma de-  
 vās teṣām vo agnir iṣavaḥ | te no mṛdata te no 'dhi vrūta  
 tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z 1 z rakṣa || ye sthāsyām dak-  
 ṣiṇāyām diḥ aviśyavo nāma devās teṣām va āpa iṣavaḥ | te  
 no . . . z 2 z rakṣa || ye sthāsyām prācyām diḥ virājo nāma  
 devās teṣām vaṣ kāma iṣavaḥ | te no . . . z 3 z rakṣa || ye  
 sthāsyām udīcyām diḥ pravidhyanto nāma devās teṣām vo  
 vāta iṣavaḥ | te no . . . z 4 z rakṣa || ye sthāsyām dhruvā-  
 yām diḥ vilimpā nāma devās teṣām vo 'nnam iṣavaḥ | te no  
 . . . z 5 z rakṣa || ye sthāsyām ūrdhvāyām diḥ avasvanto  
 nāma devās teṣām vo varṣam iṣavaḥ | te no mṛdata te no 'dhi  
 vrūta tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z 6 z 1 z

rakṣoḥaṇam vājinam ā jigharmi mitram pratiṣṭham upa yāmi  
 ṇarma | ṇeṣāno agniṣ kratubhis samiddhas sa no divā sa riṣaḥ  
 pātu naktam z z praty agne haraseti japet sarvam z z iti  
 rakṣāmantram z z

The ms. indicates that the "rakṣa" at the beginning of  
 each stanza is to be set off from the rest. In st. 2 and 6  
 aviśyavo and avasvanto are adopted from Ç.

It seems clear to me (as indicated by the arrangement) that  
 hymn no. 1 of anuvāka 3 has only 6 stanzas; following it  
 RV. 10. 87 entire is to be muttered. Cf. Introduction.

12. [f. 52 a, l. 10.]

Ç. 3. 21.

yo apsv a-  
 ntar yo vṛttre antar yaṣ puruṣe yo smani | yo viveṇa  
 oṣadhīr yo vanaspatīn-  
 s tebhyo gñibhyo hutam astv etat.

Read agnir yo vṛtre at end of a, read 'çmani in b; ya ā-vivecāuṣadhir in c, 'gnibhyo in d.

yes some antar yo goṣv antar yo viṣṭo vayasi  
yo mṛgeṣu ya āviveça dvipado yaç catuspadas tebhyaḥ

Read yas in a, and in d tebhyo followed by continuation marks.

āindraṇa saratham

sambabhūva vāiçvānara uta viçvadavyaḥ i johavīmi pṛta-  
nāsu sāsa-

hyaṁ tebhyaḥ z

Read ya indreṇa in a, viçvadāvyāḥ in b: yaṁ and sāsahim in c, tebhyo in d as above.

yo devo viçvād yam a kāmam āhur yaṁ dātāra pra-  
tigṛhṇāntam āhuḥ yo dhīra çaktuṣ paribhūr idābhyas tebh-  
yaḥ z

Read: yo devo viçvād yam u kāmam āhur yaṁ dātāram  
pratigṛhṇāntam āhuḥ | yo dhīraç çakraṣ paribhūr adābhyas  
tebhyo \* \* z 3 z

yaṁ tvā

hotāram manasābhi samvidus trayodaça bhuvanā pañca  
mānavaḥ varco-  
dhase yaçase sūnṛtavate tebhyaḥ

Read mānavāḥ in b, sunṛtāvate in c, and tebhyo in d.

ukṣ\*nnaya vaçānnaya somaprṣṭhā-

[f. 52 b.] ya vedase vāiçvānarajyeṣṭhebhyaḥ z

Read for a ukṣānnāya vaçānnāya, vedhase in b; tebhyo in d.

divaṁ pṛthivīm antarikṣam ye

vidyutam anusañcaranti ya dakṣantar yo vāte antas tebhyo  
agnibhyo huta

m astv etat.

Insert anv after pṛthivīm in a, read yo dikṣv antar in b.  
vṛhaspatiṁ varuṇam mittra agnyām hiraṇyapānyam savitā-  
ram indram viçvān devān āṅgirasam havāmahe indram  
kravyādām çamaya-

ntv agniṁ

Read mitram agniṁ hiraṇyapāniṁ in ab, and probably āṅ-  
giraso in c; havāmaha imam in cd.

çanto agniṣ kravyād atho puruṣareṣiṇaḥ atho yo viç-  
vadāvyas tam

kravyādyam aṣiṣamam z 2 z

Read: çānto agniṣ kravyād atho puruṣareṣiṇaḥ | atho yo  
viçvadāvyaṣ taṁ kravyādam açiçamam z 9 z 2 z

13. [f. 52 b, l. 6.]

Ç. 3. 5.

āyam agaṇ pūrṇamaṇir bali  
balena pramṛṇaṇ sapatrān. | ojo devānām paya oṣadhīrā me  
yi rāṣṭraṁ jinvanpa prayacchaṇ

The ms. corrects to parṇa° in a.

Read agan parṇamaṇir in a, pramṛṇan sapatnān in b: oṣa-  
dhinām in c, and for d mayi rāṣṭraṁ jinvatu prayacchan.  
Whitney reports in d jinvatv aprayucchan; the ms. does not  
have this but we might well restore it.

mayi rāṣṭraṁ parṇamaṇe mahi dhārāya  
rāṣṭram aho rāṣṭrasyābhivarge yajā bhūyāsam uttarā |

In b read mayi, in c aham, in d uttarāḥ: yathā for yajā  
seems to me good, though yujo (suggested by Whitney) must  
be considered.

yaṁ nididhi  
r vanaspatāu vājin devāṣ priyaṁ nidhim. taṁ ma indras  
sahāyuṣa ma  
maṇim dadātu bhartave |

Read nidadhur in a; in b vājam would seem better than  
vājin but I think the latter can stand. Delete the syllable  
ma after sahāyuṣa.

somasya parṇas saha ugram āgam indreṇa  
datto varuṇena sakhyaḥ tam aham bibharmi bahu rocamāno  
dīrghāyu-  
tvāya çataçāradāya |

Read āgann in a; perhaps sakhyaḥ can stand but I rather  
think it is only a corruption of çiṣṭaḥ which Ç. has.

ā mā rakṣatu parṇamaṇir mahyāriṣṭatāta-  
ye yathāham uttaro sāni manuṣyā adhisamçitah

In a Ç. has ā mārukṣat which is probably intended here  
though the ms. reading seems possible; in b read mahyā ariṣṭaḥ,  
in c 'sāni: mānuṣyā adhisamçitaḥ would be a good pāda if  
we may take mānuṣi as a noun, or we might read mānuṣyā-  
dhisamçitaḥ.

punar mayitv i-  
ndriyaṁ punar āttasā draviṇaṁ vrāhmaṇaṁ ca | punagnyo  
dhrṣṇyāso ya-

thāsthāmalpayantām īvaha z

This is Ç. 7. 67. 1. Read: punar maitv indriyaṁ punar ātmā draviṇaṁ vrāhmaṇaṁ ca | punar agnayo dhiṣṇyāso ya-thāsthāma kalpayantām ihāiva z 6 z

yat takṣāṇo rathakāraṣ karmārā ye manīṣiṇāḥ sarvāṅs tvāṇparṇa raṇdhayopastim kṛṇu medinām

Read ye and rathakāraṣ in a, tān parṇa randh° in c, and medinam in d. The sign np in tvān parṇa is not clear.

upa-  
stir astu vāiçya uta çūdra utārya sarvāṅs tvān parṇa raṇ-  
dhayopastim kṛṇu

[f. 53 a] medinām z 3 z

Read: upastir astu vāiçya uta çūdra utāryaḥ | sarvāṅs tān parṇa randhayopastim kṛṇu medinam z 8 z 3 z

This stanza has no parallel.

14. [f. 53 a, l. 1.]

Ç. 3. 23.

yena veva dadhmasi | yāt te garbho yonim etu pu-  
māṅsaṁ putraṁ jānaya tvaṁ pumān anu jāyatām bhavāsi  
putrāṇām mātā

ātānām janayāsi ca | yāni bhadrāṇi bijāny ṛṣabhā jana-  
yati | tāis tvaṁ putraṁ vindasva sā prasūr dhenukā bhava  
kṛṇomi te prā-

jāpatyam ā garbho yonim etu te | vindasva putraṁ nārya  
tubhyaṁ sam asakhya-  
ma tasmāi tvaṁ bhava | yāsām pitā parjanya bhūmir mātā  
babhūva | tā-

s tvā putravidyāya devīṣ prāvantv oṣadhīḥ yas te yonim  
ud imṅa-

yā vṛṣabho retasā saha | sa tā siṅcatu prajāṁ dīrghāyuç  
çataçā-

radām. z 4 z

Read: yena vevad babhūvitha nāçayāmasi tat tvat | idaṁ  
tad anyatra tvad apa dūre ni dadhmasi z 1 z ā te garbho  
yonim etu pumān bāṇa iveṣudhim | ā viro 'tra jāyatām putras  
te daçamāsyah z 2 z pumāṅsaṁ putraṁ janaya taṁ pumān  
anu jāyatām | bhavāsi putrāṇām mātā jātānām janayāç ca yān  
z 3 yāni bhadrāṇi bijāny ṛṣabhā janayanti ca | tāis tvaṁ pu-  
traṁ vindasva sā prasūr dhenukā bhava z 4 z kṛṇomi te prā-  
jāpatyam ā garbho yonim etu te | vindasva putraṁ nāri yas  
tubhyaṁ çam asac cham u tasmāi tvaṁ bhava z 5 z yāsām

pitā parjanyo bhūmir mātā babbhūva | tās tvā putravidyāya  
devīḥ prāvantv oṣadhīḥ z 6 z yas te yonim ud īṅgayād vṛṣabho  
retasā saha | sa ta ā siñcatu prajāṁ dīrghāyuḥ ṣatacāradam  
z 7 z 4 z

The ms. corrects to ja (naya) in 3a and (janayā)mi in 3d.  
Note that the ms. has only a few words of stt. 1 and 2, and  
I have supplied the rest from C.; other emendations follow C.  
The last stanza is new.

15. [f. 53 a, l. 9.]

yām tvā vāto varaya rāridra nābhā maharṣa-  
bhaḥ | tasyās te viṣvadhāyaso viṣadūṣaṇam ud bhare |

In a 'varayad is possible; for the first half of pāda b no-  
thing plausible suggests itself, although I have thought of some  
form of rudra or of ārdra. Pādas cd can stand.

yās tvā va-  
rāho ṣanad ekasminn adhi puṣkare |

In a read yām and 'khanad, and cf. C. 4. 4. 1. It seems  
clear that for pādas cd the second hemistich of st. 1 is meant  
to stand here too, for the ms. sometimes fails to indicate a  
refrain when it should; cf. Pāipp. 2. 19; 29; and 49.

yām tvāditir avapad bīja  
vāpam adhi puṣkare |

Though not good metrically this may stand, with the refrain  
to be supplied from st. 1.

yasyāṣ kulāyaṁ salile antar mahaty a-  
rṇave | tasyās te viṣvadhāyaso viṣadūṣaṇam ud bhare |

This stanza lends support to the suggestion of ārdra in st. 1.

ut te bhara-  
d uttamāyā adhamāyās tūd bhare anu madhyā madhyame  
tava viṣa-

dūṣaṇam agrabhaṁ

In a bharam would seem to be the best reading: for c I  
can do no more than the word division indicates.

sam agrabham ubhāv antāu sam agrabhaṁ divaḥ ca  
prthivyāc ca viṣadūṣaṇam ud bhare z 5 z anu 3 zz

Read: \* \* \* \* samagrabham ubhāv antāu samagrabham |  
divaḥ ca prthivyāc ca viṣadūṣaṇam ud bhare z 6 z 5 z anu 3 z

The ms. has no indication of the loss of four syllables in  
pāda a, but it seems very probable; perhaps something like  
madhyam bhūmyās stood there as in C. 6. 89. 3 cd. The ms.  
corrects to prthi(vi)ḥ.

## 16. [f. 53 a, l. 17.]

pāidvo si prtanāyu svāhā soma hiṁsīs so-  
ma hiṁsito si svāhā |

The first of these two formulae we might read pāidvo 'si prtanāyus svāhā: soma hiṁsīs may stand (cf. RV. 9. 88. 4), and at a venture I would conjecture somāhiṁsito 'si svāhā for the rest.

vrahmaṇama hiṁsīr vrahma hiṁsito

[f. 53 b.] si svāhā |

One would expect here a parallelism to the preceding but I am unable to work it out satisfactorily; what is given does not lend support to the conjecture made above.

nābhūd ahir bhrūṇamānm ahir agnim arasāvadhī | viśasya vrahmaṇām āsīt tato jīvan na mokṣase |

In the first hemistich I can see nothing more than the division of words indicates: in c višo yo might be a possible reading.

uṣto hi samuṣto hi nirvī

to rasaṣ kṛtaḥ viśasya vrahmaṇām āsīt tato jīvan na mokṣase |

For pādas ab read uṣto 'hir samuṣto 'hir nirvito 'rasaṣ kṛtaḥ: for the rest see above.

punar dadāti me viśaṁ pūrvapadyam udāhṛta | mām da-  
daḥvān sa-

nyase mayā daṣto na mokṣase z 1 z

Read: punar dadāti me viśaṁ pūrvapadyam udāhṛtam | mām dadaḥvān manyase mayā daṣto na mokṣase z 6 z 1 z

The stanza is numbered 6 because of the three occurrences of svāhā above, which seem to indicate three separate formulae.

## 17. [f. 53 b, l. 5.]

ekaḥataṁ bheṣajāni

teṣāṁ mātāsy oṣadhe | samudram iva gacchasi prthivyām  
[adhi ni-

ṣṭhitaḥ

At the end of pāda d niṣṭhitā would agree better with mātāsy. Ç. 19. 32. 3b is prthivyām asi niṣṭhitaḥ (sc. darbha).

yasyām vedādibheṣajam daḥaḥīrṣo daḥajihvaḥ te prathamā dadhe samgrāvaṇty oṣadhe yam arād vīrayad bhiṣak.

If we may take ādibheṣajam to mean "the original medicine" we have at the beginning two pādas which might possibly stand: Ç. 4. 6. 1b is daḥaḥīrṣo daḥāsyah. For the rest, in addition to the division of words I can only suggest for

consideration *saṁsrāvāṇy* and *ārad*; but these throw no light on what is to me wholly obscure.

punaç ca-

kṣuṣ punaṣ prāṇaṁ punar āyun nā gamat. niṣ ṭvākaraṁ  
niṣkṛtyā niṣ ṭvā  
nikṛtyākaraṁ

In a read *prāṇo*, in b *āyur na ā*; in d *niṣkṛtyākaram*.

muñcāmi tvā çapathyād atho vāruṇād ūta | a-

tho yamasya padbhiçādviçād viçvasmād deva duṣkṛtāt.

The ms. seems to correct *dvi* to *dbhi*.

Read *uta* in b: and *padbhiçād* in c. This stanza appears Ç. 6. 96. 2 with *muñcantu mā* in a, *varuṇyād* in b, and *kilbiṣāt* in d.

çam te çī-

rṣṇaṣ kapālāni hṛdayasya ca ye viduḥ udyan sūryādityo a-  
ṅgadyo tam anīçat. |

Cf. Ç. 9. 8. 22. In *pāda* a read *saṁ*; for *cd udyan sūrya* *ādityo aṅgabhedam anīnaçat*. This however does not reckon with Ç. which in b has *yo vidhuḥ*, a *lectio difficilior*; yet I do not believe we need to read it here.

himavataṣ pra sravatas sindhū sam āha saṅga-

maḥ tāpas sarvas sāṁgatya cakṣuṣ prāṇaṁ cadhatu naḥ z z z

Read: *himavataṣ pra sravata sindhāu sam āha saṅgamaḥ* |  
*tā āpas sarvās saṁgatya cakṣuṣ prāṇaṁ dadhantu naḥ z 6*  
*z 2 z*

The first hemistich appears Ç. 6. 24. 1 ab; and with *pāda* d may be compared Ç. 10. 2. 29d.

18. [f. 53 b, l. 15.]

Ç. 3. 22.

hastivarcasaṁ pṛthatām vṛhad diṣu adityā ya tanvas saṁ-

babhūva ta-

t sarve savitur mahyas etu viçve devāso aditis sajoṣāḥ

Read *prathatām* in a, and perhaps *dikṣu* though *yaço* as in Ç. seems better; in b *yat*. In c we will have to read as in Ç. *samadur mahyam etad*.

mittra-

ç ca varuṇaḥ cendro rudraç ca tejatu devāso viçvadhāyasas te  
[f. 54 a.] māṇdantu varcasā |

The ms. corrects *tejatu* to *tejasah*; if we accept this, as I think we may, it obviates the difficulties with the form *ceta-* *tus* of Ç. In a read *mitraç*, in d *mānjantu*.



yat te varco jātavedo vṛhad bhavaty āhutaṁ tena mām a-  
bhya varcasāgre varcasvinam kṛdhi |

Read adya varcasāgne in cd. In Q. these pādas are 4 ab  
and 3 de; Q. has āhuteḥ and kṛṇu.

yena haste varcasā sambabhūva ye-  
na rājā manuṣeṣv antaḥ yena devā jyotiṣā bhyām udāyam  
tena mā-

gne varcasā sam srjeḥa |

Read hasti in a, dyām udāyan in c. What we have here  
is in Q. st. 3 abc with a new pāda d.

yāvad varcas sūryasyāsurasya ca hasti-  
naḥ tāvan me açvinā varcaṣ kṛṇutam puṣkarasrajaḥ |

Read puṣkarasrajā in d. In Q. this is st. 4 c-f, and ā dhat-  
tām stands for kṛṇutam.

yāvac catasra  
ṣ pradiçaḥ cakṣur yāvat samaçnute | tāvat samāitv indriyam  
mayi tad dha-

stivarcasam. z 3 z

This is the sixth stanza of the third hymn of the fourth  
anuvāka.

19. [f. 54 a, l. 7.]

Q. 3. 19.

saṁçitam mayīdam vrahma saṁçitam vīryam  
mama | saṁçitam kṣattram me jiṣṇu yeṣām asmi purohitaḥ

sam aham e-

ṣām rāṣṭrām paçyāmi sam ojo vīryam balaṁ | vṛçcāsi ça-  
tṭṇām bahū

sam açvām açvān aham | tikṣaṇīyānsaṣ pharṣor agnes  
tikṣṇatarād u-

ta | indrasya vajras tikṣaṇīyaṁso eṣām asmin purohitaḥ |  
adhas padyantām adhare bhavantv ena indram maghavā-  
nām pṛtanyān

kṣaṇāmi vrāhmaṇāmitrān anvāyāma çvān aham yeṣām  
ām ā-

yudhā sam çyāsy eṣām rāṣṭrām suvīram vardhayasva ye-  
ṣām kṣattram aja-

ram astu jiṣṇu ugram eṣām rāṣṭrām suvīram vardhayasva  
yeṣām kṣa-

m ajaram astu jiṣṇu ugram eṣām cittam bahudhā viçvarū-  
pā abhi prayata jayata prasūtā sam çyāmi nir āyu-  
dhāni |

[f. 54 b.] *tīkṣṇa iṣavo baladhanvano hato ugrāyudhābalān*  
*ugrahabā-*

*vaḥ z 4 z*

Read: *saṃcītaṃ ma idaṃ vrahma saṃcītaṃ vīryaṃ mama |*  
*saṃcītaṃ kṣatraṃ me jiṣṇu yeṣāṃ asmi purohitaḥ z 1 z sam*  
*aham eṣāṃ rāṣṭraṃ cyāmi sam ojo vīryaṃ balam | vṛcāmi*  
*çatrūṇāṃ bāhūn sam eṣāṃ aṇvān aham z 2 z tīkṣṇīyāṇsaḥ*  
*paraçor agnes tīkṣṇatarā uta | indrasya vajrāt tīkṣṇīyāṇso*  
*yeṣāṃ asmi purohitaḥ z 3 z adhas padyantām adhare bha-*  
*vantu ye na indram maghavānaṃ pṛtanyān | kṣīṇāmi vrah-*  
*maṇāmitrān un nayāmi svān aham z 4 z eṣāṃ aham āyudhā*  
*saṃ cyāmy eṣāṃ rāṣṭraṃ suvīraṃ vardhayaṣva | eṣāṃ kṣatram*  
*ajaram astu jiṣṇūgram eṣāṃ cittaṃ bahudhā viçvarūpam z 5 z*  
*abhi preta jayata prasūtās saṃ cyāmy nara āyudhāni | tīkṣṇe-*  
*ṣavo baladhanvano hatogrāyudhā abalān ugrabāhavaḥ z 6*  
*z 4 z*

In st. 3 d the ms. corrects to *asmi*; and in 4d it has a correction which seems to make *ad dhvāyāma* out of *anvāyāma* so perhaps we should read *ud dhvayāmi*. In 3b it might be possible to read *tīkṣṇatarād uta* as in the ms.

Whitney in his comments on Q. 3. 19. 6 and 8 implies that they are found in Pāipp. Bk. 3 at this point, but they are not in [the birchbark; they do appear Paipp. 1. 56, and the confusion is doubtless due to the fact that he did not have access to a facsimile or the original (cf. Whitney's Translation p. lxxxi ff.).

20. [f. 54 b, l. 2.]

Q. 3. 12.

*ihāiva dhruvāmya minomi çālām kṣeme tiṣṭhā-*  
*mi ghṛtam ukṣamāṇā | tam tvā çāle sarvavīras suvīrā a-*  
*bhi saṃ carema |*

Read *dhruvām ni* in a, *tiṣṭhāsi* in b; *tām* in c, and supply *ariṣṭavīrā* (as in Q.) in d.

*ihāiva dhruvā pra tiṣṭha çāle aṇvāvati goma-*  
*tī sūnṛtāvati | ūrjasvati ghṛtavati payasvaty uç chraya-*  
*yasva mahate sāubhagāya |*

Read *prati* in a, *uc chrayasva* in d.

*dharuṇy asi çāle gṛhaç chandā*  
*sūtadhānyā ā tvā vatso mayi med ā kumārā dhenavasyāya*  
*m āsyandhamānā*

Reading chandas in b we get a fairly good pāda; grhaç chandas is rather better than the brhacchandās of C. and the latter's pūtidhānyā has proved troublesome; sūtheadhānyā may mean "containing produced grain". In cd read vatso me gamed ā kumāra ā dhenavas sāyam āsyandamānāḥ.

imām çālām savitā vāyur agnis tvaṣṭā  
hotā ni srotu prajānān ukṣāntūnā maruto ghṛtena | somo no rā-  
jā ni kṛṣa tanotu

Read ni minotu prajānan in b; ukṣāntūdā in c, kṛṣim in d; colon after pāda b.

sānassa patniç caraṇā syonā devībhi  
r nimitāsy āgne | ūnnaṁ vasaṇā sumanā yaças tvaṁ rayim no  
dhi subhage suvīraṁ |

We may read in a mānasya patni çaraṇā, for b devī deve-  
bhir nimitāsy agre. In c tṛpaṁ vaṣāṇā sumanā asas seems  
most probable; in d read dhehi and suvīram.

ā tvā kumāras taraṇa ā vatso jagatā  
saha | ā tvā pariçṛtaṣ kumbha ā dadhnaṣ kalaçaç ca yā z 5 z  
anu 4 z

Read: ā tvā kumāras taruṇa ā vatso jagatā saha | ā tvā  
pariçṛitaṣ kumbha ā dadhnaṣ kalaçaç ca yaḥ z 6 z 5 z  
anu 4 z.

21. [f. 54 b, l. 14.]

C. 4. 22.

imam indra vardhaya kṣattriyaṁ sa imam viçā  
m ekaviṣa kṛṇu tvaṁ ni mittrān akṣṇu tasya sarvāns tā  
radhaya-

smāhamuttareṣu | ayam astu dhanapatir dhanānām ayam  
viçām

viçkṛpatistu rājā | asminn indu mayi varcānsi dhehy a-  
[f. 55 a] varcasam kṛṇuhi çatrum asya | idam bhaja grāme  
ṣveṣu goṣva niṣ tam bhaja yo mittro  
sya | varṣmat kṣattrānām ayam astu rājendra çatrū rañ-  
dhaya sarvam asmāi | asmāi

dyāvāpṛthivī bhūrvāsū sam duhitām gharmaḍheva dhe-  
num | vayan rājā pri-

ye indrasya bhūyāḥ priyo gavām oṣadhīnām utāpām yu-  
najmi tam uttarā-

vaṇtam indra yena jayante | yas tvā karad ekavṛṣam ja-  
nānām uta rājan u-

ttamañ mānavānām | uttaras tvam adhare mantv anye ye  
ke ca rājan pradiçatra-  
sthe | ekavṛṣā indrasakhā jigīvāñ çatrūyatām abhi tiṣṭhā ma-  
hāñsi | z 1 z

Read: imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyañ ma imam viçām  
ekavṛṣaṁ kṛṇu tvam | nir amitrān akṣṇu tasya sarvāñs tāt  
randhayāsmā ahamuttareṣu z 1 z ayam astu dhanapatiṛ dha-  
nānām ayaṁ viçām viçpatiṛ astu rājā | asminn indra mahi var-  
cāñsi dhehy avarcasaṁ kṛṇuhi çatrum asya z 2 z emaṁ bhaja  
grāme 'çreṣv goṣu niṣ ṭaṁ bhaja yo 'mitro 'sya | varṣman  
kṣatṛaṇām ayaṁ astu rājendra çatrum randhaya sarvaṁ as-  
māi z 3 z asmāi dyāvāprthivi bhūri vāmañ saṁdubhāthām  
gharmadugheva dhenuḥ | ayaṁ rājā priya indrasya bhūyāt  
priyo gavām oṣadhinām utāpām z 4 z yunajmi tam uttarā-  
vantam indrañ yena jayanti na parā jayante | yas tvā karad  
ekavṛṣaṁ janānām uta rājann ttamañ mānavānām z 5 z  
uttaras tvam adhare santv anye ye ke ca rājan pratiçatravas  
te | ekavṛṣa indrasakhā jigīvāñ çatrūyatām abhi tiṣṭhā mahāñsi  
z 6 z 1 z

This hymn appears also in TB. 2. 4. 7. 7—8, and our text  
is in agreement with it in several places: st. 6d in Ç. 7. 73.  
10d. In 1c it is entirely possible that our ms. has only a  
corrupt form of the Ç. reading akṣṇuhy asya; in 5a Ç. has  
a better reading yunajmi ta, but probably ours can stand; in  
5b I have supplied words from Ç.

22. [f. 55 a, l. 8.]

viṣāṇāsy āṅgirasī devajā praticakṣiṇī  
divas prthivyās saṁbhūtas sahasrākṣī dhi naḥ

Read āṅgirasī in a, saṁbhūtā in c (= Ç. 6. 100. 3c): for d  
we may read sahasrākṣī vi ṣyādhi naḥ, which is supported by  
Ç. 6. 121. 1a viṣāṇā pāçān vi ṣyādhy asmat.

sahasrākṣī yād grbhāti  
paçyāmy oṣadhe sadānvāgnī rakṣoghnī bhaveha praticakṣiṇī |

A probable reading for pāda a is sahasrākṣī yad grabhāti,  
with tena paçyāsy in b: read sadānvāghnī in c.

ye hara-  
nty āmuteyaṁ payasphātīm ca oṣadhe | sadānvāgnī rakṣo-  
ghnī bhaveha

praticakṣiṇī

In pāda a I think we may read āmuteyaṁ with the same

meaning as āsuti, which seems to mean "brew" or "concoc-tion"; in b write cāuṣadhe, in c sadānvāghnī. The hemistichs do not hang together very well.

yātuno raṇdhayante ruṣṣantaṁ ca vihrutaṁ tāṁs tvā sahasra-dakṣo gr̥bhāya kṛtavīrye

A possible (and perhaps plausible) reading for pāda a would be yātudhānān randhayanti; ruṣṣantaṁ in b can hardly stand and I would write ruṣyantaṁ. In c read tvaṁ sahasracakṣo; in d kṛtavīryāya seems possible. Pāda c = Ç. 19. 35. 3c.

yathā çvā caturakṣo rātriṁ naktāt paçyati  
evā sahasracakṣo tvaṁ prati paçyāsy āyata |

In d read āyataḥ: Ç. 4. 20. 5 cd is atho sahasracakṣo tvaṁ prati paçyāḥ kimīdinaḥ (cf. our next stanza), and the two hymns have the same intent.

gobhir açvāir vasubhi  
r apakrītāsy oṣadhī çvāvasyāçvasya cakṣuṣā prati paçya  
kimīdinaḥ z

z 2 z

Read: gobhir açvāir vasubhir apakrītāsy oṣadhe | çvāvāçvasya cakṣuṣā prati paçya kimīdinaḥ z 6 z 2 z

23. [f. 55 a, l. 16.]

saṁ çudadhvaṁ saṁ pipadhmaṁ annaṁ vo madhumat saha  
vrataṁ vas sarvaṁ  
sadhrik samānaṁ ceto stu vaḥ saṁ jānīdhvaṁ indraç cettā  
vo stv ayaṁ vo gnir ni-  
haraḥ çamayāti yad verahatyam u bhīmam āsīd viçve  
devā ut prāva-

[f. 55 b.] yantu saṁ vaçy āstu vṛhaspatis saṁ dyāvāpṛthivī  
ubhe çam antarikṣam uta vo  
marutvān saṁ vaçy astv adītir devaputrā kalpetāṁ dyāvā-  
pṛthivī kalpa-

ntām āpa oṣadhī | kalpantām agnayas sarve asmāi çreṣ-  
ṭhāya sarvadā

saṁ vas sṛjāmi hṛdayaṁ saṁsṛṣṭaṁ mano astu vaḥ saṁ-  
sṛṣṭā vas tanvas sa-

ntu saṁsṛṣṭas prāṇo astu vaḥ saṁ vaṣ paçūnām hṛdayaṁ  
sṛjāmi saṁ

putrānām uta yā duhitaro vaḥ saṁ vo jāyānām manasā  
manāṁsi

saṁ patinānm uta cakṣuṣas sṛjāmi z 3 z

Read: saṁ çundhadvam saṁ pibadvam anuam vo madhumat sahaḥ | vratam vas sarvam sadhryak samānam ceto 'stu vaḥ z 1 z saṁ janidhvam indraç cittā vo 'stv ayam vo 'gnir ni haraḥ çamayāti | yad vāirahatyam u bhīmam āsīd viçve devā ut prāvayantu z 2 z çam vaçy astu vṛhaspatiç çam dyāvāprthivi ubhe | çam antarikṣam uta vo marutvān çam vaçiny astv aditir devaputrā z 3 z kalpetām dyāvāprthivi kalpantām āpa oṣadhīḥ | kalpantām agnayas sarve asmāi çreṣṭhāya sarvadā z 4 z saṁ vas srjāmi hṛdayam saṁsrṣṭam mano astu vaḥ | saṁsrṣṭā vas tanvas santu saṁsrṣṭas prāṇo astu vaḥ z 5 z saṁ vaç paçūnām hṛdayam srjāmi saṁ putrāṇām uta yā duhitaro vaḥ | saṁ jāyānām manasā manānsi saṁ patinām uta cakṣuṣā srjāmi z 6 z 3 z

Stanzas 4 and 5 appear KS. 7. 14 and 12, and elsewhere: to be compared in contents are such hymns as Q. 6. 64 and 74.

24. [f. 55 b, l. 8.]

Q. 3. 27.

atha rakṣāmantram.

om̐ prācī dig agnir adhipatir asito rakṣatādityā iṣavaḥ te-  
bhyo na-  
mo dhipatibhyo namo rakṣatubhyo namo ṛṣibhyo namo vo  
stu yo smān dveṣṭi yaṁ  
ca vayan dviṣmas taṁ vo jambhe dadhmas tam u prāṇo ja-  
hātu z dakṣi-  
ṇā dig indro dhipatis tiraçcarāje rakṣatā vasava iṣavaḥ  
pratī-  
cī dig vavaruṇo dhipatiḥ prajākū rakṣatā mittra iṣavaḥ udī-  
cī dik somo dhipatis svajo rakṣatā vāta iṣavaḥ z dhruvā  
dig vi-  
ṣṇur adhipatiḥ kulmāṣagrīvo rakṣatā vīrudho iṣavaḥ ūrdhvā  
dig vṛ-  
haspatir adhipatiḥ çattro rakṣatāçanir iṣavas tebhyo namo  
dhipa-  
tibhyo nama rakṣitubhyo nama ṛṣibhyo namo vo stu yo  
smān dviṣṭi yaṁ ca  
vayaṁ dviṣmas taṁ vo jambhe dadhmas tam u prāṇa ja-  
hātu z 4 z

Read: atha rakṣāmantram || om̐ z z prācī dig agnir adhi-  
patir asito rakṣitādityā iṣavaḥ | tebhyo namo 'dhipatibhyo

namo rakṣitr̥bhyo namo iṣubhyo namo vo 'stu | yo 'smān  
 dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vyaṁ dviṣmas taṁ vo jambhe dadhmas tam u  
 prāṇo jahātu z 1 z dakṣiṇā dig indro 'dhipatis tiraṣcirājī  
 rakṣitā vasava iṣavaḥ | tebhyo . . . z 2 z pratīci dig varuṇo  
 'dhipatiṣ prdākū rakṣitā mitra iṣavaḥ | tebhyo . . . z 3 z  
 udīci dik somo 'dhipatis svajo rakṣitā vāta iṣavaḥ | tebhyo . . .  
 z 4 z dhruvā dig viṣṇur adhipatiṣ kalmāṣagrīvo rakṣitā vīrudha  
 iṣavaḥ | tebhyo . . . z 5 z ūrdhvā dig vṛhaspatir adhipatiṣ  
 ̣vitro rakṣitācanir iṣavaḥ | tebhyo namo 'dhipatibhyo namo  
 rakṣitr̥bhyo namo iṣubhyo namo vo 'stu | yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṁ  
 ca vyaṁ dviṣmas taṁ vo jambhe dadhmas tam u prāṇo ja-  
 hātu z 6 z 4 z

25. [f. 55 b, l. 18.]

Ç. 4. 11.

anaḍvān dadhāra pr̥thivī dyām utāsūm anaḍvān dadhāronv  
 antarikṣam

[f. 56 a.] anaḍvān dād̥hāra pradiṣaṣ ṣaḍ urvīr anaḍvān idam  
 viṣvaṁ bhuvanām ā vive-

ṣa

Read dād̥hāra pr̥thivīm and utāmūm in a, dād̥hāronv in b:  
 bhuvanam in d: anaḍvān in a, b, c.

anaḍvān duhe sukṛtasya lokam enam pāhet pavamānaṣ  
 purastāt parja-

nyo dhārā marutodho sya yajñaṣ payo dakṣiṇā draho sya |

Read anaḍvān and loka in a, perhaps pyāyet in b as Whit-  
 ney suggests: maruta ūdho 'sya in c, doho 'sya in d.

anaḍvān indrasya  
 paṇubhyo vi caṣṭe tvayām ya ṣakro a mimīte adhvanah  
 sam bhūtam bhaviṣyad bhu-  
 vanam duhānas sarvā devānām bibhraṣ carati vratāni

Read indras sa in a, trayān and ā mimīte in b: bibhrac  
 in d.

yasya neṣe yajñapa-  
 tin nī yajño nāsyā dāteṣaya na pratigr̥hītā yo viṣvadr̥g  
 viṣvakṛd vi-  
 ṣvakarmā gharma no vrūta yāmaṣ cātusṣpāt.

Read neṣe yajñapatir na in a, dāteṣe na pratigr̥hītā in b:  
 gharman and yatamac in d.

indra eṣa manuṣyeṣv antar gharma  
s tapataç carati samñçānaḥ supradāsassa udāre ṇa sariṣad  
yāu nācñī-

hād anaḍuho vijānan.

Read taptatç in b: in c we should probably read suprajās  
sa, in d yo nācñiyād. An alternative form of c would be  
suprajās sant sa udāre ṇa sarṣad.

yena devās tuvārurhatar hitvā çarīram amṛta-  
sya dhāma tena geṣma sukṛtasya lokam gharmasya vra-  
tena yaçasā tapasvyā

In pāda a we will have to read as in Ç. devās svar ā ruru-  
hur. If we may have tapasyavaḥ at the end of d we get a  
fair reading but it looks like an accidental inversion of the  
better reading of Ç., tapasā yaçasyavaḥ.

dvā-  
daçāitā rārvartyāhuṣ prajāpater vartyā rātrī dvādaça tad  
vāpi vrahma-

yo veda tad vānuḍuhāu balam

If it is desirable to reduce the first hemistich to anuṣṭubh  
rhythm (and it seems so to me) we may read dvādaçāitā  
vratyā āhuṣ prajāpater vartyā rātrīḥ; but less violent emenda-  
tion is necessary if we read dvādaçāitā rātrīr vartyā āhuṣ  
prajāpater vartyā rātrīr dvādaça. In d read tad vā anaḍuho  
balam.

duhe vānaḍvāna sāyam duhe prātar duhe  
divā dohā ye sya sayantā tām vidmānupadasyataḥ

Read in a vā anaḍvān; in c 'sya sam yanti.

ye devānaḍuho  
dohān asvapnānupadasyaca prajām ca lokam cāpnoti tathā  
saptarṣayo

viduḥ

Read for ab yo vedānaḍuho dohān saptānupadasyataḥ; any  
suggestion of svapna seems out of place here.

madhyam etad anaḍuho yata iṣa vāhitaḥ etāvad asya pracīna  
yavān pratyān samāhitaḥ

For pāda b read yatrāiṣa vaha āhitaḥ: in c prācīnam, in  
d yāvān.

padbhis sedhim amakrāmanm irām jaṅghābhi  
r ukṣida çrameṇānaḍvāna kilālam kīnāçasya upagacchata |

Read: padbhis sedim samākramann irām jaṅghābhīr utkhi-  
dan | çrameṇānaḍvān kilālam kīnāçaç copa gacchataḥ z ll z



i

eṣa manuṣyeṣv anaḍvān ity ucyate ṣapha somya pārṣaṁ  
sarvā yāḥ cāśya

[f. 56 b.] kuṣṭhinah

This seems to be an incomplete bit of commentary belonging to st. 3; if the above word division is correct we might read the whole thus: — indra eṣa manuṣyeṣv anaḍvān ity ucyate | ṣaphas somyaḥ pārṣvaṁ sarvā yāḥ cāśya kuṣṭhikāḥ. This might have been a scholium standing once in the bottom margin; the letter i standing at the end of the next to the last line of f. 56 a would then have been the initial of indro balenāśya.

indro balenāśya parameṣṭhī vratenāina gāus tena vaiṣvadevāḥ  
yo smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vaya dviṣṣas tasya prāṇān asa  
vahas tasya prāṇā

n vi varhaḥ z 5 z a 5 z

Read: indro balenāśya parameṣṭhī vratenā yena gāus tena vaiṣvadevāḥ | yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayan dviṣṣas tasya prāṇān apa vahes tasya prāṇān vi barhaḥ z 12 z 5 z anu 5 z

26. [f. 56 b, l. 3.]

Q. 7. 60.

grhān esi manasā modamā-  
nojaṁ bibhrad vasumatis sumetāghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mittriye-  
ṇa grhāṇāṁ paçyaṁ paya ut tarāmi | ime grhā mayo-  
bhuvā ū-

rjasvantaṣ payasvantaṣ pūrṇā vamaśya tiṣṭhantaś te no jā-  
nantu jānataḥ

sūnṛtāvantaś subhagā irāvanto hasāmuda akṣudhyāstr-  
dhyāstr-

śyāmo grhā māśsad vibhītanah | eṣāṁ adhy etu pravan  
eṣa so-

manasso bahuḥ | grhān upa hvayāmaya yan te no jānāntv  
āyataḥ |

upahūtā iha gāva upahūtā ajāvayaḥ a-

tho nyāśya kilāla upahūto grheṣu naḥ upahūtā bhūrdhni

nā sakhāyas svādusāmnara ariṣṭās sarvāpūrṣā grhā naś sa-  
ntu sarvadaḥ z 1 z

Read: grhān emi manasā modamāna ūrjaṁ bibhrad vasumatis sumedhah | aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mitriyeṇa grhāṇāṁ paçyan paya ut tarāmi z 1 z ime grhā mayobhuvā ūrjasvantaṣ

payasvantaḥ | pūrṇā vāmasya tiṣṭhantas te no jānantu jāna-  
taḥ z 2 z sūnrtāvantas subhagā irāvanto hasāmudāḥ | akṣu-  
dhyā atrṣyāso grhā māsmad bibhītana z 3 z yeṣām adhyeti  
pravasan yeṣu sūmanaso bahuḥ | grhān upahvayāma yān te  
no jānantvā yataḥ z 4 z upahūta iha gāva upahūta ajāyavah |  
atho 'nnasya kilāla upahūto grheṣu naḥ z 5 z upahūta bhū-  
ridhanās sakhāyas tsvādusamṇara | ariṣṭās sarvapūruṣā grhā  
nas santu sarvadā z 6 z 1 z

The variations from the Q. text are considerable, being generally in the direction of Yajus or Sūtra texts; cf. Concordance. In st. 6b the only remedy seems to be to read as in the other texts svādusammudāḥ.

27. [f. 56 b, l. 13.]

hantāyam astva pratighāty asā sam vām  
indra pṛtanāvṛṣṭiḥ prajāpatir adadād ojo smāi vṛhad dhavi  
r haviṣā vardhanena | prajāpater haviṣā vardhane hantā-  
yam indram a-  
kṛṇor agādhyam tasmāi viṣo devakṛtā nimantas sahyamtas  
sahi-

[f. 57 a.] havyo babhūva | prajāpate abhi no neṣi vasv orvo  
gavyūtis abhimātiṣāhaḥ vardhaya  
nn indram vṛhata reṇāya devam devena haviṣā vardhanena  
z yathā viçvāṣ pṛ-  
tanāt samjayā yathā çatrūn sahasā mānasā mahī yathāsaḥ  
samrāñ susa-  
mraḍ devātte indro aprativadham kṛṇotu ayaṁ vīro prati  
hantu çatṛñ vaçve  
devā uṣas adas karāya nāsyā prajāṁ rīriṣaṁ nota vīrān  
imam indra | ja-  
hi çatrūn prati randhayasvāgniṣ te gopā adhipā vasiṣṭhaḥ  
çarma te rājā

varuṇo ni yacchā devā tvendro aprativadham kṛṇotu z 2 z

Read: hantāyam astu pratighāty asat sam vām indrāgni  
pṛtanāvṛṣṇiḥ | prajāpatir ā dadhād ojo 'smāi vṛhad dhavir  
haviṣā vardhanena z 1 z prajāpate haviṣā vardhanena hantā-  
ram indram akrṇor agadhyam | tasmāi viṣo devakṛtā namanta  
sa hantā sa vihavyo babhūva z 2 z prajāpate abhi no neṣi  
vasūrvīm gavyūtim abhimātiṣāhaḥ | vardhayann indram vṛhate  
raṇāya devam dāivena haviṣā vardhanena z 3 z yathā viçvāṣ  
pṛtanās samjayā yathā çatrūn sahasā manasā | mahī yathāsaḥ

suprān susamrāḍ devas tvendro aprativadham kṛnotu z 4 z  
 ayam viro prati hantu çatrūn viçve devā oṣam adhas karayan |  
 nāsyā prajāṃ rīriṣan nota virān imān indraḥ z 5 z jahi ça-  
 trūn prati randhayasvāgniṣ te gopā adhipā vasiṣṭhaḥ | çarma  
 te rājā varuṇo ni yacchād devas tvendro aprativadham kṛnotu  
 z 6 z 2 z

A goodly number of objections might be brought against the emendations offered, but I think the intent of the hymn cannot be mistaken. In st. 1a apratigha is suggested but it brings difficulties with it; in 1c adadhād might stand, or even adadād as in the ms. In VS. 8. 46 and other Yajus texts there is a stanza similar to our no. 2; most of these texts have avadhyam in pāda b for our agadhyam, they have sam anamanta pūrvīr in c where I write devakṛtā namanta and for d they have ayam ugro vihayo yathāsat; my emendation of pāda d is pure conjecture. About st. 5b I am very doubtful, but the reading given seems possible.

28. [f. 57 a, l. 7.]

saṃ spr̥çethām

tanubhyām sam mukhābhyām sam ātmanā saṃ vām vrāh-  
 maṇaspatis somas saṃ sparçā-  
 yābhu vām

In d read sparçayatu, or possibly sparçayātu. Cf. Ç. 6. 74. 1.

abhy asya nahami vācā dadhāmi\* nahasokṣase pame  
 dahinaṃ kāmā-  
 me labhāi kṛṣṇam ivākhare

For the first hemistich I can get nothing satisfactory; I incline to think that some accusative should stand in place of nahami. For c perhaps we might read upa me dāhinaṃ kāmē, the upa to be taken with labhāi.

yaḥ premāṣ preṇyām āsīd dattaḥ somena babhrū-  
 ṇām | tasmād adhi çrutaṃ mano mayy asya manāhitam

In a read premaṣ, or perhaps premā, in b babhruṇā: in c srutaṃ, in d mana āhitam. Cf. Ç. 6. 89. 1 ab and 1. 1. 2d.

yaṃ puṣāṃsaṃ kāmāyete ya-  
 sminn ā bhagam icchate | hr̥çchokam asminn ā dadhmo  
 yathā çīṣyāti tvām a-  
 nu | yathāsyā hr̥dayaṃ çīṣyād

For a yaṃ puṣāṃsaṃ kāmāyete seems good. In c read

hr̥cchokam, in d ṣuṣyāti and in e ṣuṣyāt. It seems proper to end the verse at this point though the ms. has no sign.

apiçchaṁ neva çam guṇī ca | kṣur ākāçaṁ  
bhīma māṁpaçyam abhinorujam priyaṁkaram uttamaṁ  
madhughena tad ābhṛtam

For the first few words I am unable to make a suggestion, and therefore cannot feel sure that they belong with this verse. For the rest I think we may read: cakṣur ākāçaṁ bhīmaṁ māṁpaçyam abhirorudam | priyaṁkaraṇam uttamaṁ madhughena tad ābhṛtam. Cf. Ç. 7. 38. 1b and our next hymn st. 2.

tvam hā-  
si varcasyo atho hāsya sumaṅgalaḥ atho sarvāsām vīru-  
dhām priya-  
ṇkaraṇam ucyase |

Read: tvam hāsi varcasyo atho lāsi sumaṅgalaḥ | atho sar-  
vāsām vīrudhām priyaṇkaraṇam ucyase z 6 z 3 z

The ms. gives no indication of the end of this hymn and I have made this arrangement principally because the norm of this book is six stanzas: it seems not impossible that the last two stanzas should go with the next hymn, but the connection does not seem close enough to force us to such an arrangement.

29. [f. 57 a, l. 16.]

Ç. 7. 38 (in part).

praticī somam asy oṣadhe praticy anu sūryam pra-  
tīcī vi-

çvān devāns tathā tvācchāvadāmasi | imām khanāsy oṣa-  
dhīm vitantrīm a-

nutantunām āyataḥ patirañdhanī parāyato nivartanam |  
amuṣyāham parāya-

ta āyato mano agrabham agrabham hastīm mano atho  
hṛdayam manah mayi te

[f. 57 b.] manāhitam mayi cittam mayi vratam mamed apa  
kratāv aso mamāsaç ced asī

dapi | aham vadāni maha tvam sabhāyām ha tvam vada  
mamedā | çastīm kevalo

nābhyāsām kīrtayāç cina yadi vāsyā dirocanaṁ yadi vā  
nadyas tiraḥ |

yam tvā mahīm oṣadhir vadhveva nyānayaḥ z 4 z

Read: praticī somam asy oṣadhe praticy anu sūryam | pra-

tīci viṣvān devāns tathā tvācchāvadāmāsi z 1 z imāṃ khanāmy  
 oṣadhiṃ vitantriṃ anutantunām | āyataḥ pratirandhanīṃ parā-  
 yato nivartanām z 2 z amuṣyāhaṃ parāyata āyato mano  
 agrabham | agrabham hastiṃ mano atho hṛdayaṃ manaḥ z  
 3 z mayi te mana āhitaṃ mayi cittam mayi vratam | mamed  
 aha kratāv aso mama cittam ā sīdasi z 4 z ahaṃ vadāni  
 māha tvaṃ sabhāyām aha tvaṃ vada | mamed asas tvaṃ  
 kevalo nānyāsām kīrtayāç cana z 5 z yadi vāsi tirojanaṃ yadi  
 vā nadyas tiraḥ | iyaṃ tvā mahyam oṣadhīr baddhveva nyāna-  
 yat z 6 z 4 z

Pāda b of st. 2 I have not tried to emend thinking it might be taken to mean "having various magic powers and widely effective", or something of that sort; the māmpaṣyam abhirotudam of Q. is no better. Our stt. 3 and 4 are not in Q. but st. 4 has appeared in Pāipp. 2. 77. 1; the form here is what was suggested there. St. 5 has also appeared in Pāipp. 2. 79. 5 with añkena me nyānayāt for pāda d.

30. [f. 57 b, l. 4.]

Q. 19. 57.

yathā kalām i-  
 tekā maṃ rājāno gusmṛṇāny aguḥ saṃ çuṣṭhāguṣ saṃ ka-  
 lāguṣ saṃ asmā-  
 su suṣvaptriṃ nir diçate duṣvaptriṃ suvāma z devānām  
 patnīnām garbha ya-  
 masya karaṇa | yo bhadras svapna sva muma yaṣ papas  
 taṃ dviṣate pra hiṇma  
 tyāṣṭāmā nāmāsi kṛṣṇaṇakuner mukhaṃ nirṛter mukhaṃ  
 taṃ tvā svapna ta-  
 thā vidma | svapnos svaptvā açvīvā kāyam açvīva nīnā-  
 haṃ | mā-  
 smākaṃ devapīyurṃ priyāruru vapsa | yad asmāsu duṣ-  
 vapnī yad go-  
 ṣu yaç ca no gṛ no gṛhe | sāsmaṃkaṃ devapīyuh priyārurum  
 niṣka-  
 m iva prati muñçatām navāratnīn apamāyām asmākaṃ tan-  
 vas pari  
 duṣvapnyo sarvaṃ durbhūtaṃ dviṣater nir dviṣāmāsi z  
 divṣater nir dvi-  
 ṣāmāsi z 5 z anu 6 z

For the first part of this we may read as follows: yathā kalām ity ekā z 1 z sam rājāno 'gus sam ṛṇāny agus sam kuṣṭhā agus sam kalā aguḥ | sam asmāsu duṣvapnyam nir dviṣate duṣvapnyam suvāma z 2 z devānām patnīnām garbha yamasya karaṇa yo bhadras svapna | sa mama yaṣ pāpaṣ tam dviṣate pra hiṇmaḥ z 3 z

The quotation of st. 1 by pratika only indicates the previous appearance of the stanza in this text, viz. Bk. 2. 37. 3, thus: yathā kalām yathā ṣapham yatharṇam sam nayanti | evā duṣvapnyam sarvam apriye sam nayāmasi. In the first part of st. 3 it would seem that the vocatives might stand.

In st. 4 our text is as hopeless as that of Ç.: in tyāṣtāma it may be that we have only a corruption of what stands in the Ç. pada-mss. mātrṣṭā (note that the last syllable of the preceding line is ma), or it might be that trṣṭāmā as intended; this latter is a palaeographic possibility and occurs as the name of a river RV. 10. 75. 6. For the second part of the stanza I have nothing worth suggesting. In the third part sāmākam may be intended, and we may read piyārum; for vapsa we might then read with Whitney-Roth vāpa.

For the last two stanzas we may read: yad asmāsu duṣvapnyam yad goṣu yac ca no gr̥he | sāmākam devapiyūm piyārum niṣkam iva prati muñcatām z 5 z navāratnīn 'apamāyām asmākam tanvas pari | duṣvapnyam sarvam durbhūtam dviṣate nir dviṣāmasi z 6 z 5 z anu 6 zz

While not wholly satisfactory this is rather better than the version of Ç., in which the last stanza is not metrical: I believe it is so here.

31. [f. 57 b, l. 14.]

Cf. MS. 2. 4. 7.

devā marutaṣ prṣṇimāta-  
ro apo dattoditīm bhiṇta | divas prthivyā uror antari-  
kṣāt ta-  
smāi kṣattrāyā neta vrahmaṇābhyah prajābhyā ābhyā  
oṣadhībhyas svāhā  
devā agnī indra sūrya apah devāç cojo mittrāvaruṇā  
yamaḥ  
tapaḥ devāṣ pitaro māvyāṣ kravyāpaḥ devāpsuṣado pām  
napāt tañnū-

[f. 58 a.] napām narācañsāpo dattoditiṁ bhīnta deva vṛhas-  
pate apo dehy aditiṁ bhiñ-  
ti | deva prajāpate apaḥ deva paramēsthin āpo dehy aditiṁ  
bhiñti | devas pr-  
thivyā uror antarikṣāt tammāi kṣattrāyā nena prahmaṇa-  
bhyaḥ prajābhya ābhya oṣa-  
dhībhyas svāhā z 1 z

Read: devā marutaḥ prṇimātaro apo dattodadhiṁ bhīnta |  
divas prthivyā uror antarikṣāt tasmāi kṣattrāya na ita | vrah-  
maṇābhyaḥ prajābhya ādbhya oṣadhībhyas svāhā z 1 z devā  
agna indra sūryāpo °° | divas °° z 2 z devāc tchojo mitrā-  
varuṇāryamann apo °° | divas °° z 3 z devāḥ pitaro vasav-  
yāḥ kravyādo 'po °° | divas °° z 4 z devā apsuśado 'pām na-  
pāt tanūnapān narācañsāpo dattodadhiṁ bhīnta | divas °° z  
5 z deva vṛhaspate apo dehy udadhiṁ bhīndhi | divas °° na  
ihi | vrahmaṇābhyaḥ °° z 6 z deva prajāpate apo dehy uda-  
dhiṁ bhīndhi | divas °° z 7 z deva paramēsthinn apo dehy  
udadhiṁ bhīndhi | divas prthivyā uror antarikṣāt tasmāi kṣa-  
trāya na ihi | vrahmaṇābhyaḥ prajābhya ādbhya oṣadhībhyas  
svāhā z 8 z 1 z

In the stanza corresponding to our st. 3 MS. has devāc  
çarmaṇyā, which suggests for our text the possibility of devāc  
çarma no; I have thought also of devā açvināu, but neither  
of these is compelling.

32. [f. 58 a, l. 4.]

Q. 2. 34.

prajāpater jāyamānaḥ prajā jātāc ca yā i-  
māḥ tā asmāi prativedayā cikitvān anu manyataṁ eṣāṁ  
īce paçu-  
patiḥ paçūnām catuṣpadām uta vā ye dvipadaḥ niṣkrītās  
te yajñi-  
yā yanti lokam rāyas poṣā yajamanam majantam pramuñ-  
canto bhuvanasya  
gopā gātum devā yajamānāya dhattāḥ upākṛtam çiçumānam  
yaj a-  
sthār priyam devānām apy eti pāthaḥ ye badhyamānām  
anu dīdhyānāmñi-  
kṣanta manasā cakṣuṣā ca | agniḥ tñ agre pra mumukta  
devāḥ prajāpatiḥ pra-

jābhis samvidānām yeṣām prāṇo na badhnanti baddham  
 gavām paçūnām uta  
 pāuruṣāṇām | indras tām ya āraṇyaṣ paçavo viçvārūpā  
 uta ye  
 kūrūpāḥ vāyuṣ tvaṇ agre pra mumukta devaṣ prajāpatiṣ  
 prajābhis sam-  
 vidānām prajānantaḥ prati grhṇantu devāṣ prāṇam aṅge-  
 bhyas pary ā ca-  
 rantābhyām gaçcha prati tiṣṭhā çarirāis svargam yāhi  
 pathibhiç çivebhiḥ

z 2 2

Read: prajāpater jāyamānāṣ prajā jātāç ca yā imāḥ | tā  
 asmāi prativedaya cikitvāṇ anu manyatām z 1 z yeṣām içe  
 paçupatiḥ paçūnām catuspadām uta vā ye dvipādaḥ | niṣkṛitāṣ  
 te yajñiṇyām yantu lokam rāyas poṣā yajamānam sacantām  
 z 2 z pramuñcanto bhuvanasya gopā gātum devā yajamānāya  
 dhatta | upākṛtaḥ çaçamānam yad asthāt priyam devānām  
 apy etu pāthaḥ z 3 z ye badhyamānam anu dīdhyāna anvāik-  
 śanta manasā cakṣuṣā ca | agniṣ tām agre pra mumoktu devaḥ  
 prajāpatiṣ prajābhis samvidānaḥ z 4 z yeṣām tprāṇo na badh-  
 nanti baddham gavām paçūnām uta pāuruṣāṇām | indras tām  
 . . . z 5 z ya āraṇyaṣ paçavo viçvarūpā virūpā uta ya eka-  
 rūpāḥ | vāyuṣ tām agre pra mumoktu devaṣ prajāpatiṣ prajā-  
 bhis samvidānaḥ z 6 z prajānantaḥ prati grhṇantu devāṣ  
 prāṇam aṅgebhyas pary ācarantam | dyām gaçcha prati tiṣṭhā  
 çarirāis svargam yāhi pathibhiç çivebhiḥ z 7 z 2 z

These stanzas appear also TS. 3. 1. 4. 1 and KS. 30. 8  
 our first stanza is not in Ç, and our fifth is new. Our pāda  
 2b is a mixture of the version of Ç. catuspadām uta yo divi-  
 padām, and that of KS. catuspāda uta ye dvipādaḥ; it might  
 be better to read catuspāda in our version. I think the simplest  
 emendation in its st. 5a would be prāṇena. In 6b I have  
 inserted virūpā which all the texts have.

33. [f. 58 a, l. 16.]

Ç. 2. 6.

mamāṣ tvāgna ṛtavo vardhayantu samvatsara ṛṣayo yā nu  
 sakhyā | sam dyumnena dīdhihi rocanena viçvā ā bhābhiḥ  
 pradiçaç ca-  
 tasraḥ | sam ceddhyasvāgne prati bodhayenam uç ca tiṣṭha  
 mahate sāubhagā-



ya | mā te riṣaṁn upasattā te agne vrahmaṇās te yačasas  
 santu pā-  
 [f. 58 b.] nye tvām agne vṛṇute vrahmaṇā ime çivo gre  
 prabhṛṇo nedihi sapattrā-  
 gre abhimābhicad u bhavaḥ sve kṣa didihy aprayucchan.  
 ihāivāgne  
 adhi dhārayā rayiṁ mā tvā dabhaṁ pūrvacittā nikāriṇaḥ  
 kṣattra-  
 m agne sūyamam astu tubhyam uta sattrā vardhatām te  
 niṣkṛtaḥ kṣettraṇā-  
 gne mbena saṁ rabhasva mittreṇāgne mittradheyam vaca-  
 sva | sajātānām madhya-  
 meṣṭheha ma syā rājñām agne vihavyo didihya | ati nuho  
 ti nirṛ-  
 tīr any atātīr ati dviṣaḥ viçvā hy agne duritā cara tvam  
 athāsma-  
 bhyām sahavīraṁ rayiṁ dāḥ anādhr̥ṣyo jātavedā aniṣṭhato  
 virā-  
 ḍ agne kṣattribhir didihya vi mīvā pramuñcaṁ manuṣye-  
 bhyaç çivebhir a-  
 bhya pari pāhi no gayyāiḥ z 3 z

Read: samās tvāgna ṛtavo vardhayantu samvatsarā ṛṣayo  
 yā nu sakhyā | saṁ dyumnena didihi rocanena viçvā ā bhāhi  
 pradiçaç catasraḥ z 1 z saṁ cedhyasvāgne prati bodhayāinam  
 uc ca tiṣṭha mahate sāubhagāya | mā te riṣaṁn upasattāro  
 agne vrahmaṇās te yačasas santu mānye z 2 z tvām agne  
 vṛṇute vrahmaṇā ime çivo 'gne prabhūr nu na edhi | sapatna-  
 hāgne abhimatijid u bhava sve kṣaye didihy aprayucchan z  
 3 z ihāivāgne adhi dhārayā rayiṁ mā tvā dabhaṁ pūrvacittā  
 nikāriṇaḥ | kṣatraṁ suyamam astu tubhyam uta sattā vard-  
 hatām te 'niṣkṛtaḥ z 4 z kṣatreṇāgne svena saṁ rabhasva  
 mitreṇāgne mittradheyam vacasva | sajātānām madhyameṣṭhā iha  
 sa syā rājñām agne vihavyo didihiha z 5 z ati 'nuho 'ti nirṛ-  
 tīr aty arātīr ati dviṣaḥ | viçvā hy agne duritā cara tvam  
 athāsmabhyām sahavīraṁ rayiṁ dāḥ z 6 z anādhr̥ṣyo jātavedā  
 aniṣṭrto virāḍ agne kṣatrabhṛd didihiha | viçvā amivāḥ pra-  
 muñcan manuṣyebhyaç çivebhir adya pari pāhi no gayāiḥ  
 z 7 z 3 z

In st. 1b it is entirely possible that the reading yā nu  
 sakhyā is only a corruption of yāni satyā which all the others  
 have. The reading of st. 2c given in our ms. seems to involve

a mixture of the Ç. form and the form given by the Yajus texts. In st. 4d upasattā as in the other texts would probably be better. St. 5c has appeared in this book no. 1. 4c. In st. 7d the ms. makes the correction to adya. Our st. 4 is Ç. 7. 82. 3 and our st. 7 is Ç. 7. 84. 1.

34. [f. 58 b, l. 10.]

Ç. 3. 20.

ayaṃ te yonir ṛtviyo ya-  
to jāto arocathāḥ taṃ jānann agna ā rohathā no vardhayā  
rayiṃ

Read rohāthā in cd, and rayim before the period and numeral.

pra  
dātāraṃ havāmahe agnim ugram ūtaye | çuciryo vṛtra-  
haṇttamāṃ

The first pāda of these appears TS. 1. 7. 13. 4a, but refers to Indra. In the margin opposite these pādas is the following: somaiṃ rājānam āçervacana (to be corrected āçirvacana). It seems then that there is here a grouping of four pratikas, and that they do not form a stanza of this hymn.

In the third pāda vṛtrahantamam seems to be intended.  
agne çchā vadeha naḥ | pratyaiṃ nas sumanā bhava pra no  
yaccha viçāṃ pate dhanadāsi nas tvam.

In a read 'çchā, place colon after bhava: in d read dhanadāsi, and tvam before the period.

prā no yacchatv aryamā pra bhaga-  
ṣ pra pūṣā prota sūnṛtāḥ rayiṃ devī dadhātu naḥ

In a read pra; drawing on Ç. we may read for b pra bhagaṣ pra vṛhaspatiḥ. In c read sūnṛtā.

aryamaṇam vṛha-  
spatim indraṃ dānayā codaya vātaṃ viṣṇuṃ sarasvatīṃ  
savitāraṃ ca

vājinaṃ

In pāda b read dānāya.

somaṃ rājānam avase gniṃ gīrbhir havāmahe ādityaṃ  
viṣṇuṃ sūryaṃ vrahmāṇam ca vṛhaspatiṃ

Read 'gniṃ in b; in d vṛhaspatim before the period. The stanza is no. 5.

suhaveha havāmahe | ya-  
thā nas sarvam ij janas saṅgasatyāṃ sumanā hasāt. |

The omission of pāda a is probably accidental; in Ç. it is *indravāyū ubhāv iha*. In c read *sarva*; the form *sarvam* may be due in some way to TS. 4. 5. 1. 2, where *sarvam* *ij jagat* stands. For d read *saṅgatyām sumanā asat*.

[f. 59 a.] *tvaṁ no agna agnibhir vrahmāṇaṁ ca vardhaya*  
*tvaṁ no devatātaye rayiṁ dānā-*  
*ya codaya |*

In pāda a read *agne*; it seems very probable that *vrahmā-*  
*ṇam* in b is only a corruption of *vrahma yajñam* as in Ç.  
*vājasyedaṁ prasave sambabhūva ya imā ca viçvā bhuva-*  
*nāny antaḥ utātiçchantam dāmayatu prajānām rayiṁ dhehi*  
*sarvavīram*

*ni yacchatam. |*

While it seems possible to read pāda a as it stands here, ending with *ya*, I am inclined to think that *ya* represents only a transitional sound of pronunciation and that the correct reading is *saṁ babhūvemā ca* ∴ in Ç. too I think we might emend to *saṁ babhūvemā* on the basis of dittography. For our pāda c read *utāditsantam dāpayatu prajānan; yacchatām* in d.

*dūrān me pañca pradiço dūrām urvī yathābalam.*  
*prāpeyaṁ sarvā mākūtīr manasā hṛdayena ca |*

In a read *duhrām*, in b *duhrām urvīr*: in c *ma ākūtīr*.

*gosaniṁ vāca-*  
*m udeyaṁ varcasa mābhy aruṇyaṁhi | āyu rundhām sar-*  
*vato vā tvaṣṭa pū-*

*ṣāya çriyatām z 4 z*

Read: *gosaniṁ vācam udeyaṁ varcasā mābhy taruṇyaṁhi |*  
*ā rundhām sarvato vāyus tvaṣṭā poṣāya dhriyatām z 10 z 4 z*

It is possible that the end of pāda b has gotten confused with the beginning of pāda c, and that we ought to read as in Ç. *mābhyudihi*. The form suggested for d appears Ç. 6. 141. 1b.

35. [f. 59 a, l. 7.]

Ç. 19. 15.

*yata indra bhayāmahe tato no abhayaṁ*  
*kṛdhi | maghavaṁ sakti tava tvaṁ na tudbhir vi dviṣo vi*  
*mṛdho jahi | i-*  
*ndraṁ vayam anorādham havāmahe anūrādhyāssad dvi-*  
*padāç catuṣpadā |*

mā na sonāraruṣīr usa gur viṣūcīr indra druho vi nā-  
 çaya | i-  
 ndras trātotu vṛtrahā parampā no vareṇyāḥ | ca rakṣatā  
 caramatas sva  
 madhyatas sva paçcāt sva purasthān no stu z rurūm no  
 lokam anu neṣi vidvā-  
 n svarva jyotir abhayaṁ svasti | ugrā ta i sthavirasya  
 bāhuḥ upa kṣe-  
 ma çaraṇā vṛhantā | abhayaṁ naṣ karaty antarikṣam a-  
 bhayaṁ dyāvāpr-  
 thivī ubhe | abhayaṁ paçcād abhayaṁ purastād uttarā-  
 dhād abhayaṁ no  
 stu abhayaṁ mittrād abhayaṁ amittrābhī jñātād abhayaṁ  
 puro yaḥ abha-  
 yam naktam abhayaṁ divā nas sarvāçā mittram bhavan-  
 tu z 5 z

anu z 7 z

In l. 10 the ms. corrects usa to upa.

Read: yata indra bhayāmahe tato no abhayaṁ kṛdhi |  
 maghavaṁ çagldhi tava tvaṁ na ūtibhir vi dviṣo vi mṛdho  
 jahi z 1 z indraṁ vāyam anūrādham havāmahe anu rādhyās-  
 ma dvipadā catuṣpadā | mā naḥ senā araruṣīr upa gur viṣū-  
 cir indra druho vi nāçaya z 2 z indras trātota vṛtrahā paras-  
 pā no vareṇyāḥ | sa rakṣitā caramatas sa madhyatas sa paçcāt  
 sa purasthān no 'stu z 3 z urūm no lokam anu neṣi vidvān  
 svarvaj jyotir abhayaṁ svasti | ugrā ta indra sthavirasya bāhū  
 upa kṣiyema çaraṇā vṛhantā z 4 z abhayaṁ naṣ karaty an-  
 tarikṣam abhayaṁ dyāvāprthivī ubhe | abhayaṁ paçcād abha-  
 yaṁ purastād uttarād adharād abhayaṁ no 'stu z 5 z abha-  
 yaṁ mitrād abhayaṁ amitrād abhayaṁ jñātād abhayaṁ puro  
 yaḥ | abhayaṁ naktam abhayaṁ divā nas sarvā āçā mitram  
 bhavantu z 6 z 5 z anu 7 z.

36. [f. 59 a, l. 18.]

Contains RV. 1. 102. 4, 6, 9, 10.

me prehi māpa krāmaç catṛṇām vedākhida |  
 indras sapattraha bhīmaḥ saṁjayas te samānṛdhak. | tvaṁ  
 [f. 59 b.] jayāsi na parājayāsā abhyeçv āso maghavan ma-  
 hatsu ca | ugraṁ  
 cit tām avase saṁ siçīmahe sa tvaṁ na indra havaneṣu  
 mṛdā | goji-

tā bāhū samakratūyat karmaṇ-karmāṇ ṣaṭamūcīdamkāra |  
 akalpa i-  
 ndro pratimānam ojasā tvaṁ na indra havaneṣu mṛdā |  
 vedāham indra pri-  
 yam asya ṣevadhiṁ yad asya nāma guhyaṁ samīke |  
 samyaj jayāpi magha-  
 vā mamāṁ praty admākam vidhmo vihace havaṁ gamat.  
 z tvā jayema tvayā  
 yujā vṛtā vṛdho asmākam aṇṇam uta vā bhare-bhare | as-  
 mabhyam indra va-  
 rivas sugaṁ kṛdhi pra ṣatruṇām maghavan vṛja tvāṁ de-  
 veṣu prathamam sam ā-  
 rabhe tvaṁ babhūyatha pṛtanāsu sāsahiḥ somaṁ naṣ kārūm  
 upamanyum udbhi-  
 dam indra karāsi prasave ratham puraḥ z 1 z

Read: mā prehi māpa krāmaṣ ṣatruṇām veda ākhida | in-  
 dras sapatnahā bhimaḥ samjāyas te sam āṇṛdhat z 1 z tvaṁ  
 jayāsi na parājaya tasā arbheṣv aso maghavan mahatsu ca |  
 ugraṁ cit tvāṁ avase sam ṣiṣmahe sa tvaṁ na indra hava-  
 neṣu mṛdā z 2 z gojitā bāhū sa sam akratūyat karman-karmaṇ  
 ṣaṭamūtiṣ khajamkāraḥ | akalpa indraṣ pratimānam ojasā sa  
 tvaṁ na indra havaneṣu mṛdā z 3 z vedāham indra priyam  
 asya ṣevadhiṁ yad asya nāma guhyaṁ samīke | samyaj jayāpi  
 maghavā samāṁ praty asmākam tvidhmo vihacet havaṁ gamat  
 z 4 z vayan jayema tvayā yujā vṛtā vṛdho asmākam aṇṇam  
 ud avā bhare-bhare | asmabhyam indra varivas sugaṁ kṛdhi  
 pra ṣatruṇām maghavan vṛṣṇyā ruja z 5 z tvāṁ deveṣu pra-  
 thamaṁ sam ārabhe tvaṁ babhūtha pṛtanāsu sāsahiḥ | somaṁ  
 naṣ kārūm upamanyum udbhidam indra karāsi prasave ratham  
 puraḥ z 6 z 1 z

The reading given for st. 1c seems probable; but we must also consider samjāyate samāṁ ṛdhak. The general sense of st. 2 ab is fairly clear, but the exact reading I cannot get: RV. has tvaṁ jigetha na dhanā rurodhithārbheṣv ājā °°. In st. 3a the reading given seems possible, but in view of RV. form gojitā bāhū amitakratuḥ simaḥ we might conclude that the Pāipp. form was °° simo 'mitakratur yaḥ. In st. 4d indro vihace might be considered a possibility. St. 5 is given as it stands both in RV. and Q. 7. 50. 4. Our stt. 1 and 4 have no parallels.

The ms. corrects to jayāmi in st. 2 and asmākam in st. 5.

37. [f. 59 b, l. 10.]

smara smaro si

devāir datto si smara | amuṣya manāssara yathāhaṁ kāmā-  
 maye tathā ṣo-  
 ṣocayāmya hṛdayaṁ kāmā gacchāṅga jvaro dahatu ṣoca-  
 tutmanā | saṅka-  
 lpāstyā smarantādhibhir yamāivāsya didhmo hanam anyā-  
 narānandāḥ  
 pramuthyato manumaho nāivo naṣṭakarta arṇavaḥ āveṇiṇiḥ  
 pradrupo ro-  
 payiṣṇur etās tvābhya prāhiṇo vrahmaṇā | ṛtukantunī ṛtvidā  
 grāmā-  
 bhyāsinī svapna yacchatu dudhnā manomuha | āveṇiṇiḥ  
 pradrupo ro-  
 po ropayiṣṇur erās tvādyā prāhiṇomi vrahmaṇā | indrāgnī  
 mittrāvaruṇā cebhyotayata | dyāvāpṛthivī mā-  
 [f. 60 a.] tariṣvā | aṣvinā devas savitā bhagaṣ ca mana-  
 stūdhnayantu naram āsā tṛtrayas triṇ-  
 ṣas tvā bhūdhnaṇtu devāgniḥ cid yam upa te bharadvājaḥ  
 cam uta yas triṇṣatāṅḥ chinne  
 vanordhvaṁ dhanā pra plavasva z etāḥ patyanty ābhyo  
 vārṣikīr iva vidyutaḥ tāsām  
 tigrāho bhava sāyaṁ goṣṭho gavām iva niṣṛṣo nipāti-  
 tābhyo veṣayā-  
 mi te | tās tvāsam uttantīr bodhayantīr upā sabhām. etās  
 tvādyā prāhiṇo-  
 mi vrahmaṇā striṣ prā purogavām tās tvā tṛṇam iva ṣoka-  
 yām atho tvā ro-

dayā bahuḥ z z z

In f. 59 b l. 15 the ms. corrects bhya to dya: also dyo to dhyo f. 60 a l. 3.

Out of all this I have been able to emend only some few portions; the sphere of the charm is evident but the particular intent is not.

For the first stanza we might read the following: smara smaro 'si devāir datto 'si smara | amuṣya manas smara yathāhaṁ kāmāye tathā ṣocayāmya hṛdayam. Next we seem to have four pādas of fair cadence, thus: kāmā gacchāṅgā jvaro dahatu ṣocatu manāḥ | saṅkalpā asya smarantādhibhir tyamāivāsyā dadhmāu. In the last pāda we might possibly read yān

evāśya. The next pāda would seem to be hanam anyanarā-nandāḥ meaning perhaps "may I smite those women who take pleasure with other women's husbands"; and next we seem to have pramuhyato manomuho. After this I can get nothing helpful until the sixth line below where the reading might be chinne vana ūrdhvaṁ dhanā pra plavasva.

We seem to get next the following stanza: etāṣ patyanty ādhyo varṣikir iva vidyutaḥ | tāsāṁ pratigraho bhava sāyaṁ goṣṭho gavām iva. There follows a stanza whose first two pādas parallel Ç. 1: 131. 1 ab, and our pāda a seems to be the same with that of Ç.; the hemistich might read thus: ni çirṣato ni pattata ādhyo veçayāmi te. A bold rewriting would give a second hemistich for this stanza thus: tās tvā-san uttarāvātir bodhayanīr upā sabhām. It looks however as if the stanza ends at the colon after vrahmaṇā: perhaps this last clause which appears three times in the hymn might be read etās tvad ādhyāḥ prahīṇomi vrahmaṇā. Out of strīṣ prā purogavāṁ I get nothing; but for the rest it seems fairly safe to read tās tvā tṛṇam iva çocayān atho tvā rodayān bahu.

It will of course be evident that these emendations are offered with no great assurance. The amount of material would make about nine stanzas: the hymn is no. 2 in the anuvāka.

38. [f. 60 a, l. 7.]

Verses found in Ç. 4. 14; 9. 5; and Kāuç. 68. 26.

ajo hy agner ajaniṣṭa çokāt so paçyej jani-  
tāram agre | tena devā devatām āgrāyan tena rohān aro-  
ham upa medhīyān-  
saḥ z kramadhvam agnibhin nāka mekṣān hasteṣu bibhrata  
divas pṛṣaṁ svar gatvā  
miçrā devebhir ādhvaṁ | agne prehi prathamo deva etām  
cakṣur devānām uta ma-  
rtyānām. | iyakṣamāṇā bhṛgubhis sajoṣasas svar yantu ya-  
jamānā  
s svasti z svar yanto nāpekṣantantā dyām rohantu rā-  
dhasaḥ agni viçvatodhāraṁ sa-  
vidvāṁso vitenire | agniṁ yunajmi çavasā ghṛtena divyaṁ  
samudraṁ payasaṁ





is reason to doubt whether the last part of st. 11 is really part of the hymn.

In st. 7b the ms. corrects to adhy.

39. [f. 60 b, l. 3.]

yā te prajā

vihatā parābhū dhruveṇāçvitāpaṁ bharāmi | agniṣ te tām  
ādyamaḥ

punar dād vāiçvānaraḥ

Read parābhūd in pāda a; in b dhruveṇa is pretty clearly the first word, and saṁ bharāmi may be the verb, but I can get nothing more out of the pāda. For pādas cd we might read agniṣ te tām +\*ādyamaḥ punar dadād vāiçvānaraḥ: pāda c lacks one syllable.

paramasmābhyo mnastaṁ patiç çivo gni dvitīyaṁ  
mī prajāṁ

jaradaṣṭī sataṣva | muñcāinaṁ grāhyān nīrttir yad aban-  
dhāgne prajāṁ prajā-

kāmāya dhehi |

Possible readings here seem to be 'mnas tām and 'gnir in a, dvitīyaṁ me and jaradaṣṭim in b: śādhasva is the only thing I can suggest for sataṣva. For cd we may read muñcāinaṁ grāhyā nīrttir yad abadhānād agne ° °.

tvām agne vṛṣabhaṁ vāçiteyam ānyajāt putrakāmāsu  
paryati | tām ā roha sumanasyamānaṣ prajāpateṣ pra ṇaya  
reṣiṇīnām |

At the end of a we might read vāçata iyaṁ; anyajāḥ, if it may mean "ready to give birth again", might stand in b, with pary eti. It would seem that prajāpate ought to stand in d, but reṣiṇīnām I cannot solve; enām may be at the end of the pāda.

tubhyaṁ nārī putrakāmā yam agne çuddhaṁ pūtaṁ ghṛtaṁ  
ā juhoti | tā

m ani tām ani śkandha vīlayasva netodhā ugraḥ prajāyā  
saṁ sṛjīnām

In a we may read yad agne: in b I would read tām adhi skanda, for d retodhā ugraḥ prajāyā saṁ sṛjīnām. Cf. Ç. 5. 25. 8.

parvatād divo yene gātrād-gātrāt samāçrutam. neto devas-  
ya devasma-

rāu parṇam iyādhān

This appears in Ç. 5. 25. 1. In a read yoner, in b samāsṛtam seems possible; Ç. has samābhṛtam. For c read reto devasya devās, and for d sarāu parṇam ivā dhān seems possible; Ç. has çepo garbhasya retodbhāḥ sarāu parṇam ivā dadhat.

indrasya jātasya prapapāta nābhis tām ekodenaḥ prati jagrāhaḥ kāmī | tvayā vyaṁ vrahmaṇās somapās supayā s sutayāna sūyate z 4 z

The first letter of the last line is not certain. I can do no more with this than the division of words indicates. The stanza is no. 6 and the hymn no. 4.

This is clearly a charm for successful conception, and it seems to be intended to help obtain a child in place of one lost.

40. [f. 60 b, l. 14.]

tyajanān tyajanam jātam tyajanam  
jāyate çara | na eṣati na çocati yas tvā bi-  
bharti tejana pāutram asi tejanaḥ pāutram te prabhañjanam  
pāutro stu so kā-  
mo yena mūrchām āyāmahe z yā doṣaḥ çaro stv odane-  
bhyaḥ kṛṇavadbhyām tāva do-  
ṣa tvaṁ tejanas tyajanam maruto dadham. tyajanam me viçve  
devās tyajanam pita-  
ro dadham. tenāham anyeṣām striyo tyāksam purā ma-  
dhyadinād uta | purā sā-  
[f. 61 a.] yityādi tyāksam tejane ya mahad vilam | asthād  
dyāumr asthāt prthivy asthād viçvam i-  
dam jagat. asthād dvihvṛdevās tiṣṭhāt kāmō ayaṁ tava  
z 5 z a 8

zz zz ity ātharvaṇikapāipalādaçākhāyām tṛtīyaḥ kāṇḍa  
s samāptāḥ zz zz

Read: tyajanāt tyajanam jātam tyajanam jāyate çara | nā-  
ṣati na çocati yas tvā bibharti tejana z 1 z pavitram asi  
tejana pavitram te prabhañjanam | pavitro 'stu sa kāmō yena  
mūrchām āyāmahe z 2 z yāvān doṣaḥ çaro 'stv odanebhyaḥ  
kṛṇavadbhyām | tāvān doṣas tvaṁ tejana tyajanam maruto  
dadhan z 3 z tyajanam me viçve devās tyajanam pitaro da-  
dhan | tenāham anyeṣām striyo \* \* \* z 4 z \* \* \* tyāksam  
purā madhyandinād uta | purā 'sāyityādi tyāksam tejane ya  
mahad bilam z 5 z asthād dyāur asthāt prthivy asthād viç-

vam idaṁ jagat | asthād viḥvarita eva tiṣṭhāt kāmo ayaṁ  
tava z 6 z 5 z anu 8 z

ity ātharvanikapāippalādaçākḥāyām tṛtīyaṣ kāṇḍas samāp-  
taḥ zz

In st. 1b çarah seems entirely possible though not necessary. The reading given for 3ab seems possible, but the word odanebhyas creates doubts; I should think that something like dhanubhyaṣ karṇavadbhyaḥ would fit the context better. The ms. gives no hint of the lacuna I have indicated in stt. 4 and 5 but I am fairly sure that my arrangement is correct. In st. 5c çāyivād u would be good if we may take çāyitva to mean "bed-time". St. 6ab appears Ç. 6. 44. 1ab and 6. 77. 1ab; the conjecture for pāda c fits in so neatly that I have ventured to write it as a sure correction. But after all is said this hymn is left in an uncertain state.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

In each of the following stanzas the first line of transliteration does not correspond exactly with the ms. in spacing: in hymns 8. 5; 12. 8; 16. 3; 18. 3; 22. 4; 25. 12; 34. 8. In each case the line of transliteration should be indented a little to indicate that the first word of the line is *not* at the left margin of the ms.

This postscript seems the best way to correct these errors, which will probably cause no serious confusion.

*The Vedic hapax súśíśvi-s.* — By EDWIN W. FAY,  
The University of Texas.

In *RV.* 1. 65, which is addressed to Agni, we find the following *pādas*:

2 c vārdhantīm āpaḥ panvā súśíśvim

d ṛtasya yonā gārbhe sújātam,

of which the first means in Latin something like

augent eum lymphae laude (?) súśíśvim

But what does *súśíśvim* mean? Oldenberg (*Sacr. Books of the East*, 46, 54) renders by 'the fine child' and Griffith's rendering is 'the growing babe'. I suggest that *súśíśvis* is rather the result of spirant shifting, in which popular etymology played a rôle, for *śuśi-śvis*. Native authorities define *śuśi-*, for which *suśi-* is a frequent variant (cf. also *suśi-rā-s* (1) 'cavus', (2) 'reed, bamboo'), by (1) *śoṣa-* 'ariditas'; and actual usage attests (2) 'cavum'. For (1) cf. *śúṣka-* 'aridus', noting *RV.* 1. 68. 2 b:

śúṣkād yád deva jīvá jāniṣṭhāh

arido <ligno> cum dive vivus natus es.

With these facts before us the interpretation of *súśi-śvis* as 'in arido <ligno> turgens' is self-suggesting, and the interpretation gains point for 1. 65. 2 c by the juxtaposition of the 'waters' with the 'dry'. The production of fire by the drill and the use of dry twigs as kindling need but to be noted, and I have elsewhere interpreted Skr. *óṣa-dhi-s* 'plant' as generalized from an original 'Brenn-Pflanze' (*TAPA.*, 41, 25). If, however — and this I did in *KZ.*, 37, 154, to the satisfaction of as sane a mythologist as the late V. Henry — we can trace the Prometheus myth in the *Brāhmaṇas*, we must ask ourselves whether the 2<sup>d</sup> meaning of 'cavum' is not rather to be recognized in *súśi-śvis*. Then the epithet will refer to the hollow reed of the Prometheus fire-myth. Even so, the reed is probably but an allotropic designation for the socket slab

wherein fire was begotten. The idea of 'hollow' in *súsi-śvis* lends point to the two references in 1. 65. 2 d to the womb wherein Agni was born.

For the posterius, *-śvi-*, only a word need be said: it is a weakest grade rootnoun used as a compounding final. The root is Skr. *śvā(y)-*: Av. *spā(y)-* 'turgere'. In the Agni-epithet *Mātari-śvan-* which, as I am explaining in *KZ.* 45, 134 meant 'in materia turgens' (= 'materiae puer'), we have a cognate posterius *-śvan-* from the same root. As for the development of *mātari-*: Lat. *māteria* from *mātar-* 'mother', *credat Judaeus Apella*. But if I am right in deriving *māteria* from *\*(t)mater-* 'cutter' (of timber), it is possible that *\*māter-* 'mother' also comes from *(t)mater-* 'cutter'. Testimony to the activity of woman in wood-cutting in the savage and semi-savage races could doubtless be found in abundance (see, e. g., Mason, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, pp. 32, 153), but the function of woman as a 'cutter' is better displayed, we may think, in the following: "The husband has slain the deer . . . and there his share of the operation ends. The woman . . . removes the skin . . . and then divides the carcass for immediate consumption or to be dried. In these (*sic*) she is a butcher, and the whole earth are (*sic*) her shambles. This meat she then proceeds to *apportion according to the rules of her tribe and her clan*" (*ibid.* p. 27). In Germany, if my limited observation goes for anything, woman is still the carver. — In the final shaping of *\*(t)māter-* the inevitable fusion therewith of the babbling child's *mamma* is not to be lost to sight.

#### Postscript.

For the explanation of Skr. *ōśadhis* as 'brenn-pflanze' cf. *φρύγανον* (: *φρύγει* 'roasts'), which became a regular designation, in the botanical classification of Theophrastus, for the class of shrubs.

In *súsi-śvis* the posterius should perhaps be written *-śiśvis*, with reduplication, cf. *saṁ-śiśvarī* (in *K. Z.* l. s. c.).

*Sanskrit dhēnā* = *Avestan daenā* = *Lithuanian dainā*. —

By Dr. SAMUEL GRANT OLIPHANT, Professor in Grove City College, Grove City, Penna.

The two objects of this paper are, first, to determine the meaning of the Sanskrit *dhēnā* and then to establish the equation that gives its title.

The word *dhēnā* is found fifteen times in the *RV*. In the later Vedic and Brahmanic literature we find seven<sup>1</sup> of these passages repeated a total of seventeen times. The word is found also in two compounds in the *RV*. One of these occurs twice only and in the same *sūkta*. The other occurs once in *RV*. and twice in the later literature. Two other instances, not in the *RV*., are found later, one occurring in six different works<sup>2</sup> and the other in three<sup>3</sup>. Elsewhere it is found, — so far as the writer has discovered — only in *Nāighaṇṭuka* I, 11, in the *Unadiganasutra* (268<sup>c</sup>) of Hemachandra<sup>4</sup> and in *Sāyaṇa*.

The *PWB.* defines *dhēnā* in the sg. as “milchende Kuh” and in the pl. as “Milchtrank”, in all passages of the *RV*., except three. For I, 101, 10 and V, 30, 9, it says, “viell. Stute” and for I, 2, 3, “viell. vom Gespann Vayu’s zu verstehen ist”. Grassmann’s *Wörterbuch* has the definitions “Milchkuh, Stute,

<sup>1</sup> Thus *RV*. I, 101, 10<sup>b</sup> = *Nāigh.* 6, 17; *RV*. III, 34, 3<sup>d</sup> = *AV*. XX, 11, 3<sup>d</sup>; *Vāj.* S., 33, 26<sup>d</sup>; *RV*. IV, 58, 6<sup>a</sup> = *Vāj.* S., 13, 38<sup>a</sup>; 17, 94<sup>a</sup>; *KS.*, 40, 7<sup>a</sup>; *Tāit.* S., 4, 2, 9, 6<sup>a</sup>; *MS.*, 2, 7, 17<sup>a</sup>; *Tāit.* Ār. A., 10, 40<sup>a</sup>; *CB.*, 7, 5, 2, 11; *Āp.* C., 17, 18, 1<sup>a</sup>; *RV*., V, 62, 2<sup>c</sup> = *MS.*, 4, 14, 10<sup>c</sup>; *TB.*, 2, 8, 6, 6<sup>c</sup>; *RV*. VII, 94, 4<sup>c</sup> = *SV.*, 2, 150<sup>c</sup>; *RV*., X, 43, 6<sup>b</sup> = *AV.*, XX, 17, 6<sup>b</sup>; *RV*., X, 104, 3<sup>c</sup> = *AV.*, XX, 25, 2<sup>c</sup>, 33, 2<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Dhenā brhaspatē* in *MS.*, 1, 9, 2; *KS.*, 9, 10; *GB.*, 2, 2, 9; *Tāit.* Ār., 3, 9, 1; *Vāit.* S. 15, 3; *Āp.* C., 11, 3, 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Dhenābhiḥ kalpamānāḥ* in *MS.* 4, 13, 4; *KS.*, 16, 21; and *Tāit.* Br., 3, 6, 5, 1.

<sup>4</sup> The reference in *PWB.* to the *Anekārthasaṅgraha* (2. 271) of this author seems to be an error, as the edition of Zachariae (2. 267) defines *dhēna* and *dhenī* but has no mention of *dhenā*.

Milchtrank" and in ten instances agrees with *PWB.* in their distribution, but not in the other five. Commentators and translators differ widely in their interpretations. Sāyana gives six different definitions of the word. Grassmann in his *RV.* disagrees with himself in his *WB.* in five instances, withdraws "Stute" and enters "Lippen", "Weiber" and "Gewässer". Griffith's translation agrees in general with Sāyana, but adds one definition and withdraws another. Ludwig consistently renders in all instances by "Stimme", "Lieder" or "Schall", but considers this difficult in V. 62, 2 and desiderates "Ströme". Geldner in *Ved. Stud.* II, 35 ff. has made a special study of the word and, as the result, propounds the definitions: 1. Schwester, viell. auch Geliebte, Frau. 2. Weibliches Tier, Kuh. 3. a. Zunge, b, Stimme, Rede, Lob. In all but three instances he practically agrees with Sāyana. Oldenberg in his *Vedaforschung* 93 ff., has a special excursus on the word and concludes that in all but two instances its meaning is "Milchströme", either literally or figuratively, and in those two instances it still refers to potable fluids.

The table opposite shows at a glance the various renderings proposed in each instance.

In view of this diversity of interpretation which attaches several incongruous meanings to what would seem a single word, it has seemed advisable to study the word anew to establish its fundamental signification and to trace its semantic development.

In Nāighaṇṭuka (*l. c.*) we find *dhenā* listed as one of the fifty-seven synonyms of *vāk*. This is the one meaning most frequently given by Sāyana and best supported by native tradition as will appear in the sequel. It lends itself to our equation. So we start with it in the consideration of the several passages.

Among these we find the greatest degree of unanimity in X, 104, 10—

*vīrényaḥ krátur índraḥ suçastīr  
utāpi dhénā puruhūtām ūtte |*

(Heroic strength and goodly praise is Indra. Yea, also *dhéna* praises him, invoked of many).

It seems clear as Ludwig observes "daß es nicht Kuh oder Milch bedeuten kann". So Grassmann's sober second thought leads him here to substitute "Lippen" in his *RV.* for the "Milch-

R. V.	PWB.	GWB.	Sāyana	Ludwig	GRV.	Griffith	Geldner
I, 2, 3	Gespann Vayu's	Milchkuh	vāk	Schall	Milchkuh	Voice	Rede
I, 55, 4	Milchende Kuh	"	stutlakṣaṇām vācan	Stimme	Milchtrank	"	Stimme, Rede
I, 101, 10	Stute	Stute	jīhvopajīhvike	Stimmen	Lippen	Lips	Zunge
I, 141, 4	Milchtrank	Milchkuh	vācaḥ	Lieder	Kühe	Songs	Reden
III, 1, 9	"	Milchtrank	vācaḥ	Stimmen	Tränke	Voices	Stimme, Rede
III, 34, 3	"	Milchkuh	gā	"	Kühe	Milch-kine	Schwester
IV, 58, 6	"	Milchtrank	nadyas (?)	Lieder	Tränke	Oblations	Reden
V, 80, 9	Stute	Stute	striyān	Stimmen	Weiber	Voices	Geliebte oder Frauen
V, 62, 2	Milchtrank	Milchkuh	dyutiḥ	"	Kühe	"	Kühe
VII, 21, 3	"	Stute	nadyas	Lieder	Gewässer	Rivers	Schwester oder Geliebte = Gewässer
VII, 94, 4	"	Milchtrank	vāk	Stimmen	Trank	Words	Stimme, Rede
VIII, 32, 22	"	"	stutiḥ	"	"	Voice	" "
X, 43, 6	"	"	"	Lieder	Milchgetränk	Songs of praise	" "
X, 104, 3	"	"	stutivācaḥ	Stimmen	Milchtrank	Voices	" "
X, 104, 10	Milchende Kuh	Milchkuh	"	Lied	Lippen	Song	" "



kuh" of his *Wörterbuch* and Bergaigne (*La Rel. Ved.* II, 278, n. 1) says: "La vache qui 'invoque' Indra ne peut être que la prière".

The worshipper's voice uplifted in the adoration of song or prayer would seem a better subject for the verb *ṛte* than the lexicographers' "cow" or Oldenberg's "oblation of milk". Moreover, this assumption is greatly strengthened by an examination of the ninety-five passages in the *RV.* that contain this verb. In sixty-three of these it may not be indubitably clear whether the praise, honor, worship, etc., expressed by the verb were manifested by thought and its expression in song, prayer, etc., or by the oblation, offering, etc. As a matter of fact, of course, both were integral parts of the sacrifice. In the great majority of these instances it would seem to the writer that the dominant idea in the verb is that of song or prayer. This may, however, be due to the more or less unconscious bias of one defending a thesis. So let us examine only the thirty-one instances — exclusive of our passage — in which there is an absolutely clear expression. In seven passages the subjects are decisive; viz., I, 142, 4, *matir*; VII, 24, 5, *arkā*; 45, 4, *gīrah*; 91, 2, *susṣutir*; 93, 4, *gīrbhīr viprah*; 94, 5, *vīprāsa*, with *tā gīrbhīr* in 6; VIII, 60, 16, *saptā hōtāras*. In no passage in the *RV.* is *havis* or any word meaning "oblation, offering", etc., used as the subject of this verb. In three passages, — VIII, 43, 22, 24; 44, 6 — the immediate juxtaposition of the verb *ṛu* shows that song or prayer is meant and in X, 66, 14, the same is clearly shown by *vācam*. In thirteen passages the expressed instruments of the action are *sūktēbhīr vācobhīr* (I, 36, 1), *gīrā* (II, 6, 6; III, 27, 2; VIII, 19, 21; 31, 14), *gīrbhīr* (III, 52, 5), *nāmasā* (V, 12, 6; X, 85, 22), *nāmobhīr* (V, 1, 7; 60, 1), *nāmasā gīrbhīr* (X, 85, 21), *stōmāir* (VII, 76, 6) and *gāthābhiḥ* (VIII, 71, 14).

In five passages the expressed means are *haviṣā ghr̥tēna* (I, 84, 18), *haviṛbhīr* (III, 1, 15), *srucā* (V, 14, 3) and *havyēbhīr* (VII, 8, 1; VIII, 74, 6). In the remaining two the expressed means are *nāmobhīr haviṣā* (V, 28, 1) and *yajñēbhīr gīrbhīr* (VI, 2, 2). Excluding these last two passages as neutral because of their participation in both classes, we have a total of twenty-four passages that clearly associate thought, song, or prayer, with the verb and only five that so associate oblation, etc. If then *dhēnā* could be either song or ob-

lation, the mathematical probabilities are about five to one in favor of song.

In the third stanza of this same hymn we have —

*indra dhēnābhir ihā mādayasva*  
*dhībhir viçvābhiḥ çācyā grṇānāḥ | |*

(Rejoice thou here, O Indra, in our songs,  
Hymned mightily in all our thoughts).

We should on *a priori* grounds expect the word to have the same meaning here as in 10 below and we fail to find any reason for thinking otherwise. It is certainly as reasonable to interpret *dhēnābhir* as the worshippers' voices uplifted in song as to substitute the "Milchtrank" of *GRV.* and the lexicographers. This harmonizes nicely with the general context of the hymn, which is replete with the idea of song and praise. Cf. *giro* 1<sup>c</sup>, *ukthavāhaḥ* 2<sup>d</sup>, *dhībhir* ... *grṇānāḥ* 3<sup>d</sup>, *grṇāntaḥ* 4<sup>d</sup>, *stātāra* 5<sup>d</sup>, *brāhmāṇi* 6<sup>a</sup>, *survktīm* 7<sup>b</sup>, *giro* 7<sup>c</sup>, *huvema* 11<sup>a</sup>, *grṇvāntam* 11<sup>c</sup>. There are references, expressed or implied, to the oblation of soma in 1<sup>ad</sup>, 2<sup>bc</sup>, 3<sup>b</sup>, 6<sup>b</sup> and 7<sup>b</sup>, but more than half of these are in the first two stanzas and they do not dominate the entire hymn as do the former.

As Oldenberg (p. 98 f.) feels that the verb *mad* supports the idea of "drink", we may add that this verb is predicated of Indra, relative to *stōmebhir*, in I, 9, 3 and, relative to *gīrbhir*, in I, 51, 1; of the devās, relative to *stōme*, in III, 54, 2: of the worshippers of Indra, relative to *gīrbhir*, in III, 53, 10 and V, 36, 2. Hence the verb is appropriate enough with *dhēnābhir* as songs in the passage before us.

That Indra rejoices in the songs of his worshippers is shown by many passages in the *RV.*: e. g., I, 5, 7, 10; 9, 3, 9; 10, 3, 5, 9, 12; 16, 7; 30, 4, 10, 14; 51, 1; 54, 7; etc. In fact, every *sūkta* in his honor proves it and we have his own word for it in I, 165, 4. So he naturally takes note of such songs and looks with favor upon them. Thus in X, 43, 6—

*vīçam-viçam maghāvā páry açāyata*  
*jānānām dhēnā avacākaçad vīçā |*

(Maghavan came to all the tribes in turn.

And of the songs of men the Bull took note).

and in VIII, 32, 22—

*ihī tisráh parāvāta*  
*ihī páñca jánāñ āti |*  
*dhénā indrávacākaṣat ||*

(Over the three great distances,  
 Beyond the peoples five, thy way pursue,  
 Taking note, O Indra, of our songs).

Oldenberg (p. 98) finds little difficulty in these passages. Their evidence is clear enough. "Wären die *dhénāh* Preislieder, so wäre das 'Herabblicken' zwar nicht undenkbar, aber viel näher läge es doch, ein 'Hören' erwähnt zu finden. Wo im Veda werden die *dhénāh* 'gehört'?" In reply to this question I trust it will appear that *dhénāh* are heard in every passage in which the word occurs in the *RV*. In controversion of his statement that "Herabblicken" is quite unthinkable in reference to songs of praise we would state that *brāhmāni ṛṣinām* is the object of *abhicakṣāthe*<sup>1</sup> in VII, 70, 5; that *stómān* is the object of *upadarcathaḥ*<sup>2</sup> in VIII 26, 4; that *stómā* is the subject of the medial passive *pratyaadrkṣata*<sup>3</sup> in VIII, 5, 3; that *dṛṣṭikam* is an epithet of *stómam* in I, 27, 10 and *paricākṣyāni* of *vácānsi* in VI, 52, 14. It is then a case of the R̥sis against Oldenberg as to whether it is so "unthinkable" that songs of praise could<sup>4</sup> be seen or "looked at". Our next passage is VII, 94, 4—

*indre agnā nāmo bṛhāt*  
*suṛktīm érayāmahe |*  
*dhiyá dhénā avasyávaḥ ||*

(To Indra, Agni too, we raise  
 Our homage high and excellent hymn,  
 Our songs with prayers, their favor seeking).

*Dhénāh* as "songs" continues the *nāmo* of *a* and *suṛktīm* of *b* and forms part of the dominant thought of the entire hymn. This is expressed also in *mánmana pūrvyāstuṭiḥ* of

<sup>1</sup> *ṣuṣruvānsā cid aṣvinā purāṇy*  
*abhi brāhmāni cakṣāthe ṛṣinām |*

(Having heard, O Aṣvins, look upon the many prayers of the R̥sis).

<sup>2</sup> *upa stómān turāsyā darcathaḥ ṛiyé*

(For his glory, look ye on your zealous worshipper's lauds).

<sup>3</sup> *yuvābhyām vājinivasū prāti stómā adrṣata*

(By you, lords of the swift steeds, our lauds were beheld).

<sup>4</sup> The very name Veda shows that the fundamental idea is that the songs have been "seen" by their composers.

1<sup>ab</sup>, *ṣṛṇutām jaritūr hāvam* of 2<sup>a</sup>, *vānataṁ gīraḥ* of 2<sup>b</sup>, *pip-yataṁ dhīyaḥ* of 2<sup>c</sup>, *īlata víprāsa* of 5<sup>ab</sup>, *gīrbhīr* ... *havā-mahe* of 6<sup>ab</sup>, *ukthēbhīr* 11<sup>a</sup>, *gīrā* 11<sup>b</sup> and *āṅgūṣāir* of 11<sup>c</sup>. Only in 6 and 10 is there any reference to the oblation. Even Oldenberg (p. 98) is forced to admit that song is implied in *dhēnā* here, not directly, he adds, but only as the libation is joined with it or in so far as it represents the libation. But in the light of the context it would seem a strange perversion to say that "song" rather than "libation" is the implicit thought.

In I, 141, 1—

*yād im ūpa hvārate sūdhate matir*

*ṛtasya dhēnā anayanta sasrūtaḥ* | |

(Whene'er he bends thereto, well speeds the hymn;

The songs of Rta bring him as they flow).

Oldenberg (p. 97) argues that *sasrūtaḥ* plainly shows that "etwas Fließendes gemeint ist". This word, however, is found elsewhere in the *RV.* just twice, once as attributive to *apās* (IV, 28, 1) and once as attributive to *gīras*<sup>1</sup> (IX, 34, 6). The latter proves that songs may flow as well as "streams of milk" and that the passage is no more a bulwark of defence for his position than his "unthinkable" cases above.

In I, 67, 7<sup>b</sup>; V, 12, 2<sup>b</sup>; VII, 43, 4<sup>b</sup>; VIII, 6, 8<sup>c</sup>; IX, 33, 2<sup>b</sup>; 63, 4<sup>c</sup>, 14<sup>b</sup>, 21<sup>b</sup>, we have mention of the *dhārās* of Rta; in I, 79, 3<sup>a</sup> and III, 55, 13<sup>c</sup>, of the *pāyas*; in I, 73, 6<sup>a</sup> of the *dhenāvas*; in I, 84, 16<sup>a</sup>, of the *gās*; in IX, 77, 1<sup>c</sup> and X, 43, 9<sup>b</sup>, of her *sudūghā*. On the other hand, we have in I, 68, 5<sup>a</sup>; 71, 3<sup>a</sup>; IV, 23, 8<sup>b</sup>; IX, 76, 4<sup>b</sup>; 97, 34<sup>b</sup>; 111, 2<sup>c</sup>, mention of the *dhīti* of Rta; in III, 31, 1<sup>b</sup>; IV, 2, 16<sup>c</sup>; IX, 102, 1<sup>b</sup>, 8<sup>c</sup>, of the *dīdhīti*; in IV, 23, 8<sup>c</sup> of the *glōka* of Rta. So the mention of the prayers, holy songs, etc., of Rta is almost as frequent as that of her oblations of milk. Thus Vedic usage presents no difficulty to the interpretation of *dhēnā* as songs in this passage.

The *dhēnā* flow also in IV, 58, 6—

*samyāk sravanti sarīto ná dhēnā*

*antār hṛdā mānasā pūyamānāḥ* |

*etē arṣanty ūrmūyo, ghṛtasya*

*mrgā iva kṣipañōr īṣamānāḥ* | |

<sup>1</sup> *gīro arṣanti sasrūtaḥ* (The streaming songs flow on).

Cf. „Bathing in streams of liquid melody”. Crashaw.

(Our songs, like streams, flow on together,  
 Cleansing themselves 'twixt heart and mind.  
 These waves of ghee flow on apace  
 E'en as wild beasts that flee before the bowman).

Oldenberg (p. 97) deems this passage "besonders wichtig" for his theory. His reasons are (1) the *dhénāḥ sravanti*; (2) "the entire hymn praises the streams of *ghṛta*"; (3) *dhārāḥ* is found "four times" in the hymn. We have already shown that songs may "flow". They are here expressly compared with "streams". In VIII,<sup>1</sup> 49, 6 *dhūtāyaḥ* "flow" and are compared with a copious gushing spring. They flow also in VIII,<sup>2</sup> 50, 4. A *gīr* is described as "flowing" in I,<sup>3</sup> 181, 7, and if Aufrecht's reading in IX,<sup>4</sup> 108, 7 is correct, a *stōma* may be "pressed" and "poured out". These passages, with the one previously cited, amply demonstrate the fluidity of songs in the *RV.* and dispose of his first defence. To pass to his third point, we observe that *ghṛtāsyā dhārāḥ* is found five times, one more than Oldenberg claimed, in the hymn. It is in 5<sup>c</sup>, 7<sup>c</sup>, 8<sup>c</sup>, 9<sup>d</sup>, and 10<sup>d</sup>, always in the third or fourth *pāda*. In 6<sup>c</sup>, in exact formal correspondence with these, we find *ūrmāyo ghṛtāsyā*. The streams of *ghṛtā* are mentioned in every *ṛc.* of the *sūkta* from 5 to 10 inclusive, but in 6 *ūrmāyo*, not *dhénā*, represents the *dhārāḥ* of the others. To return to his second point, it is true that the hymn is in praise of the *ghṛtā*, of

<sup>1</sup> *udrīva vajrinn avató ná siñcaté*

*kṣārantindra dhūtāyaḥ* ||

(As a copious spring, O thou of the thunderbolt, gushes forth, our songs of adoration flow to thee, O Indra).

<sup>2</sup> *anehāsaṁ vo hāvamānam utāye*

*mādhvaḥ kṣaranti dhūtāyaḥ* |

(To the peerless one that calls you for aid,

Songs of adoration, sweet as honey, are flowing).

<sup>3</sup> *āsarjī vām sthāvīrā vedhasā gīr*

*bālḥe aṣvinā tredhā kṣarantī* |

(Your strong laud, ye pious, was sent forth,

flowing threefold, in mighty flood, ye Aṣvins).

<sup>4</sup> *ā sotā pári siñcata*

*úṣvaṁ ná stómam aptúram rajastúram* |

(Press, pour forth as a steed, the song of praise, strong and piercing the air).

We may add also that in VIII, 13, 8, songs even dance like waters,  
 — *krīlanty asya sūnṛtā āpo na*.

the strange, mystic and symbolically zoomorphic *ghṛtā*, as well as of the streams of *ghṛtā*. It is one of the most mooted of all the hymns of the *RV.* by the native commentators. It has several peculiar formal correspondences, arranged with almost mathematical precision. One of these has just been noted. We now have another. In 2<sup>abc</sup> we read —

*vayāṁ nāma prā bravāmā gṛtāsya*  
*asmīn yajñē dhārayāmā nāmobhīḥ |*  
*ūpa brahmā gṛṇavac chasyāmānam*  
 (Let us tell forth the name of *ghṛtā*;  
 let us at the sacrifice uphold it with our homage;  
 let the Brahman hear it sung).

This is immediately followed by the description of the *ghṛtā* in bizarre animal form. In 6<sup>ab</sup>, the mathematical center and the summit of the hymn, we have our passage, the next reference to the song of 2. In 10<sup>ab</sup>, at the same distance from the medial summit, in the only other reference to song, the gods are asked to reward the singers, —

*abhy āṛṣata suṣṭutīm gavyam ājīm.*  
*asmāsu bhadrā drāviṇāni dhatta |*  
 (Send to our hymn of praise a herd of cattle;  
 bestow upon us goodly possessions).

*Ghṛtā* is dominant. Stanza 1 is a prelude but in *c* it has reference to the *nāma gūhyam* of *ghṛtā*. In 2<sup>abc</sup> the singers are going to tell it forth in song. In 2<sup>d</sup> and 3 they describe the mystic *ghṛtā*. In 5<sup>c</sup>, 6<sup>c</sup>, 7<sup>c</sup>, 8<sup>c</sup>, 9<sup>d</sup>, 10<sup>d</sup> the hymn masses effectively its mention of the streams of *ghṛtā*. In 10<sup>ab</sup> the singers ask their reward, 10<sup>cd</sup> and 11 are a postlude, but still emphasize the *ghṛtā*. In 6<sup>ab</sup> the song announced in 2 is described as in full flow and in 10 it is practically over. We believe then the *dhēnā* of 6<sup>a</sup> is the song promised in 2 and the *suṣṭutīm* for which the reward is asked in 10.

Oldenberg, for the benefit of his argument, has wisely refrained from any attempt at the exegesis of 6<sup>b</sup>, which seems so admirably to sustain our interpretation. The commentator on *Vāj. S.* 17, 94, glosses *dhēnā* by *vācaḥ* and places it among the *vānnāmasu* with reference to Nāigh. (l. c.). He adds — *kīdr̥ṣyo dhenāḥ antar hṛdā manasā pūyamānāḥ ṣarirāntarvya-vasthitena hṛdā pāvanasthānīyena manasā ca pūyamānāḥ ṣab-dadoṣebhyo vineyamānāḥ*, i. e., they cleanse themselves, separate themselves, from the defects of speech in the mind which has a

pure place and in the heart which is situated in the interior of the body. Here we seem to have the native way of expressing the noble thought that the worshippers are striving in their adoration to clothe the thoughts prompted by the heart and conceived by the mind, both pure, in a noble form, pure from the defects of ordinary speech. However that may be, it is quite certain that the collocation of *hrdā* and *mānasā* points to thought, song, etc., rather than to libations of melted ghee. In fact, we have a close parallel in I, 61, 2 —

*indrāya hrdā mānasā manīṣā*

*pratnāya pātye dhīyo marjayanta* | |

(For Indra, ancient lord, they cleanse their songs,  
In heart and mind and spirit).

It is appropriate that the songs should be purified and cleansed in heart and mind, for it is here that they are fashioned also, as shown by I, 171, 2—

*eṣā va stōmo maruto nāmasvān*

*hrdā taṣṭō mānasā dhāyī devāḥ* |

(To you, ye gods of storm, this laud, in homage rich,  
and fashioned in heart and mind, is brought).

Nowhere in the *RV.* does the phrase *hrdā mānasā* (VI, 28, 5; VII, 98, 2; X, 177, 1) or *hrdē mānase* (I, 73, 10; IV, 37, 2) suggest even the possibility of Oldenberg's theory.

But in *Tāit. S.* IV, 2, 9, 6, we have

*sām it sravanti sarīto nā dhénāḥ*

*antār hrdā mānasā pūyāmānāḥ* |

*ḡhrtāsya dhūrā abhī cākaçimi*

*hiranyāyo vetasō mādhyā āsām* | |

This is a composite of *pādas a* and *b* of our stanza and of *c* and *d* of the preceding, in this order. This same *contaminatio* is found also in *Vāj. S.* 13, 38; *KS.*, 40, 7; *MS.*, 2, 7, 17; *ÇB.*, 7, 5, 2, 11 and *Āp. Ç.*, 17, 18, 1. The commentator on *Tāit. S.* glosses *dhénāḥ* by *pānayogyāḥ dadhimadhvavayavāḥ* (portions of curd and mead, fit for drinking). The commentator on *Vāj. S.*, who on two other<sup>2</sup> occasions, of which one is this same passage, gives *vācas* as the gloss of *dhénā*, here gives instead *annāni . . . hvayamānāni havinsī* (food . . . libations that make invocation), and the *ÇB.* gives *annam*, for

<sup>1</sup> Clearly do I behold the streams of ghee,

The golden reeds in the midst of them.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. n. 1, on first page.

“the food is indeed purified by the heart and mind within him that is righteous”.

Here only in the ancillary Vedic do we find a note out of tune with our interpretation. The *Vāj. S.* seems to have some glimpse of the connection between *dhēnā* and voice as it has *kvayamānāni* and, as we have said, on each of the later occasions in which the word is used, has *vācas*. If it is once wholly or partly against us, it is twice quite positively for us. We can easily believe that in this “contaminated” version the unusual or rare word *dhēnā* has been misunderstood, possibly through *contaminatio* with the masculine *‘dhenas*, or *dhenī* or the frequent *dhenavas* or possibly because used with such verbs as *mad*, *ṣṛj*, *pīnv*, *āviṣkṛ*. etc. and the fact that songs as well as food and drink actually “strengthen” Indra and the *devās*.

In I, 55, 4—

*sá id vāne namasyúbhir vacasyate*  
*cāru jāneṣu prabruvāṇā indriyām |*  
*vṛṣā chāndur bhavati haryatō vṛṣā*  
*kṣēmeṇa dhēnām maghāvā yád invati ||*

(He, truly, in the wood is called by worshippers;

When his fair Indrahood he shows 'mong men,

The Bull is lovely; one to be desired is he, the Bull,

Whene'er with peace the Maghavan promotes our song).

Sāyaṇa glosses *dhēnām invati*, 1<sup>st</sup> by *‘stutīlakṣaṇām vācam prerayate*, and 2<sup>d</sup> by *‘yajamānūiḥ kṛtām stutim vyāpnoti*. Either of these makes excellent sense. The former is supported by such a passage as I, 10, 4—

*ēhi stómāñ abhī svara*

*abhī gṛñihy ā ruva |*

(Come thou, laud our song of praise,

praise it, acclaim it).

also, VIII, 13, 27—

*ihā tyā sadhamādyā*

*yujānāñ sōmapitaye |*

*hūrī indra pratúvasū abhī svara ||*

<sup>1</sup> Hemachandra *Unadigansutra* 268<sup>c</sup> glosses *dhenā* by *samudrah* and his *Anekārthasaṃgraha*, 2, 267 (Zach.) gives the same and adds *dhenī = nadyām*. *Medinikōṣa* n. 12 has both *dhenī* and *dhenas* (m.) as *nādī*.

<sup>2</sup> Sends forth his commending voice.

<sup>3</sup> Promotes the laud made by the worshippers.



(Having yoked those feast-sharing,  
wealth-increasing, dun steeds,  
for drinking the soma come hither singing).

The second is supported by such parallels as VIII, 13, 32<sup>c</sup>—

*vīṣā yajñō yām invasi vīṣā hāvaḥ*

(Strong the worship that thou dost promote, strong the invocation).

and X, 188, 3<sup>c</sup>—

*tābhir no yajñām invatu*

(With these may he promote our worship).

and I, 18, 7—

*sā dhīnām yōgam invati*

(He promotes the work of our psalms).

The latter is better supported by such parallels as we have found, but our interpretation of *dhénām* is safe with either.

The passages I, 10, 4; VIII, 13, 27, cited above and many others give us the friendly, peaceful songs of Indra. The war-songs of his pealing thunder as it reverberates among the mountains, are called *dhénā* in VII, 21, 3—

*tvám indra srāvitavī apās kaḥ*

*pāriṣṭhitā áhinā çura pūrvīḥ !*

*tvád vāvakre rathyò ná dhénā*

*rējante víçvā kṛtrimāṇi bhīṣā ||*

(O Indra, thou didst cause the waters flow,

The many waters, hero, that by Ahi were encompassed.

Thy war songs rolled from thee as if on chariots borne:

And all created things did quake with fear).

Of all translators and commentators, Ludwig alone is right with his "<i>ihre</i> tönenden lieder". The nearest we can get to the *nadyas* of Sāyana and his followers would be to interpret *dhénā* as referring to the roar of the liberated waters. Such a parallel, however, as <sup>1</sup>I. 80, 14, is against it. There are

<sup>1</sup> *abhiṣṭané te adrivo*

*yát sthá jágac ca rejate !*

*tvāṣṭā cit táva manyāva*

*indra revijyáte bhiyá*

(At thy deep roar, O hurler of stones,

Whate'er is fixed and what is moved doth tremble:

E'en Tvashtar at thy mighty wrath,

O Indra, was all a quake with fear).

numerous references to Indra's roar, but they need not be cited here. As Oldenberg (p. 97), however, finds support in *rathyò nā*, we shall quote two passages which show that this comparison supports also our interpretation of *dhēnā*. These V, 61, 17—

*etām me stómam ūrmye*  
*dārbhyāya pārá vaha |*  
*gíro devi rathír iva | |*  
 (O Ūrmyā, bear thou far away  
 For me this song of praise,  
 O goddess, songs as if on chariots borne).

and VIII, 95, 1—

*ā tvā gíro rathír iva*  
*ásthuḥ sutésu gírvanaḥ*  
 (To thee, O lover of song, our lauds  
 Arise, as if on chariots borne,  
 When'er we press the soma).

One more reference to Indra's *dhēnā* is found in I, 101, 10—

*mādāyasva háríbhīr yé ta índra*  
*ví syasva śipre ví srjasva dhéne |*  
*ā tvā suśipra hárāyo vahantu*  
*uśán havyāni prāti no juśasva | |*  
 (Rejoice in these dun steeds of thine, O Indra;  
 Ope thou thy jaws; let loose thy voices twain.  
 Let thy dun steeds thee bring, O fair-cheeked god,  
 And graciously take thy joy in our oblations).

Sāyana interprets the dual *dhéne* as *pānasādhanabhute jihvopajihvike* (tongue and epiglottis becoming effective for drinking). He would have been more consistent had he said "effective for speech". Oldenberg (p. 94) ridicules Geldner's "Zunge" as not accounting for the dual, but when he comes to the interpretation of the passage (p. 99) he finds the dual difficult and dismisses it with the question, — "Sind die *dhéne* also vielleicht Soma und Wasser?"

We note that *srj* is not rare in reference to songs, etc. Thus we have *ásrgram* . . . *gírah* (I, 9, 4), *āvasrjatam* . . . *dhíyo* (I, 151, 6), *ásarjī* . . . *gír* (I, 181, 7), *ūpastutim* . . . *ásrkṣy* (VIII, 27, 11), *sárgāñ iva srjatam sustutir ūpa* (VIII, 35, 20); *stotúr medhá asrkṣata* (VIII, 52, 9); *ghóṣā asrkṣata* (VIII, 63, 7), etc.

We have seen, in the foregoing, ample citations showing that Indra had two distinct *dhénā*, that of gracious commendation of his worshipper's praises and that terrifying, thundering battle shout. This gives one interpretation of our dual. An examination of the hymn suggests also another. In *pāda d* of each *ṛc* from 1 to 7 inclusive, in 8<sup>a</sup> and 9<sup>c</sup>, Indra is invoked to come with his Marut band. Now the Maruts are great singers as shown by I, 19, 4; 24, 8; 37, 10, 13; 85, 2; 87, 3, 5; 165, 1; 166, 7, 11; V, 30, 6; etc., etc. Hence, as Ludwig has suggested, the *dhéne* here are probably that of Indra himself and that of the Maruts. This would seem supported by 11<sup>a</sup>—

*marútstotrasya vṛjānasya gopā*

in which the worshippers speak of themselves as the "guardians of the camp that is Marut-praised". Hence we may consider the two *dhénā* as the gracious, approving song of Indra and the Marut's song of praise.

We have the dual again in V, 30, 9—

*striyo hi dāsā āyudhāni cakré*  
*kīm mā karann abalā asya sēnāḥ |*  
*antār hy ākhyad ubhé asya dhéne*  
*āthōpa praid yudhāye dāsyum indrah ||*  
 (The Dāsa made his women his weapons.  
 What do his feeble armies do to me?  
 Indra distinguished both his voices  
 And then went forth to fight the Dāsa).

Oldenberg thinks the *dhéne* are the liquids that play so great a part in the Namucci myth. This fits his general interpretation of *dhénā*. Ludwig and Griffith think that Indra distinguished between the voice of Namucci and that of his women and knew from the latter that he had to contend with no army of demon warriors. This fits our general interpretation of the word and is parallel in usage with the word in the latter interpretation of the passage immediately preceding (*i. e.* I, 101, 10). An interpretation parallel to the former of the preceding would be to consider the *dhéne* as the war songs or yells of Namucci and his words cheering on his women. Either makes good sense and harmonizes with our interpretation of the word. As we had some preference for the latter interpretation in the preceding we have the same

for the corresponding interpretation here, the *dhēnā* of Namucci and that of his women.

We have a reference to the song of Vāyu in I, 2, 3—

*vāyo tāva prapṛṇcati*  
*dhēnā jigāti dāṣuṣe |*  
*urūcī sōmapītaye | |*  
 (Vāyu, thy penetrating voice  
 goes unto the worshipper,  
 wide spreading unto the soma drink).

In 1 Vāyu is summoned to hearken unto the ṛṣi's invocation (*hāvam*); in 2 the singers call him with their hymns of praise (*ukthēbhīr*). Here in 3, according to Sāyaṇa, his approving voice is heard in reply, "O worshipper, I will drink the soma given by thee". This harmonizes well with the context and we have already cited or quoted several passages that establish such commending voices of the gods. Vāyu is summoned and his *dhēnā* comes. This then must be an essential characteristic that may be used as a metonym of the god. This could be no libation, but in the list of "wives" of the deities given in *Tāt. Ār.* 3, 9, 1, *vāk* is the wife of Vāyu and hence such a peculiar adjunct as would best represent him here.

In III, 1, 9, the reference is to the celestial Agni, —

*pitūḥ cid ūdhar janūṣū viveda*  
*vy āsya dhārā asṛjad vi dhēnāḥ |*  
 (From birth he knew his father's bosom,  
 Sent forth his streams, his voices uttered.).

Sāyaṇa explains *ūdhar* as the firmament, *dhārā* as streams of rain, and *dhēnāḥ* as the voices of thunder (*mādhyamikā vācas*). This seems more probable than other interpretations, though this is one of Oldenberg's star passages to prove that *dhēnā* means "streams of milk". He lays special emphasis upon *ūdhar* and *dhārā* and the striking comparison of IV, 22, 6,—

*prā dhenávaḥ sistrate vṛṣṇa ūdhnāḥ*

as showing the synonymity of *dhārā* and *dhēnā* in this passage. Here, however, *dhārā* replaces *dhenúvas* there and it is clearly distinguished from *dhēnā*.

We would quote as parallels in our favor such passages as VIII, 6, 8, in which *dhītáyāḥ* and *dhārayā* are associated; IX, 10, 4 in which *girā* and *dhārayā* are associated; IX, 44, 2,

in which *matī*, *dhīyā* and *dhārayā* are associated; IX, 63, 21, in which *dhībhir* and *dhārayā* are associated; etc. Such passages show how natural the connection of *dhēnā* as "songs" with *dhārā* would be in the passage before us.

As for the *ūdhar* end of the argument, we may quote V, 44, 13—

*viçvāsām ūdhaḥ sa dhīyām udāñcanaḥ*  
(The udder and bucket of all holy psalms).

The *ūdhar* of the firmament is not a rare figure. Cf. e. g. VII, 101, 1; IX, 107, 5; X, 100, 11; etc.

Our next passage is III, 34, 3—

*īndro vṛtrām avṛnoc chārdhanūtiḥ*  
*prā māyīnām aminād vārpanūtiḥ |*  
*āhan vyāṁsam uçādhag vāneṣu*  
*āvīr dhēnā akṛṇod rāmyānām ||*

(The leader of his host, Indra encompassed Vṛtra;  
Assuming shapes of those in magic skilled, he minished him.  
Intensely burning in the woods, he slew Vyaṁsa  
And made the voices of the nights apparent).

That *āvīr akṛṇod* may be predicated of song is proved by IX, 3, 5—

*āvīṣ kṛṇoti vagvanūm*  
(He makes his voice heard).

and IX, 95, 2—

*devó devānām gūhyāni nāma*  
*āvīṣ kṛṇoti barhīṣi pravāce ||*

(As god, he makes heard the secret names  
of the gods, to be told forth on the sacred grass).

That the "nights" have a voice is sufficiently shown by II, 2, 2,

*abhī tvā nāktīr uṣāso vavāçire*

(The Nights and Dawns bellow to thee), and by VIII, 96, 1—

*asmā uṣāsa ātiranta yāmam*

*īndrāya nāktam ūrmyāḥ suvācaḥ |*

(For him the dawns lengthened their courses;

By night, the nights became sweet-voiced for Indra).

This latter passage is a good commentary on the text before us as it, too, is from a *sūkta* that deals with the conflict of Indra and the demons. Otherwise we may think of the *dhēnā* here as the shouts of the demonic foes, or the thunderrings of Indra in the darksome night of battle, or we may endorse the commentator on *Vāj. S.* 33, 26, who thinks the

*dhénā* here are the *stutirūpā vācaḥ* of *yāyajñikās*, or those who worship frequently, even singing their adoration in the seasons of the nights.

Oldenberg (p. 95 f.) considers our next passage so strongly corroborative of his interpretation of *dhénā* that he has made it the foundation upon which he has reared much of his superstructure. This is V, 62, 2—

*tāt sú vām mitrāvaruṇā mahitvām  
īrmā tasthūṣīr ābahir duduhre |  
viçvāḥ pinvathaḥ svásarasya dhénā  
ānu vām ékaḥ pavīr ā vavarta ||*

O Mitra, Varuṇa, this is your greatness;

(Each day they have milked the kine that stand here.

You have caused to swell all songs of the *svasara*;

Your single tire hath rolled along hither).

At first sight *pinvathaḥ* and *svásarasya* may seem to favor the synonymity of *dhénā* with *dhenú* but we find the verb *pinv* is used also with *dhíyaḥ*, the synonym of *dhénāḥ* according to the interpretation we have given throughout. Thus we have in IX, 94, 2—

*dhíyaḥ pinvānāḥ svásare ná gáva.*

Also in I, 151, 6—

*áva tmānū srjātam pinvatam dhíyo*

and VII, 82, 3—

*'pinvatam apitaḥ pinvatam dhíyaḥ*

we have the act predicated of Mitra Varuṇa as in our passage. The Aṅvins are the subject in X, 39, 2—

*codáyatam sūnítāḥ pinvatam dhíya.*

Hence the argument from the verb fails, as it will support either interpretation. These *dhíyaḥ* in IX, 94, 2, even “bellow forth” (*abhí vāvaçra*) “a greeting to soma”. This shows how completely the same words may be predicated of both “cows” and “songs”.

It is here that Ludwig while still consistently rendering *dhénā* by “Stimmen” thinks the association with *svásara* difficult and desiderates “Ströme”. Only in this passage does Geldner render *dhénā* by “Kühe” and that because of *svásara*. These have taken the word in the sense of “cow-pen, stall”, etc. But Geldner (*op. cit.* III, 113 ff.) has more recently argued that this word signifies a time of day, identical with the

*saṃgavā* or morning milking-time, which according to *Tāit. Br.* I, 5, 3, 1, belongs to Mitra. We believe this is correct for it brings unity instead of diversity. The older translators required three meanings for the word, as in *GWB*. This, however, gives one meaning that makes very good sense in each of the thirteen passages in which the word occurs in the *RV*. In only five of these are kine in any way mentioned in connection with the *svāsara*. In three of these five and in six others the gods are associated with the *svāsara*. In four passages, exclusive of the one under discussion, there are references to songs, etc., to the gods. Thus in II, 2, 2, Night and Morning bellow greeting to Agni; in VIII, 88, 1, Indra is addressed with *gīrbhīr*; in VIII, 99, 1, Indra is invoked to hear the *stōmavāhasām*; the *dhīyaḥ pinvānāḥ* of IX, 94, 2 are cited above. In III, 60, 6, the *svāsarāṇi* bring to Indra the *vratā devānām mānuṣaḥ ca*. We see as analogous to these a reference in our passage to the adoration of the worshippers at the early morning sacrifice: Mitra and Varuṇa make the cows swell with milk in the next stanza. The same idea is not needed here. Whether, however, *dhēnā* in this mooted passage are, as we believe, the songs of adoration at the morning sacrifice, or the bawling of the cows at the pen for their calves, or, as Griffith thinks, "the voices of the thunder and the roar of the rushing rain from the vast aerial stall that holds the milchkin of the firmament, the word is in general accord with the interpretation we have given it throughout.

Three other passages in the *RV*. contain *dhēnā* as the deuteriotheme of a compound. These are not at all inconsistent with our meaning of the simple word. Thus in VII, 24, 2

*visr̥ṣṭadhenā bharate suvṛktīr,*

*īyām indram jōhuvati manīṣā ||*

(This hymn of out-poured song is brought,  
Invoking Indra with its prayer).

We find this word also in *KS*, 35, 9<sup>a</sup>—

*visr̥ṣṭadhenāḥ salilā ghr̥taçcutaḥ*

(Streams of song outpoured, distilling ghee).

and again in *Āp. Ç.* S. 14, 28, 4<sup>a</sup> with *sarītā* for *salilā*. That *ghr̥taçcut* is applied to songs also, is shown by VIII, 51, 10—

*turanyāvo mādhumantam ghr̥taçcutam*

*vīprāso arkām ānṛcuḥ |*

(The zealous singers sang a song, distilling ghee and richly sweet). Cf. also II, 11, 7.

The other compound, *viçvādhenā*, is found only in IV, 19, 2—

*āhann āhim pariçayānam ārnaḥ  
prā vartanīr arado viçvādhenāḥ ||*

(Thou slewest Ahi who beleaguered the waters,  
And thou didst open their courses all aroar in song),

and 6

*tvām mahīm avānīm viçvādhenām  
turvītaye vāyāya kṣarāntim |*

(For Vayya and Turviti thou didst stay  
The mighty stream, on flowing, aroar with song).

We take it that the rivers were roaring forth their songs of joy and praise at their liberation. This idea suits the entire context quite admirably. It has been shown that waters sing and dance in the *RV*.

In the ancillary Vedic literature we find in *Tāit. Ār.*, 3, 9, 1—

*senendrasya | dhenū bṛhaspateḥ | pathyā  
pūṣṇaḥ | vāg vāyoḥ | dīkṣā somasya | prthivy-  
agneḥ | vasūnām gāyatrī | rudrānām triṣṭuk |  
ādityānām jagatī | viṣṇor anaṣṭuk || | ||*

We have already listed the other five works in which this is given in whole or part. Some of these, as the *GB*, 2, 2, 9 give *senendrasya patnī*, etc., and thus, by supplying the missing word, make it clear that we have here a list of the “wives” of the several deities. An examination of this “Catalogue of Wives” reveals how truly each is the necessary complement of her lord and his practically constant companion. Indra, warrior god, and his army; Vāyu, the god of wind, and his voice, etc.

This passage in itself may be said to clinch the whole question, for our interpretation of *dhēnā* makes it a vastly better complement or wife of Bṛhaspati than the “libation of milk”. The word is actually the equivalent of the *bṛhas* in *bṛhaspati*, as Professor Bloomfield once remarked.

In *Tāit. Br.* 3, 6, 5, 1; *MS.* 4, 13, 4 and *KS.* 16. 21, we have *dhenābhiḥ kalpamānaḥ*, „aided by songs”, or “furnished with songs”.



Nāigh. 6, 17, quotes *RV.* I, 101, 10 and adds — *dhenā dadhāteh*, — “*dhenā* is derived from the verb *dadhāti*”. As he has already defined *dhenā* by listing it as a synonym of *vāk*, it would appear that he uses *dadhāti* here in its sense of “fix in thought, as a prayer, etc.”

Lastly Hemachandra's *Unadiganasutra* 268<sup>c</sup> has the gloss —  
*dhenā sarasvatī mātā ca | dhenah samudrah*

Of this the only consistent<sup>1</sup> interpretation is that *sarasvatī* is the goddess of eloquence, the daughter of *Vāk* (?).

We consider *dhēnā* a gunated form from the root *dhī*, “think”, and a synonym of *dhīti* and *dhī*, with which words we have found it associated. As these words may pass in meaning from pure thought to its expression by the voice in prayer and psalm, so *dhēnā* regularly in the Veda is the outward form in which the inward thought is expressed by the voice. In the case of human beings, it is a song of joyous praise or holy invocation to the gods. In the case of gods, it is their gracious words, commending the worshipper and expressing their appreciation of the strength imparted to them by the songs, or their war-cries and battle-shouts as they engage in combat with their foes. The streams, too, sing their joy at their release and roar in praise of the great deity that effected it.

*Dhēnā* is the exact phonetic<sup>2</sup> equivalent to the Avestan *daēnā* and the Lithuanian *dainā*. The *daēnā* of the Avesta is (1) religion, especially the Ahuran religion, also (2) a theological-philosophical concept of the totality of the psychic and religious properties of man. It is the spiritual ego, the immortal part of man, the mental *lógos*. Cf. Bartholomae, *WB. s. v.*

The Lithuanian *dainā* is a folk song, but these folk songs contain the best and highest expressions of the native heart and mind. They are frequently the media of expressing their religious sentiments and their philosophical reflections. Their whole philosophy of life is enshrined in these songs which

<sup>1</sup> Unless *dhenā* is masc. dual; then *sarasvatī* is the river and the reference has no connection with our subject. Cf. n. p. 403.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sk. *tejas*, Av. *taēša*, Lith. *staigū*,  
       “ *mežās*,   “ *maēša*,   “ *maįszas*,  
       “ *reša*,     “ *raēša*,   “ *raįszas*,  
       “ *vedas*,   “ *vaēdā*,   “ *vaidas*,  
       “ *heḍas*,   “ *zaēša*,   “ *žuzdā*, etc.

constitute their poetic literature. Here is expressed their thought about the great anonymous Dēvas, the moon god and the sun maiden, the morning and the evening star, Perkūnas, the god of thunder, etc., beliefs which transport us back to the primal days of our race. Like the Sanskrit *dhénā*, the Lithuanian *dainā* is a voiced λόγος, but unlike the former it frequently descends from the divine heights and becomes of the earth, earthy. Thus *dhénā*, *daēnā* and *dainā* are all thought, but thought in its higher and spiritual reaches. Both phonetics and semantics proclaim them own sisters in the old Indo-European family circle.

By way of summary we may say that in every passage in which *dhénā* occurs in the *RV.* it may consistently be interpreted as voice, song, etc. In several instances the context decidedly favors this against Oldenberg's rendering. Every adjective that modifies it and every verb of which it is subject or object is used in other *RV.* passages in reference to words that indubitably signify songs, prayers, etc., but not all are so used with *havis* or its synonyms. It is so completely identified with Vāyu that it is metonymic of him. Our interpretation is supported by Nāighaṇṭuka, Sāyaṇa and *Vāj. S.* It has the irrefragable support of the "Catalogue of Wives". Only in the commentators on a "contaminated" version of one Vedic passage, plus five passages in Sāyaṇa, does it fail in support of the ancillary Vedic literature. It is not difficult to posit reasons for this. It furnishes the Sanskrit member, otherwise missing, of an equation with the Avestan and the Lithuanian. Passages which Oldenberg finds difficult become easy. Every argument he uses against it, is amply refuted by the passages quoted from the *RV.* The cumulative effect is overwhelming for *dhenā* as a synonym of *dhī*, *vācas*, *gīr*, *stoma*, *arka*, etc.

*Vedic, Sanskrit, and Prakrit.* By WALTER PETERSEN,  
Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas.

It will be the object of this paper to point out some difficulties in the ordinary view of the relation of the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit to the popular or Prakrit dialects, and, if possible, to suggest another theory which will avoid these difficulties. And in making this attempt, instead of starting with a discussion of "What is Sanskrit?", a procedure which seems to have led to no definite result<sup>1</sup>, I shall begin with the consideration of the question as to what is "Mittelindisch" or Prakrit<sup>2</sup>, hoping that if a satisfactory solution of this question is reached, the problem of the origin of Sanskrit will be materially simplified.

The normal view of the relation of Prakrit and Pali to the Vedic and Sanskrit is that suggested by the word "Mittelindisch" itself, namely that Prakrit is the direct lineal descendant of "Altindisch" or the language of the oldest stage of the transmission<sup>3</sup>.

And since this oldest stage is found in two distinct forms, namely the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, the inference is that Prakrit is derived either from the Vedic language<sup>4</sup> or the Classical<sup>5</sup>, or at least from popular languages to which the Vedic or Classical Sanskrit was related like all literary lan-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. e. g. the widely divergent opinions of the British scholars in the JRAS. 1904. 457—487 on the article of Rapson "In what degree was Skt. a spoken language", ib. p. 435 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For want of a better term Prakrit below is often used to include the earlier or Pali stage of "Mittelindisch" as well as the later stage to which it is ordinarily applied.

<sup>3</sup> See the language tree of Thumb, Handbuch des Skt. 19.

<sup>4</sup> See notes 2 and 3 p. 415.

<sup>5</sup> So Hofer, De Prakrito Dialecto 8; Lassen, Institutiones Linguae Prakritae 25 f.; Monier Williams, Nalopākhyānam Intr. p. V; Jacobi, KZ. 24. 614.

guages to the nearest popular dialects from which they are taken. The latter alternative, however, we may dismiss once for all. The number of phonetic as well as morphological peculiarities<sup>1</sup> which are common to the Vedic and Prakrit but unknown to Sanskrit, prove definitely that Prakrit is much nearer to the Vedic than to the Classical Sanskrit, and that direct origin from the latter is no longer to be thought of. There remains the supposition that Prakrit is derived either from Vedic dialects<sup>2</sup> or from contemporary dialects which are close to the Vedic in character<sup>3</sup>.

To this latter view, however, there are grave and unanswerable chronological difficulties on every hand. In the first place, it is a well-known fact that the Vedic hymns already contain a number of Prakritisms<sup>4</sup>, forms which distinctly belong to the "middle-Indian" period and do not represent the normal status of the Vedic sounds, but are exceptional cases and consequently borrowings from a different dialect. Thus Wackernagel, loc. cit., quotes as examples words with a cerebral, e. g. *kāṭā* "Tiefe": *kartā* "Grube"; words with *ṇ* (< *n*), e. g. *maṇi* "Perle"; words with *ṣ* (< *rs*, *rs*, *ls*, *ls*), e. g. *AV. kaṣati* "kratzen": *Lith. kaṣzti*; *prāuga* = *\*prāyuga*, *titau* = *\*tītasu*, etc. To quote Wackernagel himself: "Daneben (sc. der priesterlichen Sprache) aber war (wenigstens in bestimmten Volksschichten) schon zu der Zeit, da die uns erhaltenen Hymnen entstanden, eine Sprache gebräuchlich, die über jene priesterliche Sprache weit hinaus entwickelt war, und die Haupteigenheiten der ältesten Phase des Mittelindisch, der sogenannten Palistufe, an sich trug". The conclusion therefore can not be avoided that during the period of composition of the Vedic hymns two distinct groups of Indian dialects were developed and separated by an uncrossable gulf<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> So e. g. the Nom. Pl. ending *Ved. -āsaḥ* = *Prkt. -āho*, *Instr. Ved. -ebhiḥ* instead of *-āḥ* = *Prkt. ehim*, *ḷ* and *ḷh* for *ḍ* and *ḍh* in both *Veda* and *Prakrit*. Cf. Pischel, *Gram. d. Prakrit Spr.* 4 f.; Franke, *Pali u. Skt.* 150; Thumb, *op. cit.* 19.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* 2. 110 f.; Franke, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bradke, *ZDMG.* 40. 673 ff.; Thumb, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Wackernagel, *Ai. Gram.* 1. XVII.

<sup>5</sup> Squarely opposed to this, but certainly not justifiable, is the statement of F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.* 1904. 461, that during the centuries preceding the Christian era Sanskrit and the vernaculars (*Prakrit*) were so

on the one hand the priestly language of the Veda, on the other hand the popular dialects, which later became "Pali" and "Prakrit"<sup>1</sup>. From this fact it follows again that Prakrit can not be a direct lineal descendant of the Vedic of the hymns or of a contemporary dialect which was close to the Vedic in its character.

If, then, Prakrit is nevertheless derived from the Vedic, it must have been at a time considerably antedating the hymns themselves. And here the question immediately arises whether time enough had elapsed since the separation of the Indian and Persian dialects so that such large differences as exist between Vedic and the earliest "Pali" could have been developed in addition to the equally large ones between the Avestan and Vedic. As Bradke, ZDMG. 40. 672, remarks, it is a question of how long a period we allow to have elapsed between the period of Indo-Iranian unity and the Veda. If we place the latter long after the former, there is nothing impossible about assuming that the popular dialects had been developed in Vedic times and that the Vedic poets borrowed certain words from these vernaculars. Now Bradke himself believes that the time could have been amply sufficient. He declares that the oldest stages of the Indian and Iranian languages are no closer to each other than Italian and French, and yet these two languages are fifteen centuries apart<sup>2</sup>. He seems to believe that in the time thus gained it is possible for the old Aryan language to have developed successively first into "Altindisch" and then into the earliest stages of "Pali". But this argument really contains a *circulus vitiosus*. In the first place, to those who maintain that the Vedic period can not have been too long after the period of Indo-Iranian unity because of the close resemblance of the earliest Indian and Iranian he interposes the objection that Italian and French are no farther apart and yet it took fifteen hundred years to

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close to each other as to preclude comparison with Latin even in countries where Romance languages were spoken, unless indeed he means only the most developed stages of the Romance languages.

<sup>1</sup> When Rapson, JRAS. 1904. 445, therefore maintains that Prakrit can not be traced even to Yāska (about 500 B. C.), he would be undoubtedly wrong if he had not meant by Prakrit merely the language in the exact form in which it was later known by that name.

<sup>2</sup> ZDMG. 40. 669.

develop the difference, that consequently it might take just as long to develop the difference between Indian and Iranian. In the second place, into these fifteen hundred years thus gained is to be put also the development of Pali from "Alt-indisch", presumably on the ground that fifteen hundred years would be amply sufficient for even such large dialectical differences to arise! First a large period of time is claimed as being probably needed to develop comparatively small differences, then this large period is in turn used as proof that comparatively large differences may have developed in the same. But we could as well counterargue that six hundred years are needed to develop the Classical Sanskrit from the Vedic<sup>1</sup>, and the difference is very slight, how much more would we then expect for the large difference between either Classical Sanskrit or Vedic and even the earliest stages of Pali? Adding to this the fifteen hundred years assumed by Bradke for the development of Vedic from primitive Aryan, how many milleniums after the period of Indo-Iranian unity would the Veda be placed? And the earlier we place the latter the worse the difficulty would become for the Classical Sanskrit. If we accept Jacobi's date for the Rigveda we should have to assume at least five milleniums to account for the comparatively slight difference between the Avestan and the Classical Sanskrit. When, however, we omit precarious arguments of this kind, and seek other criteria, we find that it is really very hard to believe that the Rigveda was enough later than the period of Indo-Iranian unity to account for the large change from primitive Aryan to Pali; for the fact that the Rigveda is yet full of reminiscences of the conquest of the Panjāb, and that the larger part of the later Aryan India had not yet been settled<sup>2</sup>, would make it exceedingly improbable that the Indian Aryans had been in the Panjāb a very long time before the hymns were composed. We would hardly expect a conquering people suddenly to stop for centuries in their process of expansion, and then to resume it later. Nor would it be credible that a very long period had elapsed between the time of Indo-Iranian unity and the conquest of the Panjāb. As long as the Indian Aryans dwelt together

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<sup>1</sup> So Grierson, JRAS. 1904. 477, though for a different purpose.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Macdonell, Hist. Skt. Lit. 139 ff.; Thumb, op. cit. 14.

with the Iranians toward the northwest of the Panjāb, they were virtually one people<sup>1</sup>, and only after they separated in order that one part might invade India did large differences of language develop. The difficulty then becomes greater and greater: it is impossible for me to conceive how Prakrit could have had time to develop from "Altindisch" in the usual way at a time when the Veda evidently shows that it must have existed.

But let us assume for argument's sake that there nevertheless was ample time, in what relation then would we conceive the language of the Rigveda to stand to these vernaculars? The first alternative that might occur to us is that Vedic, like the later Classical Sanskrit, was already a petrified language, kept alive only by the priests and literary men. But to this idea there are several grave objections. In the first place the character of the Vedic language and literature is such that scarcely any one has seriously doubted that it was close to the living language of the time of the poets.<sup>2</sup> There may have been dialect mixture and archaisms and poetic peculiarities of diction, and the actual spoken language differed from that of the hymns\* as the Greek vernaculars of the Homeric age differed from the language of the Homeric poets, or as the popular languages to which any literary dialects owe their origin differ from the latter, but no more. Moreover, if Vedic was a dead language when the hymns were composed, how can we assume that this old language escaped complete obliteration in so long a time? A dead language is perpetuated only in its literature, and when it dies before a literature is produced, as it would have to in this case, it will be forgotten before it has a chance to perpetuate itself. It is

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<sup>1</sup> How close this period probably is to the Vedic can be seen from the retention of intervocalic *s* instead of the change to *h*, one of the most characteristic changes of the Persian group, in a word identical with the Vedic *Násatya* found in the recently discovered inscription of Boghazköi. The retention of the *s* in the Iranian word thus points virtually to the period of Indo-Iranian unity, and that about 1800 B. C. On the other hand few would put the Rigveda much later than 1200 B.C. Cf. Keith, JRAS. 1909. 1100 ff. Like Keith, I assume that E. Meyer, not Jacobi, has drawn the correct chronological conclusions from the inscription.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Whitney, *Skt. Gram.* § XV; Wackernagel, *op. cit.* XVII; Macdonell, *op. cit.* 20; Grierson, JRAS. 1904. 471.

thus evident that at least the beginning of the literary Vedic period must have antedated the petrification of the language. But there is another and still more conclusive reason why the Vedic of the hymns could not have been a dead language. There is no one who could affirm that the art of writing was known at such an early date.<sup>1</sup> Now let us try to picture to ourselves how this older language (supposing it to have been established as a fashionable language so early) could have been transmitted orally. It might be possible for traditions as to new and old forms and phonetic doubles to be transmitted from one generation to another by means of oral instructions; for such changes are recognized by every one most easily, since the new and old forms continue to exist side by side, at least temporarily. But when we come to sound changes that do not result in phonetic doubles, particularly the spontaneous unconditioned sound changes, the question is altogether different. These are so gradual that no one notices the fact that he is pronouncing a certain sound differently than formerly or differently than the older members of the linguistic community. It follows that a consciousness of change never appears,<sup>2</sup> and that the old pronunciation thus will no longer be a norm with which to compare the new, since the whole community will keep so close together that no one notices a difference, and when the end of the development has finally been reached the old original pronunciation, no matter how different from the new one,<sup>3</sup> will be forgotten with no possibility of recovery. In case of a written language directions for the pronunciation of certain letters might reveal the change to later generations, but in a language which is spoken only, there is no possibility of establishing a previous sound change of this kind except by comparative philology. Thus the change of I. E. *o* to Germanic *a* has been so universal<sup>4</sup> that not a single trace of the old pronunciation could possibly have existed to the speak-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *op. cit.* 15 f., who quotes Buehler for the date 800 B. C. for the introduction of writing.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Delbrück, *Einleitung*<sup>4</sup> 154 f.

<sup>3</sup> Every new nuance created in this way in fact displaces the older one. Cf. Sievers, *Phonetik*<sup>5</sup> § 728.

<sup>4</sup> Universality in fact is a characteristic of all gradual changes. Cf. Sievers, *op. cit.* § 731.



ers of the language after it had taken place, and since it was a gradual change, even those that lived while it took place were unconscious of it. In the same way Skt. *n* became Prakrit *ṇ* spontaneously<sup>1</sup> and under all circumstances (except before dental stops), and there was no way for the speaker of the latter sound to find out that he was pronouncing a different sound than his ancestors. But not only in case of spontaneous sound changes, but everywhere where no phonetic doubles result the old pronunciation is lost beyond recovery just as soon as the new is established. So it is with the dropping of the *y* in *prāuga* < *prāyuga*, or with the change of *rt>ṭ*, *rs>ṣ*, etc. The development of all of these new pronunciations should have completely obliterated the old, if really, as is claimed, Vedic and Prakrit were successive steps in the development of the same language. The existence of Prakrit forms with the above mentioned peculiarities in the Rigveda proves conclusively therefore from this point of view also that the two can not have been chronologically successive stages of one and the same language.

It follows that Vedic and Prakrit are sister dialects instead of being related as mother to daughter. In some way or other they must have been differentiated from their common ancestor, so that both could continue to exist side by side. It is obvious, however, that this differentiation can not have been local, i. e. Vedic and Prakrit can not have been contemporaneous dialects which arose in different localities; for it is incredible that all people in one section of the country should be so conservative in their pronunciation that they continued to speak a language very close to the primitive Aryan, while in other places, near by and not separated by any linguistic barrier whatsoever, they were so prone to innovations that it would appear as though the language they spoke was immeasurably a more recent or modern stage than that of the former. We should in vain look for analogies to this. Evidently the cause of the differentiation must be sought in different social strata of the same communities, one a strongly conservative

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<sup>1</sup> In the light of the following these changes were not gradual, but due to the substitution of one sound for the other. Here we argue from the standpoint of those who maintain that Prakrit is a direct descendant of Vedic. If that be true, these changes must be gradual.

element, another offering no opposition to the tendency to innovation. At first sight this postulate, however, would seem to lead to the view held by Wackernagel and quoted above, namely that Vedic was merely a priestly language, jealously guarded by the priestly aristocracy in its pristine purity, while the natural development of the language resulted in the popular dialects. To this view, however, the objection will also hold that this presupposes a consciousness of difference, while on the other hand this very theory would presuppose that those characteristics of Prakrit which were already developed in Vedic times were largely due to spontaneous sound changes,<sup>1</sup> of which the priests no less than the common people must have been unconscious even while they were in the process of becoming. Whatever theory accounts for the difference between Vedic and Prakrit must show how the differentiation could take place through causes not controlled by the human will.

This as well as all the other above mentioned difficulties will disappear if we assume that Vedic and Prakrit were caste-languages from the beginning, and that the differences originated with the differences between the castes. And since the origin of the castes was intimately connected with the difference between Aryan and not-Aryan, we may say that Vedic was the language of the higher or Aryan castes,<sup>2</sup> while Prakrit was the language of the lower or non-Aryan castes. As the old Aryans invaded the Indian peninsula and conquered certain aboriginal tribes, they would impose their language upon those whom they enslaved<sup>3</sup> and which consequently formed a part of their society.<sup>4</sup> But since these black aborigines had organs of speech as well as linguistic habits that differed widely from those of the Aryan invaders, they were unable to learn the language in the same form as the one in which it was spoken by their conquerors, and it was modified to suit their own characteristics in much the same way as the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. foot-note p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Baden-Powell, JRAS. 1899. 328, who states that the middle and lower castes were either not Aryan at all or badly mixed, while the higher castes were predominantly Aryan.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hirt, Die Indogermanen 101.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Oldenberg, ZDMG. 51, 275: "Schon das rigved. Altertum hat die dunkelfarbigen Aboriginen nicht allein als Feinde, sondern auch als der arischen Gemeinschaft attachierte Unterworfenen gekannt".

American negro has modified the English language through his own physiological and mental peculiarities. And just as many peculiarities of the negro dialect are common to the whole large area of the South or his original American home, since the peculiarities which cause these aberrations are common to the whole race, just so a number of phonetic changes in Prakrit were common to all of the widely scattered areas where these popular dialects were spoken, since here also common racial peculiarities would cause common effects. And since these peculiarities primarily affect the phonological aspect of a language, it is intelligible that the Prakrit peculiarities in the Veda are exclusively phonological.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, since these sound-changes from primitive Aryan to the earliest Prakrit were not due to gradual change of pronunciation, but to the substitution of one sound for another, if this theory is correct, we need not expect larger periods of time to account for such a thoroughgoing change of phonetic aspect, and it is therefore not surprising that Prakrit and Vedic should have been virtually coexistent not only from the beginning of the transmission, but ever since the Aryans first invaded India and began enslaving the aborigines.

The conclusion that the phonetic character of the Prakrit dialects is due to imposing the Aryan language upon an inferior race is further strengthened by the character of the sound changes. Franke, *Pali und Sanskrit* 141 ff., calls attention to the fact that many peculiarities common to all "Pali" are similar to the mistakes of children. The same assimilation or simplification of consonant groups, the same substitution of familiar for unfamiliar sounds is common to both. Franke compares e. g. from the German: *tüschen* for *zwischen*, *woore* for *Worte*, *aam* for *Arm*, *golle* for *Golde*, *bume* for *Blume*, *daitipf* for *Bleistift*. This want of discrimination between different sounds, usually characteristic of childhood, is just what we would expect of a race inferior in intelligence learning a language so largely different from its own.<sup>2</sup> In

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wackernagel, *op. cit.* XVII: „Keine sichere Spuren mittelindischer Formenbildung sind (sc. im Veda) erhalten”.

<sup>2</sup> It is of importance that those Skt. sounds for which others are substituted in Prakrit are largely those which to a great extent are characteristic of Sanskrit, and so probably would not be known to the non-Aryans. Thus, *r*, *ṛ*, *l*, *āi*, *āu*, and *h* are all lacking in Prakrit.

fact the latter factor alone might cause similar changes even in case of a people of high intelligence, as can be seen particularly by a study of borrowed proper names. Thus in all of the following Greek borrowings from the Egyptian certain unfamiliar sounds or combinations of sounds have been replaced by sequences which were familiar to the Greek: Pa-Uat't became Πουά, Chufu became Σούφης, Σαῶφης or even Χέωψ, MeNKA-URA became Μυκερῖνος, Bokenrenf became Βόγχωρις (Βόκχωρις), SCHaBaK became Σαβάκων, UaHABRA became Ἀπρίης, AAHMeS became Ἀμασις.

If the above explanation of the origin of Prakrit is once accepted the problem as to the origin of the Classical Sanskrit becomes much simplified. There is no longer any necessity for assuming that a certain locality was so much more conservative than other neighboring ones that it was enabled to retain a language with such old characteristics,<sup>1</sup> while all other communities were many centuries ahead in the development of their speech. Classical Sanskrit was rather the direct lineal descendant not of the Vedic<sup>2</sup> in its literary form,<sup>3</sup> but of the spoken dialects of the Vedic age, which differed from it only very slightly and may with propriety, as they are below, be designated as "Vedic". It was natural after the difference between Vedic and Prakrit had once been developed, that the old Aryan aristocracy of priests and soldiers should be proud of their language, which formed one of the principal distinctions between themselves and the despised conquered Dāsas, that they should therefore guard it most jealously from all change. Since, however, the Aryan speakers of the Vedic dialects continually had practical relations with the enslaved speakers of the Prakrits, it became necessary that they should have an acquaintance with Prakrit also, and sometimes, perhaps, they would even condescend to use it themselves, e. g. to make a command clearer. In this way there was a bridge

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Franke, BB. 17. 73, Pali u. Skt. 88; Rapson, JRAS. 1904. 450 ff

<sup>2</sup> So Franke, BB. 17. 82; Rapson, loc. cit. According to our view the Vedic had only one direct descendant and did not split up into two streams, as is claimed by Weber, Ind. Stud. 2. 110 f.; Grierson, JRAS. 1904. 472.

<sup>3</sup> The absence in Skt. of the Vedic change of intervocalic d > l shows that the former is not directly descended from the dialect of the hymns. Cf. Thumb, Hdb. d. Skt. 91.

by which the Prakrit could gradually encroach on the Vedic or Sanskrit. Those Aryans who were less fortunate and did not succeed in becoming a part of the aristocracy gradually lost their racial pride and came to use the Prakrit language exclusively. In the same way the Aryan women, whose more menial duties brought them into more continual and closer contact with the lower classes, gradually let the Prakrit take the place of their pure Aryan mother tongue. In the beginning, however, it was not thus. All the Aryans, women<sup>1</sup> as well as men, spoke the pure Aryan language when the enslaved Dāsas first tried to learn the language of their conquerors.

As the circle of the speakers of the original Vedic languages became more and more narrow, they more and more took upon themselves the character of polite languages, with the result that the conservatism of the speakers also increased, and Vedic gradually became Classical Sanskrit. In this way is explained both the continuity of development between Vedic and Sanskrit in literature, which is the unanswerable objection against those who maintain that Sanskrit was a late artificial product and never was a spoken language,<sup>2</sup> and at the same time the growing stability of the same, with the proscription of all new formations.<sup>3</sup> As in all polite languages, the speakers, who prided themselves on the correctness of their speech, sought for norms which should insure them correct principles of speaking, and this on the one hand led to the stationary nature of the Sanskrit, since all new formations are, of course, to begin with mistakes, on the other hand it led to the study of the grammar, which ended in the canonization of the whole grammatical system by Pāṇini,<sup>4</sup> after which the language became permanently crystallized and no longer showed even a semblance of growth.

The above view, then, agrees on the one hand with those who maintain that Sanskrit was in origin not only a living language like any other polite language,<sup>5</sup> but even a vernac-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ludwig, *Rigveda* 3. 44 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Franke, *BB.* 17. 86; Rapson, *JRAS.* 1904. 441.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wackernagel, *op. cit.* XXIII.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Franke, *BB.* 17. 80.

<sup>5</sup> That Sanskrit was a spoken language, but not really a living language is maintained by Grierson, *JRAS.* 1904. 472. Similarly M. Senart, quoted p. 471 of the above. Dr. Grierson's statement (p. 476) that Skt.

ular, though only of certain strata of society, but by these it was not learned as an additional language to their own Prakrit vernacular,<sup>1</sup> but it was rather an inheritance from ages long past, while originally, if these persons also spoke Prakrit, it was the latter that was learned as a second language. On the other hand, in course of time the growing ascendancy of the Prakrits with all except the haute-volée may have caused this condition to have been reversed, and at any rate Sanskrit became more and more stereotyped until it may properly be said to have become a dead language.<sup>2</sup> This was, however, an exceedingly gradual development, mainly due to natural causes, though perhaps hastened by Pāṇini's canonization, and it would be impossible to fix upon a single point in time and to say its life ended here even if we were in possession of all the facts of the history of the language. Its development from the Vedic moreover was also a natural development, by an ultra-conservative society, it is true, but yet a development from which even sound change was not altogether excluded, as Wackernagel, loc. cit., maintains; for on the one hand he himself mentions the change of iy to y and of uv to v, on the other hand he has failed to point out the probability of certain sound changes which do not appear in the spelling, sc. the change of I. E. ai (doubtless still so pronounced in the early Vedic period) to ē,<sup>3</sup> similarly of au to ō, āi with long ā

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could never have been a living language because it had to borrow or imitate Prakrit words for objects of every-day life, is not well taken. In the ordinary life of the Sanskrit-speaking aristocrats there was no call for words designating every-day objects, and when they were needed Sanskrit naturally borrowed from the Prakrit or language of the common people, in the same way as every living language uses borrowed words for ideas hitherto unfamiliar. As well might we argue that the Germanic languages are dead because many words designating objects which are now familiar are Latin borrowings.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grierson, p. 480 of the above.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddha* Dec. 1903 p. 254 f.

<sup>3</sup> The fact that the Pratiśākhya classify e and o as diphthongs, even though their rules for pronunciation imply simple sounds, together with their treatment in euphonic changes, implies that they were true diphthongs in the Vedic period. The Pratiśākhya must have received a tradition in this respect, and this tradition certainly could not have antedated the Veda, since grammatical studies originated in the very desire to interpret the Veda. Cf. Whitney, *Skt. Gram.* § 28 a; Macdonell, op. cit. 38 f.

to ai<sup>1</sup> with short a, similarly āu to au, and finally the thoroughgoing change of accentuation from the Vedic accent to that of the Classical Sanskrit, which is pointed out by Wackernagel himself, op. cit. 296 f. All of these changes are certainly phonetic changes and point to a living spoken language.

If Sanskrit was the only direct lineal descendant of the Vedic and in turn of the original language of the first Aryan settlers of India, it was not necessarily a local dialect, but we should a priori expect that wherever there was an Aryan people in the ascendant we would find the Sanskrit language or some language differing from it only by minor dialectic variations spoken by the kings and priests with their racial pride in their Aryan blood; it is to be expected that Sanskrit was spoken as a caste language throughout the whole Aryan territory of India. When therefore it is maintained e. g. by Macdonell that "there is no doubt that in the second century B. C. Sanskrit was actually spoken in the whole country called by Sanskrit writers Āryāvarta, or 'Land of the Aryans', which lies between the Himālaya and the Vindhya range", the statement is in exact accord with our theory.

These statements, however, must not be construed to mean that Sanskrit in the very form in which it occurs in literature was the vernacular of the men of the upper castes in all of the vast territory of Āryāvarta. Largely, of course, the same conservatism that kept the language so nearly stationary during such a long period also prevented the development of dialectic peculiarities, but yet there must have been some of them. The actual literary Sanskrit is no doubt related to these different spoken Sanskrit dialects just as any other literary language is related to the popular dialects. One or the other of them, by means of literary, religious, or political ascendancy,<sup>2</sup> became the norm to which the speakers of related dialects everywhere were expected to conform, with the result that it displaced all others, which was all the easier because the dialects displaced were themselves fashionable languages, and not, as e. g. in German, popular dia-

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<sup>1</sup> When e was still ai, ai must have been āi with long ā, otherwise the two would have been indistinguishable and treated alike. Cf. Whitney, op. cit. § 28 b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rapson, p. 451 of the above mentioned article.

lects, the speakers of which largely had no sympathy with this process of normalization. Moreover, we must bear in mind that the languages displaced could have differed from the language now known as Classical Sanskrit in but a minimal degree, and that it was not the displacing of the real popular dialects of Prakrit by the polite language, which was so different as to nearly exclude mutual intelligibility. While therefore the arguments of Franke<sup>1</sup> and Rapson<sup>2</sup> to establish a narrower region as the original home of Sanskrit may be perfectly valid, it must always be borne in mind that they concern only that particular form of the language which appears in literature, but that other closely related almost identical dialects existed in almost all Āryāvarta from the beginning. It may have happened occasionally, of course, that the pure Aryan speech in a certain locality died out altogether because of the operating of the same forces which caused the poorer Aryans and the women to give it up, but on the whole the racial pride of the aristocracy was too strong a factor to let us assume that it died out everywhere except in a narrowly circumscribed locality, from where it then had to start out to reconquer all the territory lost before.

It cannot be my object here to discuss anew the question as to the interpretation of the fact that Pali appears in inscriptions before Sanskrit, or what is the explanation of this "break in the continuity" of development. My only concern is to show that the results of Franke's book "Pali und Sanskrit" do not necessarily conflict with the above theory. According to op. cit. 49 the results of Franke's examination of inscriptions show "daß auch spätestens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und noch geraume Zeit danach auf der vorderindischen Halbinsel unterhalb des Himālaya und auf Ceylon als allgemeine Landessprache der arischen Bevölkerung kein irgendwie geartetes Sanskrit in irgend einer Provinz vorhanden war, sondern erst allmählich aufgekommen ist." The emphasis should be on the "allgemeine"; i. e. Sanskrit, as shown above, was indeed never a universal vernacular, but a caste language from the beginning, which explains the fact that the

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<sup>1</sup> Pali u. Skt. 88.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS. 1904, 451 f.



inscriptions, which were meant to be understood by as many people as possible, were originally in Pali. It was but natural, consequently, that the speech of the aristocracy, not understood by enough people to be used in public inscriptions, and also often not the vehicle of literary works, since they, even when they finally appeared, were written in the imported Classical Sanskrit, should have completely disappeared to our view from most localities. Finally, when the renewed ascendancy of Brahmanism caused a greater number of persons to understand if not to speak the Brahman language, the Classical Sanskrit, originating in a certain locality and displacing the polite languages of other localities, made its way not only into the inscriptions of Āryāvarta, but to every part of India where Brahman culture was disseminated.

*Remarks on the Carthaginian Deity.*<sup>1</sup> — By W. MAX  
MÜLLER, Professor in the R. E. Seminary, Philadel-  
phia, Pa.

For long years, Semitists do not seem to have occupied themselves in any way with the strange name of the principal divinity of the Carthaginians, the "Taneit", as scholars used to call her in the period of Gesenius, or Tanit, as it has, somewhat more recently, become the fashion to vocalize her name.<sup>2</sup> I find a trace of skepticism concerning that name only in O. Meltzer's *Geschichte der Karthager*, where occasionally she is spoken of as "the goddess whom we have become used to calling Tanit." The consonants תַּנַּת, of course, are sufficiently well attested by numerous inscriptions, but if we ask for the reasons of the vocalisation, we have to go down to the infancy of Semitic epigraphics to discover attempts at proving that strange pronunciation, attempts which do not stand the test of any critical examination. The most exhaustive discussion will be found in Gesenius, *Monumenta linguae Phoeniciae*, p. 115 to 117. I enumerate his arguments (repeated Movers, *Phoenizier* I, 625).

1. Strabo XI, 13, p. 532, speaks of the Persian and Armenian goddess 'Αναίτις (genet. 'Αναίτιδος). For this form variant readings give Ταυαίτιδος, hence Eustathius, *ad Iliad.* 14, 295, repeats: Ταυαίτις δαίμων, and Clemens Alex., *Protrept.* p. 43, *Syllb.*, speaks of Artaxerxes who first introduced the image of Aphrodite Tanais (τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Ταυαίδος); in the latter place, however, the reading seems to be disputed, as in

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<sup>1</sup> This paper, after having been read before the American Oriental Society at the meeting in New Haven, in 1906, was mislaid by its author, and not found again by him until the present year. *Ed.*

<sup>2</sup> Evidently, because the diphthong was felt to be too strongly un-Hebrew. — Tanit is written by Clermont-Ganneau, Lidzbarski, and others up to 1906 [and 1912].

Eustathius, *ad Dion. Perieg.* 846 ("the Armenian goddess Tanaïtis or Anaïtis"). It is nowadays no longer necessary to weigh the authority of the codices in every single case for deciding between Anaïtis and Tanaïtis, Tanais, for which form Gesenius himself decided. We know now sufficiently well that the Persian chief goddess was called *Anāhita*. Consequently, those forms with a prefixed *t* have no authority and are evidently due to comparative speculations of Greek scholars who wanted what Movers, II, 101 etc., called "the Taurian Artemis," i. e. some connection with the remote river Tanais. The notice about Artaxerxes Mnemon returns then with the correct reading; 'Aneitis, Anaïtis, in Berossus (C. Müller, II, 508), Plutarch, *Artax.* 27, Pausanias III, 16, 6; Pliny 33, 24; Dio Cass. 36, 31, 31, etc.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, no goddess Tanais existed.

2. (Gesen. p. 117). Akerblad is said to have compared the Carthaginian *Tat* with the Egyptian (!) goddess Neit (Nῑῑḥ) "praeposito articulo *ta*." Modern scholars know, of course, that the Egyptian feminine article *t-* (not *ta*) cannot be connected with proper names; such a connection as the good pioneer Akerblad ventured is quite impossible, not to speak of the various other improbabilities of his bold comparison which already Movers rejected (although he strangely kept the conclusions in the form of that vocalisation!).

3. Finally Gesenius desperately referred to proper name like Tennes, Muten-Mythionius; to city names with prefixed *t-* (see below) like Tynis-Tunis, Tingis etc.; even to Libyan names like Masintha, Masinissa, etc. None of these "arguments" deserves now any discussion. Tennes, however, still seemed to be meant in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*,<sup>2</sup> I, 235 (Fr. Jeremias): "the divinity TNT, after a Greek personal name to be pronounced Thent". If Jeremias really meant the Sidonian king Tennes, adduced by Gesenius, we ought to demand some plausible etymology for that royal name, for the king cannot have borne the name of the goddess herself. Above all, as long as the worship of TNT is strictly limited to Carthage and its nearest dependencies and cannot

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. Movers I, 626. I confess not to have verified every quotation.

be traced epigraphically to Phoenicia,<sup>1</sup> I consider it inadmissible to use an argument from any Phoenician name.

Consequently, the old attempts at vocalizing those 3 consonants fail completely. I regret that, after having destroyed the old theories, I cannot offer any substitute for them; there is hardly any basis for the pronunciation of that enigmatic name (cp. below on Anna). I believe, however, that I can offer at least one small advancement towards its explanation. That "local divinity of the Carthaginians" (δαίμων τῶν Καρχηδονίων) as Polybius calls her, cannot well have had a Semitic name; it is a difficult task to fit her name into Semitic etymologies. Its formation, on the other hand, clearly betrays a Libyan formation. Prefixed *t* (which becomes in the dialects, *th* or *t*, even *ts*) + suffixed *t* or *th* are the usual characteristics of Libyan (I avoid the senseless name "Berber, Berberic") feminines.<sup>1</sup> Cp. e. g. Kabylie *thamdint*, from Arabic *medîne* "city". This formation agrees too remarkably with the divine name TNT to be accidental. Consequently, we have to consider this name as a feminine formation from a root with *n* and one or two weak consonants, among which the *n* may take the first, second or third place, may be doubled or not. At present, it would be merely a frivolous play to enumerate, from the modern Libyan dictionaries, the numerous roots with *n* which a fanciful mind could use for a more or less improbable etymology of T-N-T. I only lay stress on the result that, evidently, the name of that local divinity dates from earlier time than the Phoenician immigration and has been kept untouched by the Carthaginians; as we should indeed expect with the *spiritus loci*.

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<sup>1</sup> I do not consider the title "TNT of Lebanon", Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* I, 19, as a proof of origin in Phoenicia; Lidzbarski, p. 21, assumed with probability that this Lebanon was some locality near Carthage. More important is the first Athenian bilingual mentioning a "Sidonian, 'Abd-TNT'", in Greek *Artemidoros*. This would, indeed, point to a Sidonian cult. But why are the inscriptions of Sidon herself absolutely silent about our divinity? Hence I must assume that the name of that Sidonian betrays a relation to Carthage; such wandering merchants and sailors may have claimed various nationalities, even if "Sidonian" does not, in an archaizing way, mean "Carthaginian".

<sup>2</sup> Those not acquainted with Libyan may consult Hanoteau, *Essai de grammaire Kabyle*, p. 17; his *Grammaire Tamachek*, p. 17, Stumme, *Handbuch des Schülischen von Tazerwalt*, p. 18, etc.

This simple result becomes very complicated only if we compare the name with that of Anna, the sister of Dido. Doubtless Anna is the principal divinity of Carthage herself, as may be seen even from Vergil where Anna plays such a supernumerary part at the side of Dido as we are wont to see with two identical personages, differentiated from synonymous names. Roman writers complete the proof by reporting of that superfluous sister Anna the same things as of Dido, above all seduction by Aeneas, and suicide.<sup>1</sup> Now it would be very easy to connect Anna and TNT by vocalizing the latter name Tannat, Tannath, and treating it as the Libyanized form of Semitic Anna (a Semitic adaptation by stripping a Libyan word of its double feminine mark would lack all analogies and would be very improbable). That explanation has, however, serious difficulties, if we accept the often repeated comparison of Anna with the Hebrew name *Hanna*. Ancient Libyan, indeed, had no *h*, and should be expected to drop the initial of *Hanna* (or to change it to *h*); but I have great doubts if a foreign proper name could be Libyanized by the feminine characteristics. The analogies are very much against this. It would be more plausible to assume that Anna was a Semitic adaptation of an original Libyan \**Tannath*, i. e. Anna, originally without initial *h*. It is true, the alleged name of a Punic goddess *Hanna* cannot be proved with certainty epigraphically,<sup>2</sup> and we need not trouble ourselves much with that suppositional form. Still, I confess not at all to be satisfied with the above explanation: Anna (whatever its initial may be) as a Semitisation of a supposed \**Tannath*. I consider this theory not very plausible and would prefer leaving the explanation of the relation of the two names in doubt. A relation seems to exist, but it cannot be determined and explained with sufficient certainty, I fear.

It remains to say a word on the regular titles of our god-

<sup>1</sup> Ovid. *Fasti* III, 523; Varro in Servius, *Aen.* IV, 682; cp. Mövers I, 612 who, however, does not notice the identity clearly.

<sup>2</sup> תַּנַּת seems masculine, the well known *Hanno*. Prof. Torrey directs my attention to a seal which he considers Punic, mentioning an עֲבֶר-תַּנַּת; I feel strong doubts whether this proves to be a female divinity. [The seal was published in this Journal, XXVIII (1907), 354. Its genuineness has been questioned by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* III, 69, but on insufficient grounds. *Ed.*]

dess "the mistress TNT (with?) the face of Ba'al", as she is called on so many funerary inscriptions. The last two words (פֶּן־בַּעַל) have, so far, remained obscure. I have proposed an explanation, *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1904, IX, 168, derived from the symbol of the divinity reproduced on the Carthaginian funerary stelae. It appears in a great many fanciful variations, but all these seem finally to go back to the symbol of the *bukranion*, with the solar disk between the crescent shaped horns which evidently symbolize the moon. Hence that combination of symbols of the "*dea coelestis*", which has a wide use in the art of all countries touching the Mediterranean, representing the heaven as a cow, bearing sun and moon upon her head. This agrees well with the designation "face of the heavenly god." The syncretism of two different conceptions of heaven, as a female or (later?) as a male divinity, presents no difficulty.

*A Magical Bowl-Text and the Original Script of the  
Manichaeans.* — By JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, Professor  
in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

The writer has been occupied for some time in preparing for publication the magical bowl-texts from Nippur in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Six of the texts of the collection are in a peculiar Syriac script, related to the Estrangelo, and in the Syriac dialect, but of a form much contaminated by dialectic influences of Mandaic character. The texts have the same contents as the bowls already numerously published in the "Rabbinic" and Mandaic dialects.

As a sample of this fresh species of script I present here a bowl-text which has been kindly placed in my hands by Mr. Wm. T. Ellis, of Swarthmore, Pa. In the winter of 1910—11 Mr. Ellis travelled through Mesopotamia and was interested as a Pennsylvanian in visiting the mounds of Nippur. He was greatly impressed by the remains of the excavations made at this site by the University of Pennsylvania expeditions, and has been urging since his return home that American scholarship should resume the operations begun on so stupendous a scale. Among the curios he acquired at Nippur from the Arabs were three inscribed bowls, doubtless private spoils from the strata uncovered by the excavators. One of these is illegible, one is in the square script and "Rabbinic" dialect, and the third, in the peculiar Syriac script and dialect referred to, is the one I now publish.

The bowl is of earthenware, the usual material and size, and of 6 1/2 in. diameter by 2 1/2 in. in depth. The text is written spirally on the inside from within out; the last six lines alone are legible, the action of water collected in the bottom of the bowl having washed out the first lines, probably four in number. The characters are frequently very faint, but the readings can







usually be made out by the aid of the vocabulary and formulas occurring in similar texts.

### Text (Plate 1).

... לא לביתה אנתתה וּבְנֶהּ וּקְיִינָהּ מִן זְמַנָּא וְלְעֵלְמָא עֲלָמִין אֲמִין יֵה  
 יֵה [יֵה יֵה יֵה יֵה שְׁבַע . . . זֶה זֶה עַל סִכְרָא ת . . . תִּי דְרוּמִין] בִּיתָא  
 דְּקָרְפִּיתְיוֹן בְּרָקָא בְּרָקָא דְנוּרָא וּסְכָרָא] . . . וְעֲרַפְלָא דְחִשּׁוּכָא וּמִרְכַּבְתָּהּ  
 מִרְכַּבַּת לְטַאבָּא חֲרָאָם עֲלִיכּוֹן שְׁמִשָּׁא וְסִינָא נִוְרִידִינָא עֲלִיכּוֹן אִסְתַּאנָּא  
 וְאוּר . . . וְתָא וְנַאבְלָא אִסְוִרִיָּהּ קוּרְקָא נְחָאשָׁא וְעִבְרָא וּפְרוּלָא וְחֲתִימִין  
 בְּעִיּוּקְתָּהּ דְּשִׁמְחִיּוֹא מִרְיָא בְּנִדְאנָא תִּיהוּא חֲתַמְתָּא וְנִשְׁרַתָּא לְנִיבָא בְּר  
 דּוּדָא וּלְבִיתָהּ אֲנַתְתָּה בְּנֶהּ וּקְיִינָהּ וְנִיזְחֹן וְנִיפְקֹן כּוּל שִׁדָּא דִּיּוֹא חוּמְרָא  
 פִּתְכַּרָּא וְ[עֲסִתְרַתָּא וְלִיתָא מִנָּה דְנִיבָא בְּר דּוּדָא וּמִן בִּיתָהּ אֲנַתְתָּה בְּנֶה  
 וּקְיִינָהּ דְּלָא נְחֻמּוֹן וְלָא נַאסְכְּלוֹן בְּהִנָּא נִיבָא בְּר [דּוּדָא]

### Translation.

[A charm for Geniba against the evil spirits that they may not touch him] nor his house, wife, children and property, from now and forever and ever. Amen. Ya, Ya, [Ya], Ya, Ya, Ya, Ya!, seven [times?]. Avaunt, avaunt to the [south-ern?] bolt (pole?) of the heights of the house (?) whose flames are the lightnings, lightning of fire, and the [northern?] bolt of the shades of darkness, and their chariots the chariots of the *lattābē*. Exorcism upon you, Sun and Moon, condemnation upon you, Astānā and Ūr . . . ūthā. And I make fast<sup>1</sup> their bonds, links of brass and lead and iron, and they are sealed in the name of Šamhizā, the lord Bagdānā. Be there sealing and warding for Genibā bar Dôdāi and for his house, wife, children, and cattle, and flee and depart all demons, devils, amulet-charms, idol-spirits (= gods), goddesses and liliths from Geniba bar Dodai, and from his house, wife, sons and cattle, that they transgress not nor do harm against this Geniba bar [Dodai].

### Commentary.

I speak of the script below. The orthoëpy (e. g. נַאבְלָא, נַאסְכְּלוֹן), forms (e. g. בְּנֶה, "his sons", Mandaic), and vocabulary are such as appear in the similar bowl-texts. The client's

<sup>1</sup> Error for נַאבְלָנָא?

name is known in the Palmyrene, cf. the biblical נִכְבָּה, 1 Ki 11 20. סִנְא I have found elsewhere, and it appears in the Syriac. עֲבֵרָא = אֲבֵרָא and אֲבֵרָא in other texts of mine, and is cited by the native Syriac lexicographers under the form אֲבֵרָא (see Payne Smith, *Thes., ad voc.*) The ע is reminiscent of the parallel Hebrew word עֵפֶר. It may mean *plumbum nigrum* or *album* (probably with different vocalizations), either metal having atropaic value — here probably the former.

The syllables toward the beginning, יֵה, etc., זֵה, etc., are found in the other texts, used as deterrents to the devils. יֵה appears, from the spacing and faint traces of the letters, to have been written seven times, and so I explain the following שְׁבַע. יֵה = זֵה, from זֵהָ, = “avaunt”. What follows is obscure. Syriac ܫܒܥܐ = an obstruction, water-dam, ܫܒܥܐ, a bolt, and the term may be understood from the Babylonian myth of Tîamat’s hide fastened up as the firmament with a bolt,<sup>1</sup> or else of the function of the sky as the dam-breast to the celestial waters. The following word may possibly be read תִּמְנִיתִי (a feminine form, but why so with סְכֵרָא?), and the reference be to the southern bolt, or pole, of the sky, the source of the lightnings, the second use of סְכֵרָא meaning then the north pole, the abode of darkness. The demons are commanded to flee to the ends of the earth. “The heights of the house” is obscure (for רִוְמָא = astrological ὑψώματα, see Newbold, *JBL*, XXX, 204).<sup>2</sup> The לְמֵאֲבָא appear in other texts from Nippur; I can explain it only as a metathesis of בְּמֵל (in Pael form), which is used of the “undoing” operations of demons (e. g. לִילִיתָא מְבַמְלָתָא).

The deity, whose seal is referred to, “the lord Bagdāna”, appears in one of my other texts. The plural is also found, = gods. The first syllable is the Iranian *bhāg*, “god”, but the remainder of the word I cannot identify. Here another personal name is also added, Šamhizā; Prof. G. F. Moore suggests to me the doubtless correct identification with the fallen angel Semyaza in Book of Enoch. I have found a

<sup>1</sup> See King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, tablet iv. l. 139, “he fastened a bolt”.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. von Oefele suggests to me that in the astrological scheme for drawing horoscopes the peak of the “tenth house”, which is at the zenith, is the abode of fire.

1	2	3	1	2	3
Y	N	N	W	□, final □	□
U	U U U	U	U	5 5	5
V	V V	V	/	<i>litto</i> final — → < >	<
W	W	W	W	W	W
X	X X	X	X	X X	X
Y	Y	Y	Y	Y Y	Y
Z	Z Z	Z	Z	Z Z	Z
1	1 1	1	1	1 1	1
2	2 2	2	2	2 2	2
3	3 3	3	3	3 3	3
4	4 4	4	4	4 4	4
5	5	5	5	5	5
6	6 6	6	6	6 6	6
7	7	7	7	7	7
8	8 8	8	8	8 8	8
9	9	9	9	9	9
0	0 0	0	0	0 0	0

J.A.M.

## Plate 2.

Col. 1, the Estranghelo alphabet; col. 2, the Syriac script on the bowls, with variants; col. 3, the Turkish Manichaean script.



number of connections between the bowl-texts and Ethiopic angelology. The phrase may simply mean "Š. the Lord God". In its opposition to the sun and moon, regarded as baneful, the text is in line with the Mandaic theology (cf. Lidzbarski's Mandaic Amulet published in the de Vogüé *Florilegium*), otherwise it is pagan and shows no direct Jewish influence, the formula "forever and ever, Amen", being a magical commonplace. אסתאנא = סטנא, "Satan" in perverted form; cf. Ethiopic Mastema.

The chief point of interest in this and the similar Syriac texts is the script. In my work on the Nippur texts I have made a detailed study of this script and need only note here summarily the peculiar features. A superior point is used to distinguish ܐ from ܐ, and also in my other texts to distinguish the feminine suffix in ܐ. The plural points are used in all plurals, the feminines of nouns, verbal forms (also pronouns), being almost always written above the final letter. The characters of form worthy of remark are:

ܐ and ܐ, with head turned to the right for distinction from ܐ, which assumed an identical shape with original ܐ and ܐ.

ܐ, with a prolonged tail to the left, the original head sometimes disappearing.

ܐ, with an elaborate flourish from the head to the left.

Final ܐ, a horizontal, pitchfork-like character, with various modifications, the stroke often very long.

Most of the characters have close relations with forms of the Palmyrene alphabet, and the script may be described as an elder sister of the Estrangelo, with close affinity in its peculiarities to the Palmyrene. The antecedent relations of our script were thus fixed, and it appeared as a peculiar provincial alphabet, found only on the bowls without leaving further mark in literary history.

But my attention chanced to fall upon the Manichaean fragments in a Turkish dialect found in Eastern Turkestan, a series of which have been published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, between 1904 and 1910.<sup>1</sup> The ac-

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<sup>1</sup> For the alphabet, see F. W. K. Müller in the volume for 1904, p. 348. The script was evidently of Syriac origin, with the addition of some Arabic characters. For the Arabic tradition of the Manichaean alphabet, see G. Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, 167.

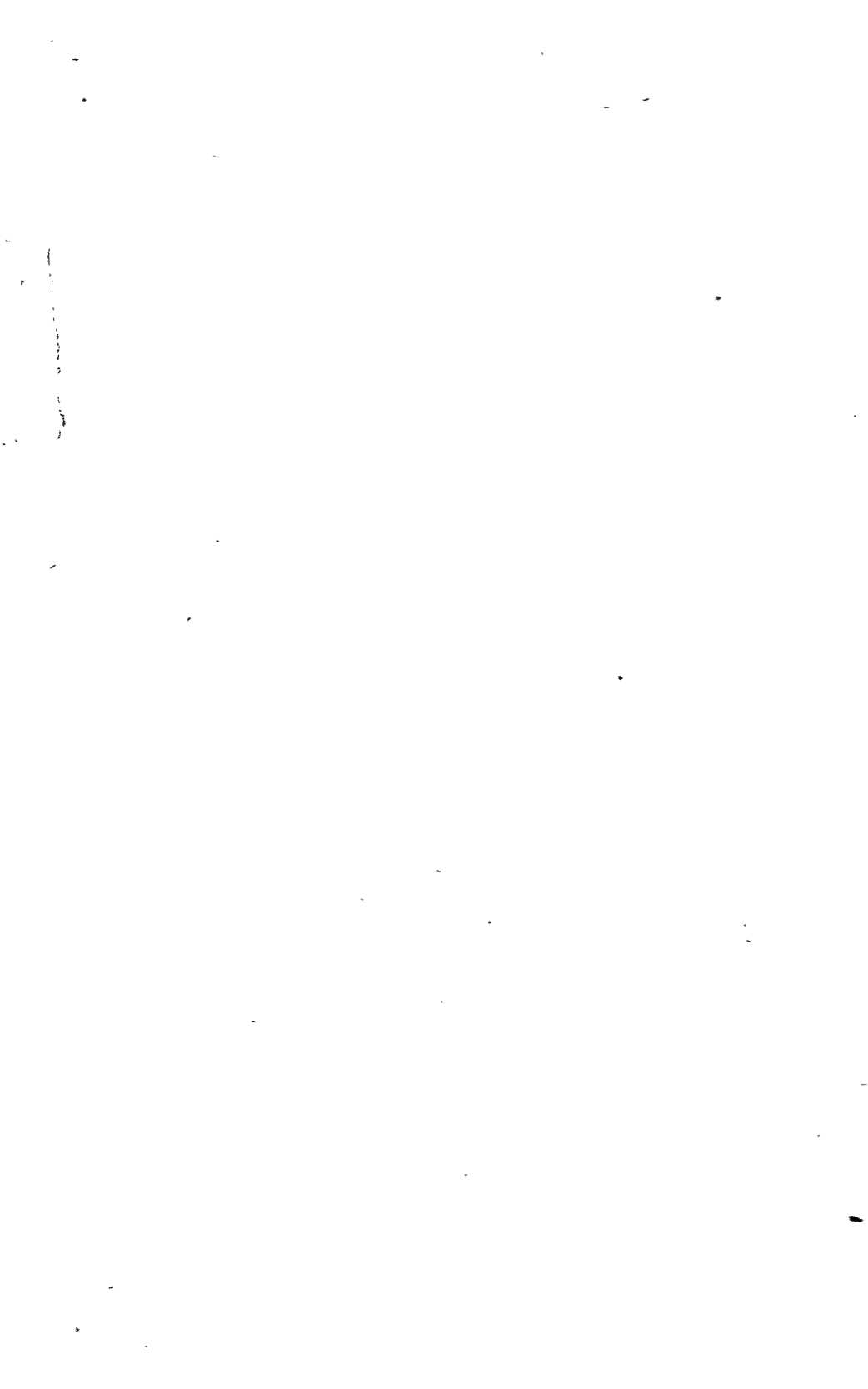
comparing table, Plate 2, presents the two alphabets comparatively. Some variant forms are given in the Syriac column. The similarity or rather identity of the alphabets is evident, and is most striking in the coincidence of the Turkish with the characters of the peculiar form in our Syriac alphabet, e. g. ܐ (n. b. turning of head to the right), ܒ, final ܢ. The Turkish differs in keeping ܐ turned to the left, as its point served to distinguish it from ܐ. I have not found ܢ in my Syriac texts and in this lack the alphabet agrees with the Manichæan.

Our provincial Syriac script has thus an interesting history forward. It is the alphabet which was used by the Manichæans and taken by them as the basis of the alphabet they devised for the Turkish dialect of their converts in China. And presumably it was the script of Mani himself, for he was a citizen of Babylon and our texts come from neighboring Nippur. Mani died A. D. 276<sup>1</sup>; the bowls from Nippur are to be dated at the latest (on archaeological grounds, as I show elsewhere) about the beginning of the seventh century, with leeroom backwards of a century or two. The Turkish texts belong, I suppose, somewhere toward the end of the first millennium. We are thus presented with a well established provincial script which endured for several centuries and which, as a sectarian alphabet, was finally adopted for the representation of an alien tongue. Our only survivals of this peculiar alphabet, which has played its part in religious history, are rude magical texts from Babylonia and a Turkish script from distant regions. This is one more instance of the literary peculiarism of the oriental sects; Jew, Samaritan, Manichæan, the Syriac Christian churches, each party developed its own peculiar literary vehicle, starting from the native dialect or script, and in the end asserting it as its own. And so the provincial script in which Mani had learnt his letters became the peculiar alphabet of his church.

It may be added that the bowls themselves contain no traces of Manichæism.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably now to be corrected to 273; see *TLZ*, 1912, 446.





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